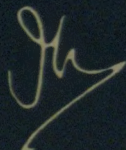


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Second Series

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru



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18



"So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote....the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being."

Indira Gandhi

**Selected
works of
Jawaharlal
Nehru**



WITH B.C. ROY, DARJEELING, 27 APRIL 1952

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

Second Series

Volume Eighteen

(1 April–15 July 1952)

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FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

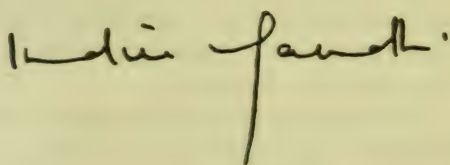
That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interest in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively

and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Indira Gandhi". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Indira" and the last name "Gandhi" clearly distinguishable.

New Delhi
18 January 1972

Chairman
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

EDITORIAL NOTE

This volume covering the period from 1 April to 15 July 1952 saw the formation of new Congress governments at the Centre and in the States after the first general elections. While Jawaharlal Nehru was glad that the communal parties had been marginalized in the elections, he noted with great concern that in the two Houses of Parliament comprising over seven hundred members only nineteen women were elected to the House of the People and fourteen to the Council of States.

Nehru was anxious that his "new Cabinet in the Centre should have a new look and new persons should have an opportunity to serve in it." He wanted that the new Government should immediately address itself to the task of nation-building for which the Planning Commission was busy revising the draft of the five year plan. Anxious that all the developmental activity in the country should be planning-oriented, Nehru thought that the key to success in this mighty adventure lay in people's active participation. For this centralization of planning activity needed to be reduced through encouragement of cooperation and the cooperatives. In the new Parliament as well as outside a consensus was necessary on "nation-building activities or in at least those matters which are commonly agreed to be beneficial and urgent...because these are matters which should be placed above party strife."

As finally the process of land reforms had been set in motion with the abolition of zamindari in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, an opportunity to increase land produce with social justice had been provided. The two must go together as "social justice itself becomes unstable and without adequate foundation", if production did not grow and "mere greater production without social justice is not only wrong in itself but also is unstable and without a strong foundation."

Success in elections and formation of government were only a step in the direction of achieving the all-round development through people's involvement starting from the villages upwards. The community development scheme being started with the assistance provided by the US Technical Cooperation Mission was expected to bring about rural transformation. In all his public exhortations, Nehru's stress was to remind his audiences that "ours is an ancient country but we have to clothe it in a new spirit."

The other matters to engage Nehru's attention at home were the question of the release of Communist detenus due to changed situation when the Communist Party of India had, as a matter of policy, taken part in elections, thereby abjuring resort to violence. The growing factional spirit among

Congressmen in places like Punjab, Bombay, Bihar, Andhra, Madras and Travancore-Cochin was a matter of concern as it had weakened the Congress as shown by election results. Nehru disapproved of the attempts of the Assam Congress to bring about the merger of the North East Frontier Agency with Assam as he realized that besides it being unnatural and harmful to the tribal interests and their own cultural heritage, the move was politically also not advisable in view of the changed situation in the north-eastern borders. He showed equal concern about the Todas in Nilgiri district being deprived of their forest lands. The National Art Treasures Fund was also started to protect and preserve the old works of art and architecture so that the drift witnessed in the past decade or so "from the aesthetic side of life" was checked. So also the idea of promoting Western music through non-official efforts was considered.

The new Government immediately formulated mineral policy and streamlined the functioning of the railways by the formation of several railway zones. Refuting the criticism in Parliament about inadequate economic development taking place in the country, Nehru drew attention to the number of scientific laboratories set up in the country, the telephones factory at Bangalore, the Chittaranjan locomotives, the river valley schemes and the Sindri fertilizer factory, among numerous works of developmental effort being made "which were really worthwhile things." He admitted that they were "not doing in the field of education what we should do." He also expressed concern over the falling moral and educational standards as also the Sanskritization of Hindi language. He wondered why could not some field work be made compulsory for the students before they were awarded diplomas or degrees.

The partial removal of subsidy and controls on certain food items especially by the Madras Government was justified with the assurance to the critics that the Government wanted to watch the situation and it had enough foodstocks to meet any situation. It was not the shortage of foodgrains but the lack of purchasing power that had caused distress in certain regions.

Though perturbed over some of the speeches made by Shaikh Abdullah in Kashmir, Nehru thought that the propaganda done by some vested interests and communal bodies in Jammu against the land reform measures of Jammu and Kashmir Government and Abdullah's ambivalence on the larger question of fuller integration of the State with the rest of India had provoked Abdullah to speak so strongly on the communal situation in the country and its impact on the future relations between the State and India.

In this context, the major development in regard to Indo-Kashmir relations was the new constituent assembly in the State taking up, as a first measure, the question of doing away with the hereditary or dynastic succession and replacing it with a Head of the State, elected for five years. Nehru, feeling uneasy about this "new proposal in its present form", needed it to "be considered carefully, from the legal, constitutional and other points of view, in relation to India, as well as from the effect it will produce on the Kashmir dispute in the

Security Council. It is unfortunate that there is an element of rushing this through within a few days."

In foreign policy, Nehru noted that the policy of friendly relations with all countries had begun to be appreciated by all the Great Powers. This became evident when India's help was sought to settle the problem of the exchange of prisoners of war in Korea. He however hesitated to take direct steps in European questions as for example on the question of Austria's independence though he expressed his full sympathy for the Austrians' cause. Nehru also realized that the conflict in Europe would increase following the restoration of the sovereign status to West Germany and its joining the European defence system. In Africa, he clearly stated that the Indians there must completely identify themselves with the nationalist aspirations of the Africans.

Nehru felt the truce efforts for ending the Korean war would suffer a setback due to the bombing of the power plants on the Yalu river. India, being a staunch supporter of all struggles in Asia and Africa against colonial domination, showed unhappiness at the Great Powers' objection to the placing of the Tunisian dispute on the agenda of the Security Council for discussion as desired by eleven Asian-African nations including India.

The Chinese Premier's "apparent reluctance to discuss general problem of our interests in Tibet" caused surprise. As for the Chinese proposal of trade passing through India to Tibet, Nehru wrote that, apart from problems of Tibet, it had certain political implications and India would rather accept such proposals as a part of a general settlement of the questions between the two countries. The question of the frontiers of Nepal, Bhutan, and Sikkim was also intimately connected with the question relating to India's frontier in Tibet. Nehru stated that from the point of view of defence, India's frontiers extended to the Himalayan frontiers in Nepal and as such any intrusion of Nepal's frontiers would be regarded as breach of India's frontiers. He was anxious that Nepal, a backward region, starting on its journey to a democratic future, should be helped in every possible way. Nehru extended full support to the ruling Nepali Congress Party and the King, the two main stabilizing elements in Nepal, who could help build the democratic polity in Nepal. Nehru repeatedly urged the Nepalese Government not to allow any influx of foreigners in their country and if any advisers or technical experts were needed, they should be engaged in consultation with India.

The Pakistan Government's insistence on introducing a system of passports for travel between India and Pakistan and the Sri Lankan Government's depriving a large number of Indians, long since settled there, of the right of franchise were two other developments nearer home to cause worry at this time. Nehru agreed with the suggestion that the time had come to take more stringent steps in relation to foreign settlements in Goa and Pondicherry.

Access to the papers of Jawaharlal Nehru and other relevant collections was kindly granted, as in the past, by the Nehru Memorial Library. Shrimati Indira Gandhi made available to us documents in her possession and these are

referred to as JN Collection. We were also allowed by the Secretariats of the President and the Prime Minister, the Ministries of Home Affairs and External Affairs, the National Archives of India and the Press Information Bureau to use the material in their possession. Some classified material has necessarily been deleted. We have also used a cartoon published in the *Shankar's Weekly* pertaining to the period covered in the volume.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIR	All India Radio
APCC	Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee
BNR	Bengal-Nagpur Railway
CA	Constituent Assembly
CP/CPI	Communist Party of India
CR	Department of Commonwealth Relations
CS	Commonwealth Secretary
EIR	East Indian Railway
FS	Foreign Secretary
GOI	Government of India
GOP	Government of Pakistan
Hicomind	High Commission of India
HM	Honourable Minister
ICCR	Indian Council for Cultural Relations
ICS	Indian Civil Service
IG	Inspector-General of Police
INA	Indian National Airways
INTUC	Indian National Trade Union Congress
J&K	Jammu and Kashmir
JN	Jawaharlal Nehru
MA	Master of Arts
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
NAI	National Archives of India
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NEF	North-East Frontier
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
NR & SR	Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research
ORT	Oudh-Tirhut Railway
P&T	Department of Posts and Telegraph
PA	Personal Assistant
PCC	Pradesh Congress Committee
Pepsu	Patiala and East Punjab States Union
PIB	Press Information Bureau
PMS	Prime Minister's Secretariat
POW	Prisoner of War
PTI	Press Trust of India
PWD	Public Works Department
RCPI	Revolutionary Communist Party of India
RSP	Revolutionary Socialist Party
RSS	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
SC	Security Council
SGPC	Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee
SP	Superintendent of Police
UK	United Kingdom
UN/UNO	United Nations Organization
Unesco	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UP	Uttar Pradesh
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WPS	Ministry of Works, Production and Supply

GENERAL PERSPECTIVES

1. United Effort for a Bright Future¹

The rather painful period in the life of our country is now dead and gone. A new age has dawned. We struggled for freedom and we have achieved it. The question therefore before us is what to do now. Let us not forget that with the attainment of rights, responsibilities also come. We have therefore greater responsibilities on our shoulders. The great task before us is the uplift and betterment of the people and the removal of poverty, illiteracy and disease. Our country is undoubtedly great. But we are a poor people. That is so because our country, even though free, has not developed economically. Development cannot be achieved by any magic wand. We must make an effort in that direction and that must be a united effort to raise thirty-six crores of people economically.

History tells us that our past was glorious. We had many people of talent, courage and intelligence; and yet we fell victim to foreign domination. The reason for this downfall was our mutual distrust, internecine quarrels and internal strife. We removed that foreign domination by learning to unite under the guidance of our great leader, Mahatma Gandhi. It is now time that we must make a united effort to raise our country economically. We should not fritter away our energies in any kind of internal strife. Our effort should be irrespective of any consideration for any one's creed. We have to banish both casteism and communalism.

Let us build a new India which is forward looking. Ours is an ancient country but we have to clothe it in a new spirit. Projects like the Sindri Fertilizer Factory, the Chittaranjan Locomotives, the Damodar Valley Project, the Bhakra and Nangal projects will take some years to be completed. It is a colossal task and only the future generations will reap the harvest.

I tell you with a feeling of pride that I am very happy to see what has been done and is being done at Chandigarh and at Bhakra and Nangal. They are the symbols of the prosperity that awaits you at not a distant time. The Bhakra and Nangal projects are the basic works on which will depend the future prosperity of Punjab. These projects when completed in a couple of years or perhaps a little more will, by their canals and electricity, add so much to the economy of not only Punjab but also to that of a number of neighbouring States. Electric energy is a thing of the greatest use in the world of today and the people of our country will now be able to get this

1. Speech at a public meeting, Kalka, 3 April 1952. From *The Tribune*, *National Herald*, *The Hindustan Times* and *The Statesman*, 4 April 1952.

in abundance. The projects will benefit not only the present generation but also the future generations. They should feel happy to see how a new India is rising with the combined efforts of one and all. The two projects are great achievements and their efficient and able engineers are doing an excellent job to make the best possible use of the Sutlej waters. These will solve the food problem. In spite of all these great jobs being done, many people are heard always complaining of nothing having been done. These friends are unable to appreciate these achievements. They do not realize that nothing can be achieved by mere slogans.

No better site has been selected for building a new city as the capital of a State anywhere in India than has been done in Punjab and I wish to congratulate the people on this selection. It is being constructed under the able guidance of famous architects and engineers and will bring satisfaction to the people of Punjab who have immensely suffered due to partition.

The question of selecting a capital for this new State of Punjab had been engaging our attention for the last three years because, due to partition, the capital city was lost on the other side of the border. Some people wanted the new capital to be built at Ambala or at other places. But it would have been of no use merely adding a few more localities to an existing city. The proposed capital at Chandigarh under construction has good planning and is a combination of the old and the new where all possible amenities would be made available for all the people. The new city would grow into a fine place gradually. Many of the local people who oppose this do not realize how much importance the capital will lend to their area both in the matter of business and trade and the populace. It will be no use raising any more objections to the building of the capital.

I am not against the free expression of opinion about any question. Under democracy it is most welcome. But to raise an objection to the selection of the site at this stage or to slow down the construction is unwise and will serve no useful purpose especially when the walls have been erected. Let us also remember that after a free expression of opinion and exchange of views once a decision is taken we must stick to it and instead of any opposition should try to see it through. It was a fair decision to build the new capital at Chandigarh. Now, let us stop all criticism and go ahead with its implementation.

Foreign visitors including the Chinese mission² and the Turkish delegation³ and others were amazed at the speed with which India is making progress. They were appreciative of the feverish activity with which that work is being accomplished. It looks strange indeed that while foreign visitors are so much appreciative, some people would see nothing in this but wrong and evil.

2. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 17, p. 508.

3. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 17, p. 585.

In Punjab there have always been futile controversies in most spheres. In politics too, there have been sharp differences of opinion and the State Congress suffers from this drawback. The people should resist such fissiparous tendencies and pull together to lead Punjab and India towards progress and prosperity. The last Ministry in Punjab was thrown out of office because it was torn by strife and different groups constituting it pulled in various directions. The President's rule⁴ has done tremendous good to the State. The Governor⁵ of the State who ran the administration on behalf of the President for the last ten months has done a good piece of work. Now that the general elections are over, the administration will soon be handed back to a new popular Ministry. The new Ministry will be on test since its success will entirely depend on corporate effort to enable the State to stand on its own legs. I hope the mistakes committed by the previous Ministry will not be repeated by it.

Who does not know the great sufferings you have had to undergo? But brave people as you are, you have set yourself to the task of rebuilding Punjab—a new Punjab—in fact a new India. Let us, therefore, forget the past and look ahead with hope and faith in the future which promises to be bright.

4. A dissident group led by Pratap Singh Kairon accused the Ministry of Gopichand Bhargava of inefficiency, corruption, nepotism and creating communal tension. The Congress Parliamentary Board directed Bhargava on 11 April 1951 to reshuffle his Cabinet and proposed five names which Bhargava refused to accept. On 11 June the Board decided that Bhargava should resign and no Congress Government should function in the State until the elections were held. Bhargava resigned on 16 June and four days later President's rule was imposed.
5. C.M. Trivedi.

2. The Situation in India and Abroad¹

We have assembled here today to perpetuate the memory of Jallianwala Bagh Day not out of hate or anger towards anybody, but because it marked a new phase in our freedom struggle. In this connection, I would like to remind you of the kernel of the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, that is, practising right

1. Speech at a public meeting on the Jallianwala Bagh Day, New Delhi, 13 April 1952. From *The Hindustan Times*, *National Herald* and *The Statesman*, 14 April 1952, and *The Hindu*, 15 April 1952.

means for right ends. Taking recourse to blood and violence for achieving a revolution, however high its objectives, will only let loose forces of chaos and disunity and friction upon the land, forces which in the past had led to India's enslavement and dishonour. The country's strength would only be sapped by a violent revolution. So any revolution brought about in India through violent means will not at all be worthwhile.

Victory in the general elections should not elate us, nor should defeat depress us. A new Parliament is coming into being shortly where there would be new faces, new voices and new parties and new groups. Conflict of ideas is good in a sense. It emits sparks of new forces and a new vitality in a nation. It carries a nation onward on the path of progress. But in nation-building activities or in at least those matters which are commonly agreed to be beneficial and urgent, all parties must unite and cooperate with the Government because there are matters which should be placed above party strife. Look at the Soviet Union and China. They are reaping the fruits of their toil and hardships even after so many years.

There are people who only like to talk loudly about others' shortcomings. They fail to appreciate big achievements. It is not fair to compare the achievements of India during the past four or five years with the achievements of thirty-five years of post-revolution period in the Soviet Union. But I can say that the picture of India would be positively different in another ten or fifteen years. A number of foreign delegations who recently visited India were all praise for her efforts at reconstruction. They felt that the country is pulsating with a new life and energy. By developing the river valley projects and scientific laboratories India is laying the foundation of her future prosperity.

It is very essential to increase the country's food and industrial production. There should be no concentration of wealth in a few hands. It should be distributed equitably. But what wealth is there to be distributed today? The main question before the country is therefore to increase production. The growth of population has also to be checked. If the rate of growth of population is higher than the rate of production of wealth, the country cannot attain prosperity.

It is a fact that world prices of foodgrains have increased and imports mean a large expenditure. One reason for this increase is high shipping rates on account of war preparations in a number of countries. I am certain that food production in the country will increase with the completion of the river valley and other projects. But we must endeavour to grow more food even before that. And this can be done by means of intensive cultivation.

It is true that prices of food articles in Delhi have been raised. I know that this has created difficulties for many people. The increase is compelled by the fact that food prices outside are higher. If the foodgrains are sold at lower prices, it would involve a burden of crores of rupees. Where is this

defecit to be met from? Therefore, the burden has to be shared. Anyhow, I hope that the prices will not remain high for long.

As regards the situation in the world, India has always stood for ending imperialism everywhere. The causes of war will be removed only when all nations become independent. Some Asian nations have won freedom but there are still countries in Asia and Africa which are not free. One of them is Tunisia which is under French rule. I am amazed at the way some big Powers tried to thwart even a discussion of the Tunisian issue² in the United Nations. Strangely enough, some of the big Powers have objected even to the matter being discussed. I don't understand why it cannot be discussed. This means that the voice of Asia and Africa is not heeded in the United Nations. If attempts are made to stifle the voice of the peoples of Asia and Africa, who among them constitute more than half the population of the world, this will only weaken the influence of the United Nations in this part of the world. The Asian and African peoples will then react adversely against the United Nations. In the world of today, military suppression of freedom movements cannot just go on. India's support of the United Nations Organization is well known. India has always tried to contribute her mite towards strengthening the Organization, because she believes that if the peace of the world is to be maintained, an organization where nations can meet and discuss problems is a necessity. The foundation of the world organization is peace. This should not be forgotten while tackling problems. It is possible that if a correct step had been taken in regard to China, there would have been no war in Korea and the problems of East Asia would have been solved. It is a strange situation that even the issue of a ceasefire in Korea continues to be discussed for the last eleven months.

Moreover, in the interests of the United Nations itself it is important that a feeling that it has become a partisan body and, therefore, useless as an instrument for peace and international goodwill and understanding, should not be allowed to grow.

There is a mad rush for rearmament all over the world. Everybody talks of peace but acts just the opposite. More and more money is being spent on arms and on preparations for war and the people in the UK and elsewhere have to bear heavy burdens. Nobody knows when a spark might envelop the world in a conflagration again. So the people—the common people everywhere who are eager for peace—have to be very vigilant.

However, India does not aspire to become a leader in Asia or elsewhere, for such aspirations smack of the old imperialism. We do not want to overawe anyone but we do not want to be overawed by anyone either. We would not tolerate it.

2. See *post*, pp. 559-564.

There are three French possessions on Indian territory. They might be small in area and from the point of view of population. But India cannot tolerate the existence of foreign domination in any part of the country. It is absurd and basically wrong for such French and Portuguese pockets to remain in India. They will have to go one day and it is our earnest endeavour to get it done peacefully. These pockets are menacing the security of the country and are a source of potential danger. There is no reason why five lakh Indians in these areas should be allowed to remain under tutelage when their thirty-six crore brethren are free.

I have placed before you the problems facing the country today. I would like the youth of India to ponder over these problems in a calm manner because on right thinking depends the right solution of the problem.

Before I close, I would like to remind you of the speech delivered by Shaikh Abdullah at Ranbirsinghpura³ on the tenth of this month. Frankly I am not very happy with that speech.⁴ I hope Shaikh Sahib would excuse me for saying so. Of course, speeches should always be read in their proper context and Shaikh Sahib, while making the speech, must have had in his mind the activities of the Jammu Praja Parishad, which is a communal organization seeking to sow dissensions among Kashmiris. However, its activities benefited nobody but Pakistan, and Shaikh Abdullah naturally had reasons to be indignant over the Parishad and he had definite problems at the back of his mind. Even so, it might be proper to say a certain thing at one place but improper at another. I myself sometimes think of speaking on certain matters, but as soon as I remember that my speech would reach London, Moscow, Washington and other places, I desist. Shaikh Sahib's speech might be right in the Jammu setting, but it would be out of place anywhere else. Undoubtedly the Praja Parishad is trying to create disturbances in the State. The Parishad is free to advocate complete accession to India, but its activities are taken advantage of by Pakistan. The activities of the Praja Parishad are more publicized in the Pakistan Press than in the Indian Press. That is because Pakistan wants to gain by these. So India's case has been weakened as regards Kashmir. Where is the wisdom in doing something which benefits your enemies?

Kashmir is of vital importance to India because it is a standing refutation of the two-nation theory on which Pakistan was created. The rejection of this theory by the Muslims of Kashmir has always been an obstacle in the way of the Muslim League. The leaders of the Muslim League have failed to win over the Kashmiri Muslims who supported the freedom movement. One has to realize the difficulties of Shaikh Sahib whose efforts to unite the Muslims, the Hindus and the Buddhists in the State are being frustrated by the Praja Parishad.

3. In Jammu province.

4. See *post*, pp. 383-390.

Kashmir has acceded to India in respect of defence, communications and foreign affairs. Some other states in India also had originally acceded partially, but later they had transferred other subjects also to the Union. Kashmir's position, however, has not changed as it involved a different problem. Kashmir is faced with aggression from Pakistan and there is trouble there as well as other problems. Nothing should be done to add to those problems. Shaikh Sahib has stressed this aspect in his speech, but looking to the Praja Parishad's activities, he has referred to other matters as well.

On the whole, I did not like the tone and manner of Shaikh Sahib's speech. I am told that he is issuing a clarification⁵ which will appear in the press tomorrow.

5. See *post*, p. 385.

3. The Zamindari System and Beyond¹

Brothers and sisters,

... Just two days ago, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, the Chief Minister of this province, stayed with me in Delhi and suggested that I should come here today.² I was a little hesitant because the pressure of work was very great. But I wanted to come anyhow and meet all of you, and participate in today's proceedings. I was reminded of the times, more than thirty years ago, when I used to wander among the peasants of this province, in the districts of Allahabad, Pratapgarh, Jaunpur, Rae Bareilly, Sultanpur and other places. The plight of those poor farmers is etched in my mind. I saw the harm that the zamindari system had done to the peasantry. It is a pernicious system anywhere in the world.

We had raised our voices against the zamindari system thirty years ago. Thirty years is a long time in the life of any individual. If you had asked me then, I would have said that we would abolish zamindari immediately because I was young then and full of great hopes and had an impatience to get things done quickly. But it has taken years of hard work to accomplish that task. Our most urgent priority was to challenge the might of British rule and overthrow its yoke. Only then could we take up other tasks. You know the

1. Speech at Modi Nagar, 1 July 1952. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi. Extracts.
2. The zamindari system was abolished in Uttar Pradesh with effect from 1 July 1952. See also *post*, p. 91.

long story of our struggle for independence. Many of you may have participated in it too....

Well, we made laws. But lawyers would find loopholes in any laws that you may make and you will get entangled in legal processes and court cases. The zamindars and talukdars took full advantage of the situation. Well, it is not right to criticize the lawyers. We had to then change the Constitution and the case was referred to the Supreme Court. It went on for months. Ultimately the judgement was given two or three months ago³ and the work gained momentum. Today we are putting an end to a system which has lasted for over a hundred and fifty years. The movement which was started in 1920 in this province for the first time comes to an end.

I wonder if you know the origins of the zamindari system in India. In the olden days too there used to be big landholders. But the zamindari system as we see it today began with the coming of the British. They created zamindars, talukdars and jagirdars in Oudh about a hundred and fifty years ago. Well, that comes to an end today and so it is an auspicious occasion for all of us.

One task is over. But we are mistaken if we think that with the abolition of the zamindari system all our work is done. What does the abolition mean? It only means that a great obstacle in the path of India's progress has been removed and the way has been cleared for other steps to be taken. But the innumerable tasks waiting to be done require hard work and the cooperation of the people....

This is a gigantic task because India is a vast country with a population of about thirty-six crores of people living in various provinces spread across the sub-continent from the Himalayas to Kanya Kumari. If India had been a smaller country our problems would have been easier to solve because it is easier to make a smaller number of people do something. The huge population of thirty-six crores is a great burden upon the country. The problem is that it continues to increase. So the matter becomes extremely complicated.

You must have heard about the First Five Year Plan which was started last year. It is a plan for the development of the country during the next five years. Everyone talks about progress and development. But mere desire can get us nowhere. The problem is more complex because it is not easy to get rid of the malaise and weaknesses and poverty of centuries. There is no magic formula. It is only fools who think astrologers can solve problems. An individual or a nation progresses not by magic but through hard work, effort, strength and determination. If there was a magic formula, why would anyone work? We could all sit at home and wave a magic wand. But that is not so.

3. By an unanimous decision, the Supreme Court on 5 May 1952 upheld the validity of the Uttar Pradesh Agriculture and Land Reforms Act, 1950, rejecting the plea that the enactment was not for "public purpose" and that it did not provide for compensation as per the requirement of the Constitution.

We have to get rid of the weaknesses which have afflicted our society for centuries and lay the foundations of a new edifice of a strong and independent India. Our goal is the welfare of the people of the entire country irrespective of the province they live in or the religions and professions they may follow. We want equal rights for everyone. This is the beautiful plan we have before us, but it takes time to do all these things. I wish we could move faster. I would like to see these dreams come true in my own lifetime....

Five years have passed since British rule was removed. Within a year or two of that most traces of colonialism were wiped out and India became independent in the true sense of the word. A new Constitution was drawn up and India has now become a Republic. There are no more kings and rulers. The greatest position in the country today is that of the President of India. Dr Rajendra Prasad is the President and he is the first citizen of India. He is like one of us; he comes from ordinary peasant stock of Bihar. He has been chosen to this great position because of his long and dedicated service to the nation. So the people have faith in him. Today even the great princes and rulers are not higher in status than the President of India.

India has embarked upon a new era. Many other steps have been taken following the drawing up of the Constitution. You may remember that the princely states and the Nizam's territories which were independent pockets under British rule were merged into the Indian Union. We have given the erstwhile rulers generous pensions and privy purses, but they no longer enjoy any power. Powers have passed into the hands of the people whether it is our old provinces like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal and Bombay or former princely states like Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda and Kashmir. There is people's rule everywhere in the country.

Recently the first general elections were held in the country in which millions of people went to the polls to elect their representatives to the State Assemblies and the Parliament in Delhi. By these various steps, we have sought to consolidate freedom and democracy in India. If a country is weak, its freedom stands in danger of being wrested from it. We must always remember that we lost our freedom to the British because we were weak and disunited. While we were engrossed in fighting among ourselves, outsiders came and occupied the throne easily. Our greatest weakness is disunity....

It is foolishness which goads people to fight in the name of religion and caste and what not. Casteism has weakened India greatly in the past. People forget their country in their preoccupation with caste and family. The task before us is to make India a strong and united country if we want to progress.

We must bear in mind the goals that we wish to strive for and the direction in which we want to go. We do not want the progress of a handful of people or of any particular community. We want every single man, woman and child

in India, the thirty-six crores of people, irrespective of caste and religion, to progress. Everyone must get equal opportunities for education, work and progress. We do not want too much disparity in the country. We cannot get rid of it at once by passing a law. It requires hard work and effort. We want to bridge the gulf between the haves and the have-nots and raise the standard of living of the people. After all, we cannot get wealth from outside. The people themselves will have to work hard. That is how other countries in the world have progressed. So this is one goal before us.

Now, everyone is not exactly alike, either in physical appearance or mental ability. But everyone must get equal opportunities for progress, education, health care and the means of earning a livelihood, so that each one may go as far as his ability permits. There should be complete equality in this respect.

But the situation is quite different today. In my wanderings all over the country, I often see the children of farmers and workers and others—little, beautiful children, but they are not well looked after. They do not get enough to eat, proper clothes to wear or get any education at all. I find this very distressing because the wealth of a nation is not money or gold or silver but its people, particularly its children. Unless we look after this wealth, what will our future be like? The most urgent task before us today is to look after our children even if the adults have to bear some hardships for some time.

We cannot depend on other countries for help except what we get in a spirit of friendship. Ultimately a nation progresses by its own efforts. India is a poor country. How are we to make it affluent? Where does the money in the banks or treasury come from? Wealth is produced by the people by their own efforts. Gold and silver and paper money are mere tools of trade. You cannot consume them. The real wealth of a nation is what the people produce. The goods produced by farmers and workers, craftsmen and artisans and writers constitute new wealth. The more a country produces, the more affluent it becomes. Why is the United States so rich? It is because the farmers and workers there produce a hundred times as much as we produce in India....

Anyhow, it is strange that in a country of farmers, we could not produce enough foodgrains for our needs. Why is it so? We gave it careful thought and, as you know, rationing and controls had to be introduced in the major cities. Whenever there are shortages of essential commodities, those who can pay higher prices get them while the poor are left to starve. That as well as wasteful consumption by the rich has to be prevented. So we had to introduce rationing and controls which led to great hardships and dishonesty and blackmarketing and what not. It was a vicious circle. Well, that is a long story. Ultimately we began to see glimmerings of light out of the dark tunnel. Movement of foodgrains from one district to another was restricted and the whole country was covered by controls and rationing.

Now, I would like to tell you quite clearly that we are not prepared to

allow a similar situation to arise when a handful of traders and millowners can have the entire population at their mercy or make enormous profits. I would like to remind you that control and rationing were legacies of the war years. When we formed the Government, we kept them on because there were shortages. At the beginning of 1948, we partially removed controls with the result that the prices of cloth and other essential goods began to soar. We were amazed. The few big millowners made huge profits and inflation became uncontrollable. So we had to reimpose controls. But it was not so easy to bring down prices which had once gone up. It has taken us years of hard work to bring the prices of essential goods under control. We do not want them to go out of control again. That is why we want to take every step after careful consideration.

The position has improved considerably this year regarding food and cloth, both essential consumer goods. It is true that we have imported foodgrains this year also. But the food production has increased in the country too and we have a surplus. We are facing a new problem now. There is not enough storage space for surplus wheat....

We have before us great tasks of nation-building, like education and industrialization. There is tremendous unemployment in India. We must ensure that everyone has the means of earning his livelihood, whether it is on land, industry or by doing something else. We must open up new avenues of employment. At the moment there is a crushing burden on land because too many people are dependent on it. People must take up other work and professions. How is that to be ensured? No matter what plans we formulate in Delhi, their execution requires a lot of investment.

There is often shortage of irrigation facilities. It is easier when there are canals nearby. On the other hand, there are floods which wreak great havoc. We have large rivers in the country. So there is no shortage of water. The river waters flow into the seas and are wasted. Why should we not utilize them through canals for irrigation so that we do not have to depend on the monsoons? There are many such canals in Punjab. We are taking up huge river valley projects all over the country. You must have heard of the Bhakra-Nangal which has come up on the river Sutlej which originates in Tibet near Mansarovar and Kailash and comes to India flowing through the mountains. We have built a huge dam on the Sutlej. Here electricity will be produced and the canals will carry waters upto Rajasthan, where the deserts will bloom. There are river valley projects in Bihar and Bengal on the Damodar river, and on the Mahanadi in Orissa. Hundreds of thousands of acres of land can be brought under irrigation and food production will be stepped up. Electricity can also be generated.

Electricity is extremely essential not merely for lighting but as a source of power for doing work. In the West, electricity has been used to great

advantage. It can contribute a great deal towards the progress of India. It can be used to start cottage industries. Farmers can use electricity in the field. It is like the jinn of children's stories which is capable of performing great feats. By merely pressing a button machines can do the work of hundreds of men. We are producing electricity from the river valley projects. The dam waters are made to fall from a height with great force. This produces a lot of energy which is converted into electricity. We want to take up these river valley projects all over the country. But each one of them requires enormous investments of crores of rupees; therefore we have to plan carefully and move step by step. As the country progresses, gradually our resources will also increase with production of foodgrains and electricity going up. New industries will come up providing employment to millions and new goods will be produced.

We are now reviewing the Five Year Plan which was drafted last year to see what the targets ought to be regarding food production and industrialization. As far as the problem of land is concerned, the abolition of zamindari was a major step. But the task is by no means over. As Lal Bahadurji⁴ pointed out just now, we find that whenever farmers have made progress in the world, it has been by the method of cooperatives. The profits are shared but cultivating the land together makes it easier for small farmers to obtain tractors or small machines. Small landholdings do not yield very much. There is great strength in cooperation. All this requires a great deal of effort and planning. Unplanned effort will lead to difficulties later.

The review of the Five Year Plan will go on for the next few months. Already a great deal of thinking is going on. A couple of days ago a meeting of leaders from various parties was held to discuss the steps that were needed to be taken in the matter of food production and industrialization. Everything has to be considered in the larger national context. It is not a question of one village but of six hundred thousand villages. It requires careful planning. If we move four steps forward, we slide back two. I have great love for my province, but I have to think of the whole country, not any one province or community. I have to pay special attention to the backward sections of the society and find ways and means to uplift them. These are the big problems which we have to tackle....

You may have heard about the hundreds of miles of roads built by the farmers in Uttar Pradesh within the last two or three years. Nearly 250 miles of road was built in Meerut district. This is the only way to uplift the country when there is cooperation between the people and the Government. The interesting thing is that the more you do today, the greater will be your capacity for progress in the future. It is like a man with a capital of one lakh getting

4. Lal Bahadur Shastri.

the second lakh even more quickly. So it goes on. This is how the wealth of a nation increases rapidly—with hard work and effort. Once the process starts it will gather momentum rapidly. The difficulty is in the beginning for a poor country like ours. We must take to cooperation if we want to achieve anything. I do not know if you are aware of it but the Congress had incorporated the idea of a cooperative commonwealth for the whole country⁵ even before independence....

5. Article I of the Congress Constitution stated that "the object of the Indian National Congress is the well-being and advancement of the people of India and the establishment in India, by peaceful and legitimate means, of a cooperative Commonwealth based on equality of opportunity and of political, economic and social rights and aiming at world peace and fellowship."

4. Building a New India¹

Brothers and sisters,

... I wish to talk to you about a number of subjects and to place before you the various questions that crowd into my head. It is extremely important that the common people of India should understand all these problems, whether they concern China or Tunisia or some other place. It is obvious that everyone must understand the problems which concern the country. I am not prepared to accept that the complicated problems of international affairs are meant only for the intellectuals or the people in government or Parliament. It is a different matter that everyone may not be able to understand all the complex problems, because they have not devoted sufficient time to it and, secondly, all the facts are not available to them. But broadly speaking everyone can understand the problems if they devote sufficient time and attention to them. However, people do not have the time. You cannot learn anything by reading the newspapers because instead of throwing light on any problem, they only create greater confusion.

Well, anyhow, some information can be gathered from the newspapers. In a free, democratic country, it is very essential that the common man should understand the broad principles. This is particularly necessary in this complex, revolutionary world of today. Revolution does not necessarily mean violence and chaos. A revolution implies change, rapid change, as it is happening in

1. Speech at a public meeting under the auspices of the Delhi State Congress Committee, New Delhi, 6 July 1952. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi. Extracts.

India and Asia and all over the world. At the same time there is constant talk of war and nobody knows where it will end. Perhaps very few among you would be able to realize the full implications of another great war. It will have terrible consequences for the whole world and it is doubtful if anything will survive the holocaust. Therefore, as we are living in such a dangerous world, it is essential that all Indians, whether they live in the cities or villages, must have at least a broad picture before them. After all, democracy implies that the reins of power are in the hands of the people and if that is so, they should try to understand the problems which the country faces. Therefore, whenever I get an opportunity, I like to speak about these matters to the people. Unless we understand these complex problems, we cannot cope with them when danger threatens.

Now, I came here with the intention of putting some of the complex issues which we have to deal with before you. But as I was coming here, and even before that, I heard that in various localities in Delhi, meetings are being held in which heated discussions take place. Some of our friends who had been silent and subdued since the elections have once again, finding an opportunity, come out into the open. They are once more vociferous in voicing their views. Well, they have the right to do so but it is mostly noise and bluster because there is not much sense in what they say. But then I heard that they have gone a step further. Brickbats were hurled in some Congress meeting, people, including some children and onlookers, were injured, and they had to be sent to hospital.² This is absurd. Is this a way of educating the public? In a democracy, the public has the right to consider every issue in all its aspects, no matter how complex they are. But how can hurling brickbats on the public help proper thinking? It is a different matter that people who are not incapable of thinking resort to such methods. I want you to consider how wrong it is to allow a handful of people to spoil the reputation of a city and vitiate the atmosphere so that unlawful elements take advantage of the situation. I mean people who have nothing to do with politics. They invariably take advantage of such situations when law and order breaks down....

You must bear in mind the fact that Delhi enjoys a special status apart from the fact that it is a very ancient city. It is famous in the history of India and a succession of cities, Hastinapur, Indraprastha, Shahjahanabad, have come up on this site. It is one of the oldest cities in India and the only other city which can be compared to it is Banaras or Kashi which is perhaps older.

So Delhi is not merely a city. In a sense, Delhi is the repository of the thousands of years of India's history, her thought, her grandeur. Delhi is the

2. On the night of 1 July 1952, a section of the crowd had tried to break up a Congress meeting in Delhi which was being presided over by the President of the Delhi State Congress Committee.

historical centre of India just as Banaras has been the intellectual core of India for thousands of years. Uncivilized conduct and behaviour are not becoming to a city like Delhi. Occasional lapses can be tolerated in a new city but it cannot be done when a city is thousands of years old. It is obvious that if, for some reason, Delhi were not the capital of India, it would still hold its own. It cannot disappear when it has the heritage of thousands of years of history. But as the capital of India its importance increases and the eyes of the world are upon us constantly. Ambassadors from all over the world are here and news circulates through newspapers and other media. Incidents in smaller cities may go unnoticed. In Delhi, even the most minor incidents become news. Therefore it is the responsibility of everyone of us who is a resident of Delhi—I hope you will permit me to call myself that though my home town actually is Allahabad—not only to conduct oneself properly but also to ensure that others are not permitted to take any wrong steps thereby bringing disrepute to the city and vitiating the atmosphere. This is the responsibility of every single individual who lives in Delhi....

The Congress Party has certain principles and a method of working which are obvious to everyone. It is not an immature party for it is nearly seventy years, rather sixty-seven years old and has witnessed a great many ups and downs. I used to go to Congress sessions as a child before I went to England. Exactly a month or six weeks after I returned from there, after finishing whatever little I did by way of studies, I became a member of the Congress. So I have been in it for forty years almost and my entire life has been tied up with it. There are good as well as bad people in it as is inevitable in any organization. When I joined, there were leaders of great calibre like Lokmanya Tilak and Gokhaleji.³ Then Mahatma Gandhi came on the scene. There were other great leaders too like Deshbandhu Das, Lala Lajpat Rai, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr Ansari⁴ of Delhi and Maulana Azad.⁵ They were the pillars of the old Congress and, in fact, the mainstay of the country. We saw a great many ups and downs as it was the time of our struggle against British imperialism. Men of small stature left, new ones joined. The policies of the Congress have never been hidden from anyone. There have been changes to fit in with the changing times as is bound to happen. So you will have to decide whether you like the basic principles of the Congress—I am not referring to the minor things over which there can be differences of opinion—and whether the path being followed by it is acceptable to you. It is obvious that if you belong to the Congress, you have the right to change or bend the Party this way or that. If you feel that the Congress is following the right path, you should go along

3. Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

4. M.A. Ansari.

5. He was the Union Minister for Education at this time.

with it. If not, you can choose to follow a different path. There is no question of coercion in all this and the people cannot be compelled to follow a path not of their liking. Therefore, it is very essential for you to understand the basic principles and policies.

Once the people's mandate is obtained, the Government is free to follow those policies. It is no doubt true that the problems which we are facing today have never arisen before the Congress earlier. The problems of foreign policy are also new and complex. Internally, there are old as well as new problems. One big problem that has never come up before is that of the refugees which arose in the wake of partition. Innumerable refugees poured into the country and we had to help them to be rehabilitated.

Anyhow, it is imperative that you should think about the path India should follow. But no matter what path we may follow, in my opinion one thing is quite clear and that is, we are the citizens of a great nation and therefore we must engage in great tasks and in all that we do we must conduct ourselves with dignity. We want to follow a path of honesty, integrity and truth and to build an edifice of a great country where even the residents of a small village walk with heads held high....

So, as I was saying, if we want India to progress, we cannot do so by indulging in uncivilized, mean and selfish behaviour. We must hold our heads high and grow in stature and raise the stature of India. Though it is only five years ago that we became free, India grew in stature in the eyes of the world due to the influence of Mahatma Gandhi thirty years ago when we were still in bondage. That is why I feel that we must make an effort to stop activities which vitiate the city's atmosphere. Those who indulge in such activities must be strongly condemned and censured and made to realize the folly of their ways. Still, we cannot get annoyed with an ignorant child. Such people should be treated as ignorant children and an effort should be made to correct them and turn them into good soldiers in the service of the country. There are, however, some who are past redemption and I don't believe that they can be made to understand the folly of their ways. But, anyhow, we must create an atmosphere in the country whereby no matter what the differences of opinion may be—after all, people are free to hold and express different opinions—the attempt to indulge in uncivilized activities should not be tolerated. If such activities are looked down upon by the community, it will act as a brake on the people who indulge in them. You can imagine that if it is possible for one party to indulge in unlawful activities others can also do the same.

Public meetings are often held by the Jan Sangh and the Hindu Mahasabha—and they have a right to hold these meetings—but I have never heard of stones being thrown at such meetings. In fact I want to tell you that some of our young men in the heat of the moment demand to know why they should not interfere in the meetings of other parties. But we tell them that no

matter what the behaviour of others might be, Congressmen cannot make such mistakes. They have to stick to the right path. Otherwise this city will become a haven for miscreants and hooligans where nothing can be done in a civilized way. You cannot conduct national politics by hurling abuses and brickbats at one another....

The Kashmir issue is an extremely important and complicated one. For the last four and a half years, it has not remained merely an Indian problem but become an international problem and we have had to face great difficulties. It is being discussed in the world forum. It is obvious that all the details will not be available to you. There are innumerable complexities in it. But some of our young men marched to Parliament shouting slogans perhaps in the belief that they can influence the issue in some way. Or perhaps they came there in support of their comrades in Parliament—admittedly small in number—and to give them courage. What is all this? How can a few hundred or thousand boys and girls from the opposite camps, holding flags and shouting slogans, come and disrupt everything? They are welcome to express their opinions on any issue including the Kashmir issue which is a very complex one. But it is not going to be solved by shouting slogans.

Public memory is notoriously short and perhaps many people have forgotten the events that have occurred in Kashmir in the past. More than twenty years ago, the struggle for freedom started in Kashmir. As far as I can remember, Kashmir was the first among all the Indian states to join in our struggle for freedom on such a large scale. By and large, the Congress used to keep away from the princely states because we felt that the first priority was to challenge the British and once we had won, the states could be brought under control easily. So we did not interfere with them too much. They could do what they liked internally but we did not wish to interfere from outside. Well, anyhow, I was connected with the Congress and in a sense with the states too through the All India States People's Conference, a huge organization of which I was the President for a number of years. Apart from that, I am a Kashmiri by birth and my family hails from Kashmir. So there are emotional and intellectual ties with Kashmir. I have bonds of affection with Kashmir.

So I have always taken an interest in Kashmir. Twenty years ago, there was an autocratic regime there just as in all the other princely states of India where there were nawabs and maharajas. Gradually the people in these states began to wake up and the first state where it happened on a large scale was Kashmir. In the beginning, some wrong steps were taken because there was no proper organization and there were violent clashes which were suppressed. But soon the situation improved and gradually the organization grew in strength. There was no other princely state in India where the people were so organized and powerful as in Kashmir under the National Conference of which Shaikh Abdullah was the President right from the beginning.

Well, I have watched the progress of the National Conference for the last twenty years and have also sometimes advised them. I do not know if you remember, but once, in 1946, when I visited Kashmir, I was arrested by the government there and held for a few days because I had entered without permission.

In short, the entire history of Kashmir of the last few years comes before my mind's eye, particularly of the last four and a half or five years, ever since the attack by Pakistan forces which was preceded by an invasion by the Razakars. We were faced with a complicated problem as to how to help Kashmir and save her. Fighting went on for a year and a half. It was a difficult time for all of us, with new decisions to be made every day. All this comes before my mind's eye. The Kashmir situation created problems for us in our international relations too. That is why I am amazed when I see some people ready to shout slogans and demand that we should do this or that although they have little or no knowledge of the facts about Kashmir. Is this the way to solve any problem? What really bothers me is that the methods they are adopting, ostensibly to draw Kashmir toward themselves, will, instead of serving their purpose, have just the opposite effect. You must bear this in mind....

In 1947, when the question of the merger of Indian states into the Indian Union arose, the principle that we followed and was strictly enforced by Sardar Patel was that in case of doubt the people of the state and not the ruler would decide. I am talking about the time when partition had not taken place and the war in Kashmir still lay in the future. When the question of merger of Kashmir came up, we made it clear that though we would like Kashmir to be with us, a clear mandate from the masses, through the constituent assembly or some other means, was required. So we stalled the merger of Kashmir for many months. Then, when war broke out, we had to rush to the aid of Kashmir and in that context the accession took place. But even then we said that the ultimate decision would lie with the people. We said it in the world forum as well as to the people of Kashmir again and again that the fate of Kashmir would be decided, not by you or me, but by its people. This has been our principle and will remain so, not only for Kashmir but everywhere else too.

In such a situation, is it proper that some people should alienate the Kashmiris? Suppose, for instance, that the people of Kashmir are firmly against being in the Indian Union, what can any of us do? I would be very sorry for Kashmir is a part of myself. But do you think I will march on Kashmir with armies to coerce them into joining India? That is impossible. I would never agree to military action against our own people, whether it is in Kashmir or anywhere else in India. After all, we will always have bonds of affection and sympathy with them. But we cannot resort to imperialist tactics and even if we wanted to, it cannot be done in the world of today. Such things will not

be tolerated. The entire world is concerned about the problem in Kashmir. We will earn the censure of the entire world community. India is a huge country, but it is wise enough not to take on the entire world. Therefore our policy must be to try to make the people understand that their interests lie in joining with India. But they must do so with affection.

When our forces marched into Kashmir to repulse the Pakistani forces, apart from fighting bravely, Indian troops behaved in a very civilized manner towards the people of Kashmir, which created a very good impression. It further strengthened the bonds of affection which tie Kashmir to India. Indian soldiers would often share their rations with the poor villagers of Kashmir and help them in various other ways. All these things are of fundamental importance. It does not need great wisdom to understand that the tactics being used by the Hindu Mahasabha and the Jan Sangh will, instead of drawing the people of Kashmir towards us, alienate them. They feel that Kashmir should be forcibly merged with India. This will nullify everything that we have done so far. If we raise our voices in anger against the people of Kashmir, we shall alienate them and lose their sympathies.

The same thing is true of Jammu. There is a party called the Praja Parishad which is a branch of the other organizations that I have mentioned. I am amazed at the way they have gone about doing things in Kashmir in the last couple of years. I agree that they have had a rough deal in Jammu and a way ought to be found to prevent such occurrences. But basically their tactics are to denounce the present regime in Kashmir, thereby sowing the seeds of dissension at a time when it is essential for all of us to march together. How does this benefit anyone? The Praja Parishad claims loudly that Kashmir must be merged with the Indian Union. We too want that. But it is easy to see the result of the tactics that they have adopted. It is amazing to see the references to the Jammu Praja Parishad in the Pakistani newspapers. Pakistan is aware that the Praja Parishad is making their task easier by creating dissensions in Kashmir. So you can understand why it is important to act circumspectly.

Now, there is no doubt about it that we must solve the Kashmir issue. It has become complicated because it merged into the Indian Union in an atmosphere of war and chaos. For a year and a half after that, fighting continued in Kashmir. For the last three years, though the troops are still stationed there, there has been no further fighting. But the tension persists and it is not easy to enforce law. Many of the issues are still left vague and an uneasy calm prevails. Now that the Constituent Assembly has been formed at our advice, it has become essential to consider the rights and privileges which it should enjoy. There is no doubt that Kashmir is a constituent unit of the Indian Union, of the Republic of India, and several consequences follow from that. But the points where there is a likelihood of dispute must be considered and decision arrived at. You must not forget that Kashmir is at the extreme north

and sits like a diadem of ice and snow on the map of India. You can see that it lies at the heart of Asia. India spreads from the tip of Sri Lanka and Kanya Kumari in the South to the very heart of the vast continent of Asia. There are great diversities in matters like language and the way of life of the people. In Kashmir and Ladakh, the climate is extremely cold even when it is the height of summer in the rest of the country. You can imagine what it is like in winter. People cannot live there without long boots lined with fur or wool, whether they are rich or poor. All this is part of India. How then can we hope to enforce anything by force or coercion without taking into account the different kinds of problems which exist? Ladakh and Kashmir lie on the borders of Tibet and Turkey and other countries. We cannot apply the same yardstick that obtains in Travancore, Madras or Calcutta. It is just not possible. This is not the way to run a vast country like ours. I agree that there has to be a fundamental unity in the midst of diversity. Anyhow, we are considering these issues and will find a solution in due course. Nothing can be achieved by making a noise. I have told you all this because I wanted you to understand the problem and also because there is a hue and cry about it....

On the 1st of July, I had gone to Modinagar, which lies on the road to Meerut, because that day was a memorable one for Uttar Pradesh and, in a sense, for the whole of India. As you know Uttar Pradesh is the largest province in India and constitutes one-fifth of the country. So, anyhow, it was a great day for Uttar Pradesh because after a great deal of difficulty and effort, a hundred and fifty years old system, the zamindari and talukdari systems, came to an end on this day. The population of Uttar Pradesh is six to seven crores and the majority of them are peasants. So it was a great peaceful revolution to have abolished the zamindari system and thereby liberating millions of farmers from its yoke. In other countries, revolutions have meant bloodshed and violence. The peaceful revolution which has taken place in Uttar Pradesh has occurred in other States too. It is extremely important to abolish the zamindari and talukdari systems because we cannot progress otherwise....

So you can imagine how happy I was. I felt as I did on the day India became free. That was a historic day for India and though I do not wish to compare the two, I was extremely happy to see the work of thirty-two years come to a successful end. We have taken a momentous step. Most of us often remain engrossed in petty matters. But this is a big step which will benefit millions of people. The problem of land is the most urgent one in India. All the others are secondary because millions of our people subsist on land. But the land problem is by no means settled by the abolition of zamindari, nor do we claim that we have done so. It has merely removed a very great obstacle from our path. A great burden has been lifted from the backs of the peasants. But now we have to take other steps and, if necessary, make new laws to improve the condition of the farmer. It is a very complicated question and I

cannot go into the details just now. But I am convinced that ultimately the problem can be solved only by means of cooperation. Instead of each individual working on small patches of land, if a few hundred farmers form a cooperative and work together, production will increase and everyone will stand to gain. Our goal is to increase production and improve the standard of living of the farmer. Therefore, we must adopt the method of cooperation as quickly as possible.

With the abolition of the zamindari system, more farmers have got some land. But even now, there are a few people who own large areas of land. This is a problem which has to be solved quickly. Please remember that not only in the matter of land but as a matter of principle, we want that gradually there should be greater equality among the people in all walks of life, whether they work on land or are in business, in the urban or the rural areas. Perhaps it may be difficult to bring about complete equality because ultimately everything depends on the physical and mental capacity of an individual. You cannot make everyone equal just by declaring that they are so. Those who have the intellect, physique and spirit will go very far. But everyone must get equal opportunities to progress, particularly the children, so that each one can go as far as he can. It is not so these days. I feel sad when I am touring in the countryside to see beautiful young children who are not being well cared for. They do not get education and very often there are no adequate arrangements for proper clothing and enough to eat. All this makes me sad and a little angry too for children are ultimately India's greatest treasure. I am not bothered too much about the adults but I am concerned about the young ones because they are the future of this country. There should not be a single child in India who is not properly looked after and cared for and educated. So our goal is to bring about greater equality among the people. It will be done gradually for there is no magic formula to ensure equality instantly. We will have to work hard and augment the wealth of the nation.

Anyhow, every step that we take brings us nearer to the goal. For instance, after the abolition of zamindari system in Uttar Pradesh, the State Government has passed another law imposing a ceiling on ownership of land. As far as I remember no single individual can own more than thirty acres of land in future. It is a very good rule and gradually the disparity among the farmers will be reduced.... In this connection, I would like to mention about the land legislation in Kashmir⁶ which has solved the problem of land tenure there very quickly. You will find a new light on the faces of the peasants, both Hindus and Muslims, who had been poor and down-trodden for centuries. They are unable to believe that the land is now their very own.

6. See *post*, p. 420.

However, in my opinion, what we really need is cooperation in farming. Later on the same principle can be adopted in industries and other important fields of national life.

Now, the Planning Commission has drawn up the Five Year Plan in order to ensure that there is overall development and our resources are not squandered in useless expenditure or go into the coffers of a few individuals. This is a very difficult problem because our resources are not unlimited. If we had unlimited resources at our disposal we could do what we wanted. But with limited resources, it is essential to plan our expenditure in such a way that there is overall development in the country. This is a great challenge before us.

There are innumerable tasks waiting to be done. There are various demands from every State which cannot be met immediately. Therefore, it is essential to have a list of priorities about what should be done at once and the tasks that can be taken up later. We have taken up three or four major projects which are very essential for the country but cost an enormous amount of money. One of them is the river valley schemes under which we are building huge dams on the major rivers in the country to provide water for irrigation for millions of acres of land. At the moment you will find that failure of the monsoons means drought and tremendous hardship. On the other hand, there are huge rivers and lakes in the country whose waters flow into the ocean and are thus lost to us. So it is necessary to build dams on the rivers to stop their waters so that failure of monsoons will not affect our production. The stored water is taken to the fields through canals. If we can do this on a large scale throughout India, the farmers will be freed of a very big worry....

The question of land is before the Planning Commission as also innumerable other issues like industrialization, education, and health care, because a country needs to develop in all directions. Planning implies all-round development by people in all walks of life. We cannot have one section of society racing ahead while the others remain backward. So I want to draw your attention to the plan documents brought out by the Planning Commission. These will incorporate the changes it is intended to bring about. I want you to read them. Even if you cannot read the bigger tomes, there are pamphlets published by the Planning Commission. I want you to understand the condition of India today, her strength and weaknesses, her resources and poverty, the measures being taken to remove unemployment and to augment the wealth of the nation. After all, we cannot get money from outside. We may be able to get some money as loans but that is not enough. Ultimately the wealth of a nation consists of the goods produced by the people in various ways. There are often demands from the people. But the Government has no money except what it gets by way of taxes from the people. The wealth and progress of a nation is directly proportionate to its level of production. That is a broad fact.

It cannot be more because we can do nothing if the coffers of the State are empty....

One of the biggest problems which India and China have in common is our large populations. We neither have sufficient resources nor are we industrially advanced like the countries of the West. In India we often wait for someone to supply the machines and implements before going to work. In China, you will find that though they do not have machines, they have learnt to make use of the manpower which is a great resource. They have utilized it to build dams and other things without too much heavy machinery. This is something that we can easily learn from them.

I want to draw your attention to all this because you will learn what is the right path for us to follow and realize that no matter how many laws the Government may pass or what plans the Planning Commission draws up, ultimately progress cannot gather momentum unless the millions in the country participate in the task. It is not possible to achieve our goals by official orders and fiat. There can be progress only when the people themselves take up these tasks with the help of the Government. Take a very small thing like roads. We have very few good roads in the rural areas. We do not have sufficient number of wells and schools and other essentials of life. If the Government tried to build roads all over the country it will cost as much as a thousand crore or more. Where is that money to come from? On the other hand, if the people in the villages got together and decided to build roads, the task can be completed at far less cost and a great problem can be solved with ease....

I have been speaking for over an hour and not said anything about the world situation.... As you are aware there is a war going on in Korea and at the same time there is talk of peace too. It is a strange situation. For the last one year, both sides have been engaged in talks to decide how to declare truce and bring about an armistice. While the peace talks were going on, we suddenly got reports, a week or ten days ago, that the big power installations on the Manchurian border had been bombarded and razed to the ground.⁷ It was a great shock especially as we seemed to be going in the direction of truce and peace. When suddenly something like this happens, hopes of peace recede. It disturbed us. There is grave danger of an escalation of war. It is for the men in the army to fight and win wars. But when the decision to make peace or war rests with them, there is grave danger of escalation of war. It seems as if the United Nations and the whole world will be engulfed in the war. We are living in a world which can get caught in a major conflagration. The only thing that prevents it is the fact that everyone is afraid of war and wants peace. It is only a few mad men who are obsessed with thoughts of

7. See *post*, p. 545.

war. But whether we want it or not, the world lives on a razor's edge and one wrong step could lead to disaster. This is the situation in the world today.

Our foreign policy has been based on the principle of world peace for I am becoming more and more convinced as time goes by that there is nothing more disastrous than war between the Great Powers. War solves nothing except that it brings great ruin upon the nations. It is obvious that if there is an attack on India, we must fight in order to defend our country. We cannot keep quiet then. But I am convinced that war can solve nothing. In this dangerous world in which we live today, we have to make arrangements for the country's defence, and maintain an army, a navy and an air force. But ultimately it is not the army, navy or air force which will save the country though they help. Ultimately it is only our courage, unity and wisdom which can save us.

Therefore we once again come to the conclusion that we must do our duty to the country without getting into political squabbles. We must look at things in a broad world perspective and keep the forces which create disunity and barriers among the people at bay. If we are able to grasp this fully, we will progress very fast and ultimately nothing can harm us—not even any external danger including war. *Jai Hind*.

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

I. Planning and Resources

(i) General

1. To Gulzarilal Nanda¹

New Delhi
April 22, 1952

My dear Gulzarilal,²

... I confess that I feel more and more that we are always thinking in terms of money and far less of men. We seem to be getting more and more tied up materially with the concept of money and rather ignoring human beings.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. He was the Union Minister for Planning at this time.

2. Mobilization of Manpower¹

We have talked about planning for a long time and we have produced a draft Five Year Plan.² That Plan will presumably be finalized in the course of some weeks. Everyone recognizes now the necessity for planning and tries to utilize our resources to the best advantage.

We can, to some extent, measure our resources, or most of them. But it is very difficult to measure the biggest of these resources that we have, that is, manpower, and that psychology which makes people work for great ends. Unless we utilize this manpower and unless we can produce that temper in our people which laughs at difficulties and gets things done, sometimes, in spite of facts, we cannot achieve anything really big.

Therefore we have to look to our people, go to them, talk and discuss with them and work with them. We must function as comrades in a common task, as partners in a joint undertaking. We may have to teach them something but we have much to learn from them also. So we should go to them not with pride of knowledge but in humility of spirit and with the intense desire to

1. Foreword written on 25 April 1952 to a pamphlet, *Bharat Sevak Samaj*, published by the Planning Commission on 22 June 1952. File No. 40(244)/52-PMS.

2. The National Planning Commission published on 9 July 1951 a draft outline of the First Five Year Plan to facilitate the widest possible public discussion on its proposals.

bring about, with our common labour, that joint effort which can shake and break up a mountain of inertia.

The proposal to start an organization, to be called the Bharat Sevak Samaj,³ has this in view. It is an ambitious task and we want men and women with high ambition for it—not the ambition for the little and personal things of life but the ambition to serve great causes, forgetting oneself, and achieve great ends.

This is not a political organization, even though I, a politician, commend it. It is meant for every able-bodied man and woman, whatever his or her view might be on other topics.

3. Conceived by the Planning Commission as an agency for enlisting people's cooperation and participation in the implementation of the national plans, the Bharat Sevak Samaj was established in 1952 with its membership open to all adults irrespective of caste, creed, sex, religion or party affiliations.

3. Planning for Development¹

I have, in common with other members of the Planning Commission, given frequent thought to the general background and future scope of our planning. I have been troubled by the apparent fact that, in spite of every effort of ours, at the end of five years we remain more or less static. It has often been said that this is not an inspiring prospect and we can hardly get the people to become enthusiastic about it.

2. Apart from this, even in the present, there is a feeling that we are continually on the defensive and trying to avoid the blows of untoward circumstances. We hardly get the initiative in our hands. We have had ill fortune in regard to many matters, such as bad harvests, droughts, etc.² Our record in this respect during the last few years has been peculiarly bad and yet, to some extent, we may expect this to happen in future also. Are we then

1. Note to Members of the Planning Commission, 16 May 1952. File No. 17(200)/50-PMS.
2. A series of natural disasters in 1950 caused widespread crop failures in most of the States leading to loss of millions of tons of foodgrains. Bihar suffered heavily from unseasonal rains and floods, and in Madras, the monsoons failed for the fourth consecutive year, while in Assam a large part of the rice crop was destroyed by earthquake and floods. Considerable damage to crops was caused in Bombay by drought and locusts, in Uttar Pradesh, by floods, and in West Bengal, by storms.

to be compelled to remain on the defensive all the time? The defensive never inspires and gives a handle to our opponents and even to many of our friends who are not satisfied with things as they are. What is, perhaps, even more depressing is the thought that we are functioning in some kind of a vicious circle, and it may become more and more difficult for us to get out of it. We cannot go ahead because of circumstances and circumstances will not change until we go ahead. From the financial point of view, we rely on external help to pull us out of this vicious circle. External help is certainly to be taken and used to the best advantage. But, even apart from certain political consequences that might flow from it (and they cannot wholly be avoided), the real test is how far this help gets us out of that psychologically defensive atmosphere that surrounds us. I think it can help in that process, for instance, in the community schemes. Nevertheless, taken as a whole, it is apt to make us a little more dependent and a little less self-reliant, and, if at any stage that external help lessens or is stopped, then we are faced immediately with considerable difficulties.

3. This does not mean that we should not take external help. But I do think that that help, however much it may be, does not get us out of that vicious circle. Ultimately we can only do that by some internal effort of our own.

4. It is clear that we must have more production. Everything depends upon that. But production must ultimately depend upon consumption, and we arrive at a stage when, as our production goes up, our capacity for consuming it goes down, or our purchasing power as a whole grows less. This inevitably stops or hinders production. In fact one of the major difficulties we have to face today is this lack of purchasing power in our people. We deal with this also in a defensive way by starting some petty works or famine relief in scarcity areas. That lessens the distress there somewhat, but it does not really give them much scope for going ahead. We have plenty of food in the country, but people suffer from lack of power to purchase it. Because of this we either give it out in doles to the weak, the aged or children, or provide some kind of temporary relief works after the famine pattern. This gets over, to a slight extent, the immediate difficulty. But the major fact remains that the purchasing power has been shrinking and nothing much has been done to increase it.

5. Apart from the economic consequences of this shrinkage, there are social consequences also which can be played upon by many people and are indeed being exploited. But the main consideration is how we can get out of this circle and increase our production and, at the same time, purchasing power. It is clear that production will not go ahead till the purchasing power also does not increase, and this means the purchasing power of large numbers of small people and not merely a handful of the richer people.

6. All this leads to the conclusion that it is essential somehow to have widespread productive works in which a large number of people are employed and thus gain purchasing power. Our capacity for such productive works is limited by our budgets and financial condition. How could we get over this difficulty? Other countries have faced it, although it is not fair to make comparisons with other and differently placed countries. Also in a period of slump or depression a certain policy might be pursued which may be dangerous at another time. In the USA, President Roosevelt, when he first came to power, had to face a very severe crisis due to depression. He started his New Deal³ which essentially was large-scale productive works to give people employment and purchasing power. In several other countries also, apart from any depression, this kind of approach, though on a smaller scale, took place. There appears to be no way out, except to have this approach. It may involve a departure from orthodox financial methods. It may also involve some risk. But the risks of not doing some such thing appear to me to be far greater. Indeed, these other risks can hardly be called risks; they are almost certainties unless we can hold them in check and overcome them. In war one takes great risks, because one must, and there is no other way. One lives on the next generation. In any productive drive on a large scale in peace time, however, we are building up wealth and not destroying it as in war. Therefore, we are not really living on the future. Such a risk is far less than the risks involved in war time and far more profitable. The situation we have to face is, in a sense, as serious as any war situation and we should look upon it, therefore, from a special point of view and not allow ourselves to remain in very orthodox, set grooves of thought.

7. We talk a great deal about rousing popular enthusiasm, encouraging voluntary labour and the like. That is desirable. But even that can only take place if a big push is given by the State in the shape of widespread productive works. By itself, a purely voluntary appeal will not go far. The conclusion, therefore, is that something in the nature of President Roosevelt's New Deal, or whatever it may be called, involving our pushing in a lot of purchasing power in the people through productive works, is essential. The alternative to it is to remain static and even perhaps become stagnant. If we attack this

3. The New Deal, initiated in 1933 by Franklin D. Roosevelt, was an attempt to plan the economy without resort to nationalization. It aimed at raising prices, stimulating employment, relieving distress by both direct and indirect relief and conserving natural resources. The Tennessee Valley Authority was one of the important projects executed under this programme.

problem by having these widespread and large-scale productive works all over the country, we help in reducing unemployment, both middle-class and other, put more purchasing power in the hands of the public, add to production and generally make the wheels of industry go round smoothly. We produce a new psychological atmosphere in the country, one of aggressive and forward action instead of one of timid defence.

8. If this is admitted, the question that remains is how one is to do it. Insofar as external help comes, well and good. But external help does not produce that atmosphere which we want. In fact, it may actually make us less inclined to face our problem squarely and produce a sense of lassitude and lack of effort. We have to rely on our own resources. These resources have been carefully calculated by the Planning Commission and we must accept their conclusions. Nevertheless, I feel that this country is full of latent and potential wealth, if only we can get at it. Once we start the process of exploiting that wealth by our labour, we produce more wealth. I feel that there is enough money even in the country only if we can reach it. We cannot reach it by the orthodox methods of floating Government loans. We have to apply other methods, such as other countries do. We have to reach a different class of the public and they must be given some greater incentive than the average government loans give. I do not mean a money incentive, but some other incentive connected with the development of the country or their own particular area. This would make a special appeal to many people. But this can only be done by the right kind of propaganda, and not through official agency which will inevitably move through its same old grooves.

9. I feel that we can raise more money in the country and in considerable sums if there is push and energy and enthusiasm and a definite objective. Apart from this, I think, it might be worthwhile to investigate other methods of releasing popular work and energy. These methods might be unorthodox, but they might still produce results. Productive work produces wealth. We may find some way of recognizing that wealth and paying for it in some kind of bonds or the like. I am very vague here because my mind is not clear. But I feel that some such approach is possible and should be investigated.

10. Of course, there is the obvious way of printing money. That is dangerous, though to some extent and with adequate care it might be employed within limits. Even that ceases to be dangerous if it is employed in producing wealth.

11. I have ventured to put down some rather vague ideas which others might develop. I realize that these subjects cannot be thought of vaguely and every aspect has to be considered with care. But I realize even more that a timid approach by us to our major problems is probably the greatest risk that we can run in present circumstances. A certain boldness in outlook has become essential, even though that might involve some risk.

4. To C.V. Raman¹

New Delhi
June 2, 1952

My dear Dr Raman,²

Thank you for your letter of the 26th May.³ I have read it carefully more than once. With some of the things you have expressed in it, there can be no disagreement. Indeed any opinion that you express about scientific matters is deserving of respect.

It is not clear to me, however, what you are disturbed about. As a Government we have come up repeatedly against the difficulty of having no proper statistics about the most vital matters. For instance, food. During the past few years, we have not known at all, even approximately, what our food production is. This applies to other matters too. The result is that the policies we frame are not based on real data.

In our Planning Commission we have come up against this difficulty again and again. Naturally it was our desire to improve the collection and organization of statistical data in regard to important matters especially. Without this our policies foundered. We found that the statistics we had collected in Government departments were not only defective, but totally uncoordinated with each other. There was wastage too and overlapping. Their defect often lay in the fact that the ultimate person who supplied information was wholly untrained and unreliable for this purpose. Thus, in food it was the village *patwari* who made some wild guesses or who just deliberately gave wrong information, possibly to please his superior. Provincial Governments based their figures on the *patwari*'s figures and tended to make out that their need for Central assistance was very great.

A curious instance of this occurred early last year. State Food Ministers with their officials came here in February last and their demands totalled up to over eight million tons for imported foodgrains this year. It was manifestly impossible to get this from abroad. Indeed, it was not available all over the world, and if it was available, we could not spend our entire revenue in trying to get it.

1. JN Collection.
2. C.V. Raman was President, Indian Academy of Sciences, Bangalore, at the time.
3. Raman criticized the recent practice of entrusting the National Sample Survey (NSS) with the collection of statistical data by survey techniques for all the departments. He thought an organization like the NSS, divorced from the departmental set-up, would be handicapped by the lack of ready advice from experts in the field; besides the task of evolving suitable survey techniques for the diverse types of statistics was too enormous for the NSS. He suggested that a close liaison between the statisticians and experts in different fields would yield better results.

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

On closer examination this total was repeatedly reduced till we arrived at the figure of 4,600,000 tons. Firm orders were placed for this. A little later we were told by the States that they did not want so much. We could not cancel all our contracts. All we could do was to cancel the contract for 600,000 tons. Four million remained and are coming in gradually. Now States inform us that they will not require even that. In fact they are not likely to take much more than two million or so. Thus, because of wrong calculation and statistics, they have put us in a difficult position.

It is not possible for us to make a complete survey of the food production in India independently of the States. We did have sample surveys made in several places and they gave us, as we found, much more accurate results, which were at variance with the State figures.

This is one instance. In other matters too we have had this difficulty. Some three years ago or more we felt that there must be greater coordination at the Centre and we started a Central Statistical Organization, the main purpose of which was to bring about this coordination and to advise. It was not supposed to interfere with the work of any separate department except to the extent of coordinating it with others. With some practice we found that an even greater coordination was desirable. Each department of Government contains its own experts for this purpose. But we have tried to put them in line with each other so that they may not work independently of each other.

So far as special surveys are concerned, we have tried the sampling method and this has, for the first time, yielded us much better results than we have had previously. Other methods are not precluded. But in these large Central surveys we have found that these other methods do not yield results, chiefly because of the lack of trained personnel. My own impression has been that the sampling method has been adopted by numerous Governments and is generally recognized to be a very good method. Apart from this, it is the only method available to us with our resources in trained personnel, etc. Statistics conferences here have, I believe, supported this idea. This does not exclude other methods in any special department of research.

I do not therefore quite understand what the difficulties are to which you draw attention. If you will be good enough to give me some examples, I will have them looked into. It is clear that a medical statistician cannot replace one engaged in agriculture, but it is equally clear that both a medical statistician and the one engaged in agriculture must be competent statisticians or must have the advice of a competent expert in statistical method. As you know, each science tends to become more and more specialized.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Deficit Financing¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: ... Let us now go on to some other subject: deficit financing. I just do not understand why there is so much argument about it.² To say that deficit financing is good has no meaning for me; to say that it is bad has equally no meaning for me. The question is, in certain circumstances, how far we can go with safety, without upsetting our various plans, schemes, etc. It is a matter of calculation. There are limits to everything. In a certain set of circumstances you can go so far, and in another set of circumstances you cannot. The whole point is, the price level must not go up. One takes risks here and there. Naturally we want money for education and all manner of things and want to find it. But we are not going to do anything in the nature of deficit financing which might lead to inflation and high prices, etc. So that it is not a question of yes or no. We have to examine each of these things in a particular context and see how far we can do it, but we take no risks whatever in regard to the basic things, that is, rise in prices due to inflationary movements or otherwise.

Question: Does your statement mean that you admit that there has been a gradual deterioration in the economic conditions and the employment situation? Or is it merely to finance capital projects? Could you give us an idea?

JN: Deficit financing means one of two things. One is, raising money by loan, internal or external: that is, not out of revenues. The other is, printing money. Printing money is a dangerous expedient, beyond certain limits. Those limits have to be observed. As to raising loans, we are perfectly prepared to raise loans here and there. On the one hand, generally I think the economic situation in the country is on the whole better than it has been. At the same time there is no doubt that there is large-scale unemployment and, in many areas, lack of purchasing power. Now, purchasing power can normally be given only by productive work. They have to produce something. All these things have to be undertaken. There are, however, certain limitations. We cannot go beyond

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 21 June 1952. PIB. Extracts. For other parts of the press conference, see *post*, pp. 76-80, 144-145, 169-170, 352-353, 405-410, 466-467, 476-477, 515, 542-544 and 580-582.
2. There was much speculation following a disclosure in Parliament by A.K. Azad on 16 June 1952 that the broader question of deficit budgeting in order to find adequate funds for social services and nation-building work, such as education, was being considered by the Planning Commission.

limits without upsetting the apple cart. That is dangerous. It is important that the unemployed shall have work; there should be more production, instead of their energies being wasted. At the same time, if one tried to go too far in that direction without resources to back it, then the whole structure might be affected by it. It is a question of balancing things. Obviously unemployment in the country is unhealthy not only from the individual's point of view but from the larger social point of view, and any basic policy must aim at removing unemployment. But this problem in India, like other problems, is huge. We can tackle it. It will take us a little time, and ultimately with more production, more people will come in.

Q: You referred to resources in relation to deficit financing. I think you had the potential resources of the country in mind. May I explain? Supposing you want to fix a target of production, for two years you can back up that production with printing money, provided you were sure you would get twenty per cent more after five or ten years.

JN: No, you cannot wait for five or ten years. Meanwhile, much might happen that would upset it. Suppose prices rise. That might affect the production target. Suppose we are spending rupees ten crores over some scheme, and that ten crores become twenty crores, and similarly all over; then we are back again where we are, with this additional liability. Therefore, one cannot rely on future production. You can rely to some extent on immediate production or nearby production, something which will yield results; the nearer it is, the safer it is; the more distant it is, the more dangerous it is. But, as I said, it is not a question of yes or no; it is a question of balancing all these factors, taking some risks some time, but never taking undue risks.

Q: Calculated risk?

JN: Calculated risk, so that we control the situation if it becomes adverse.

Q: Has the level of production in the country gone up sufficiently high to allow you to take a certain amount of risk in deficit financing?

JN: Those are questions which you should put to the Planning Commission or the Finance Minister. I am not functioning here as Chairman of the Planning Commission. It is a complicated question. But the level of production has gone up. To what extent it allows you to take those risks is a matter again of calculation. There are so many factors to be considered—economic factors are important, and political factors come into the picture, and the human factor too. Suppose there is a famine somewhere. Now, the economic argument can

stop us from going to the help of those people because of the risk of deficit financing, etc. But you have to go and help the people who are starving. All these human, psychological factors have to be considered and balanced in the result.

Q: Would not the fact that our national income is now about 6,000 or 7,000 crores affect the issue?

JN: As I said, you must ask this question of the Planning Commission. Apart from the national income, there are other factors, such as a slump, inflationary period, deflationary period, international factors, national factors, etc. You cannot judge it by one factor alone....

Q: Is there going to be any basic change in the Five Year Plan due to the opposition of the Parliamentary Party regarding the land problem and the Communist problem?

JN: The Congress Parliamentary Party has not considered this question.

Q: Is there any committee?

JN: The Planning Commission is considering the whole report *de novo* in the light of the criticisms received in the course of last year, written and otherwise. They are giving a great deal of thought to it. In regard to land, we have had consultations repeatedly. In fact, only two days ago I asked the Chief Ministers³ to send me their views about the various suggestions in regard to land, a comparatively difficult question. In regard to land we have two approaches in view. One is social justice. The other is that production should not suffer. Both are important. If in getting social justice, production suffers, then social justice itself founders. On the other hand, more production without social justice will create social difficulties, so that we have to balance the two. It is not an easy matter and conditions in different States differ; they are not the same. We may have uniform objectives but the methods should be somewhat different in different States. It is a complicated problem. We are conferring, we will confer again. I am afraid the final report of the Planning Commission might be delayed somewhat, not very much but till July or thereabouts. We wanted to do it earlier.

3. In fact, Nehru wrote to the Chief Ministers on 20 June 1952. See *post*, pp. 89-90.

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION**I. Planning and Resources****(ii) Natural Resources**

1. Bhakra-Nangal Project¹

I was very glad to visit Bhakra-Nangal and to see the progress made there.² I am not an engineer and cannot, therefore, give any proper appraisal of the work done. But it was impressive, more specially the two big tunnels that are being made, the left and right diversion of the Sutlej river. These great tunnels, I was told, were entirely the work of the Indian engineers. I think they deserve credit for this.

2. A leading American construction engineer, Slocombe, will soon be joining Bhakra-Nangal. I hope that work will proceed rapidly and harmoniously so that results may come as soon as possible.

3. I was struck by the workshop that has been erected for repairs, etc. This is on a big scale. Previous to my going to Bhakra-Nangal, two points had been mentioned to me. One was that the wear and tear of the big machinery that we had imported from abroad, specially the earth-moving machinery, had been very considerable both at Hirakud and the Bhakra. In fact that some of these machines had been almost ruined for lack of proper care. I enquired into this and was told that there had been a great improvement in recent months, chiefly due to this workshop. If we are to use big machinery, as we must where it is unavoidable, we can only use it to advantage if we can keep it in proper order and get the best work out of it. There is a tendency in India to treat machinery carelessly and harshly. I hope that this tendency will be fought against and there will be frequent overhauls. Engineers who keep their machines in good order should be specially commended.

4. The second point that was mentioned to me is that while there was a surplus sometimes of some machines or spare parts in one place, there was lack of them elsewhere and fresh orders were often issued for their purchase. There should of course be coordination in this and overlapping and wastage should be avoided.

5. Ever since the formation of the Bhakra Control Board,³ work has been speedier and more satisfactory. Probably this was due to better coordination and less delay in coming to decisions. There has been too much argument in the past about basic matters of policy and as to the division of responsibility. Also as to whether the work should be entrusted to foreign contractors or not.

1. Note to the Minister of States, Government of Punjab and the Planning Commission, Mashobra, 4 April 1952. File No. 17(59)/48-PMS.
2. Nehru visited Bhakra-Nangal on 2 April 1952.
3. The Bhakra Control Board constituted in September 1950 had the overall charge of taking decisions on all matters of a technical and financial nature.

I suppose the experience gained during the last few years by our engineers enables us to decide these points, insofar as they need decisions now, without much difficulty.

6. I am rather worried about one matter. This is the compensation to be given to those peasants and farmers and others who are going to be displaced by the formation of the lake. This lake will ultimately cover a great part of what used to be Bilaspur state.⁴ Even next year about thirty-five villages will have to be evacuated. Later a much larger number will be involved. It is natural for the persons to be displaced to feel sore about it and every effort has to be made to give them land elsewhere.

7. I am told that nothing has been done in this connection yet. It will be unfortunate if the whole scheme is hung up next year because of any delay in deciding this matter, or in the alternative the people are pushed out without any new arrangement being made for them.

8. Most of the people involved are agriculturists and they want land and not money. There is some talk of land being given to them in Rajasthan. Rajasthan will not suit them at all. They are used to a hill climate and being sent to a semi-desert area will make things very difficult for them. As far as possible, therefore, they should be provided land in hilly areas or at any rate somewhere not too far from the hills. Parts in the Punjab or Himachal Pradesh or Pepsu might be suitable. I understand that there is a possibility of some land being available round about Chamba.

9. The Punjab Government probably thinks that it is not directly concerned with this matter because the people involved come from Bilaspur and yet the primary responsibility should be that of the Punjab. It is immaterial however as to who is primarily or secondarily responsible because all those concerned with the Bhakra Project, including the Central Government, are responsible.

10. I hope that the Ministry of States will take the lead in this matter and try to solve it in cooperation with the other Government concerned as early as possible.

4. The total area expected to be submerged in the Bhakra dam reservoir was 30,204 acres in the former Bilaspur state and 4,935 acres in the Punjab.

2. To C.D. Deshmukh¹

New Delhi
June 23, 1952

My dear Deshmukh,²

The work of the Atomic Energy Commission³ is shrouded in secrecy. I try to keep in touch with it and get reports from time to time. I do not know how else we can proceed in this matter. As far as I can make out, they are making good progress, both scientifically and to some extent industrially. The Commission is keeping in touch with the Atomic Energy Commissions of the UK, the USA, France and Switzerland. We have something valuable to give them in the shape of material, in exchange for know-how, etc. In this way we have gone ahead. The geological section of the Commission has done very good work in finding out atomic minerals and other rare minerals in various parts of India. Both uranium and beryl have been discovered.

Cooperation with a French society which deals with rare earths has yielded substantial results. A company, known as the Indian Rare Earths Limited, jointly owned by the Governments of India and Travancore-Cochin, will soon begin processing monazite. Probably I shall go to Alwaye to give a start to this factory in a few weeks' time.⁴ This Alwaye factory has already made some profit. It is estimated that the annual profit will be Rs 31 lakhs on a called-up capital of Rs 80 lakhs. Its work can be extended still further.

The Commission have presented to me a fairly long and detailed report of their work. Part of this is rather technical. They have given a summary of the report also. I am sending you a copy of this summary⁵ which will give you some idea of what they have done and what they intended to do. I can send you the full report also, but I do not want copies made of it.

A number of questions arise about their future work. From various points of view this work of atomic energy is of great importance. We are not going to make atomic bombs. That is completely beyond our competence and our resources and indeed we do not want them. But atomic energy is likely to be the great source of power in the future. Even now it is used to some extent as a supplier of power in the USA. They are even using it in their submarines

1. JN Collection.
2. The Union Finance Minister at this time.
3. The Atomic Energy Commission was constituted in 1948, with H.J. Bhabha as chairman and K.S. Krishnan and S.S. Bhatnagar as members. Its functions included: (1) location of useful minerals in the country necessary for producing atomic energy; (2) promotion of research in the Commission's own laboratories and teaching and research in Nuclear Physics in universities and other institutions; and (3) protection of the country's interests in atomic energy.
4. The factory was opened by Nehru at Alwaye, near Ernakulam, on 24 December 1952.
5. Not printed.

apart from other uses. There is no doubt that in the course of the next few years its use will increase and probably the cost of its production will become considerably cheaper. For us its great importance lies in its civil use as power. A country, like India, which is poor in power supply, has much greater need of atomic energy than the USA. We can use atomic energy to supply power in distant places, such as Rajasthan, fairly cheaply.

In any event, atomic energy is likely to influence all kinds of developments in the future and any country that wants to take advantage of these new sources of power and energy should keep itself abreast of work in atomic energy. We cannot of course rival the big countries but it so happens that we have some very able atomic energy scientists who might succeed in producing adequate results. We propose to get these results in cooperation with other countries who require something that we possess in exchange. It was by following this method that we got something important out of the French atomic energy people. There is a likelihood of our associating ourselves more closely with Switzerland in this matter because they want some uranium and are prepared to help us in other ways. So also the UK and possibly the USA.

The question then is how we should develop this work in the future. It becomes in fact a part of our Five Year Plan and we have to provide for it. In the summary that I am attaching, you will see the budget estimates for the next four years which the Atomic Energy Commission has sent me. These are worked out in greater detail in their fuller report.

You will remember that we allotted to them about Rs one crore three years ago. They have now more or less gone through this. The expenditure estimated for the next four years goes up from Rs 92 lakhs in 1953-54 to Rs 174 lakhs in 1956-57. This is a substantial sum from our point of view although it is about a thousandth part of what the USA is spending on atomic energy development.

This rising expenditure is chiefly caused by the proposal to build up what is called a reactor. This reactor is the basis for atomic energy work. It is not I might mention, a pile, which is used ultimately to make atomic bombs and the like. The reactor is estimated to cost Rs 130 lakhs and of this sum as much as Rs 100 lakhs is the cost of what is called heavy water. Heavy water is produced from ordinary water by a very large expenditure on electric power. Where electric power is cheap and abundant, it can be produced. In India electric power is neither cheap nor abundant and any attempt to produce it would involve us in far heavier expenditure. Indeed we have not got the electric power for it. Therefore we have to get it from other countries, probably Norway, and it is a very costly affair. As a matter of fact even now new processes are being tried, specially in Switzerland, which will reduce the cost of heavy water very greatly.

Anyhow, from the point of view of the Planning Commission, we should

have some idea of how much we may have to spend on this. It may be the same mentioned in the estimate given in the summary or possibly considerably less, if the new process succeeds. It is therefore important that the Planning Commission considers this matter and makes provision for it.

Immediately, if we decide to go in for this we shall have to take some steps. These steps would involve some direct contracts with other Atomic Energy Commissions and some understandings with them. Probably some person will have to go to Italy, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland. He might also have to investigate the US position and how far we can get help from them. A fairly quick decision is needed to set this machinery in motion.

The Atomic Energy Commission is an ad hoc body carrying on from year to year. The result is that appointments by the Commission have to be from year to year and it is difficult to get competent scientists on this yearly basis. At least a five year term ought to be given to them. It is desirable therefore that we consider the Commission to be a more or less permanent body and permit them to give a five year contract to some (not all) principal scientific workers.

The work of scientific workers is rather peculiar. It is not routine work. A bright individual with initiative and vision might go far and do extraordinarily useful work. Another person might simply plod on. Hence it is necessary not to follow the normal service rules of promotion, etc., but to judge by sheer merit and work done. Presumably the only persons who can do this are those who are competent to do so, that is, the members of the Commission.

In the summary a proposal is made that the Commission should be given the powers of a commercial department of Government. Apparently what they mean is that the income they make should be credited to them or with them. That simply means really that any grant that we give them will have to take into consideration the income. Ultimately they will get the same sum. Their income during the next few years is likely to be between rupees 40 lakhs and rupees 50 lakhs a year. This can be increased if we are prepared to sell some of the rare minerals. We want to go rather slow about this and only to sell them in exchange for not only money but secret processes and cooperation with other Atomic Energy Commissions.

I have given you some brief idea of the work of the Atomic Energy Commission and its future. I should like you to read the full report later. We have to come to some early decision about the steps I have indicated above. Also the Planning Commission has to put it in its own picture of the plan.

I am sending a copy of this letter and of the summary to Gulzarilal Nanda. I do not propose to send these papers to any one else.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To Gulzarilal Nanda¹

New Delhi
June 24, 1952

My dear Gulzarilal,

I had a long interview with Dr D.N. Wadia, the Geological Adviser to the Government of India. He was very worried. He said that the mineral policy laid down by Government some four years ago was not being implemented and each Ministry did what it chose. The Planning Commission apparently attached little importance to our minerals and dealt with them rather casually, although they are of the highest importance from many points of view. He was the Geological Adviser to the Government but his advice was seldom sought by anybody.

According to him India has minerals of world importance, and in regard to five minerals India is almost or is likely to be soon in a dominating position. She is likely to become the principal iron supply centre for a large part of the world. These five important minerals are: iron ore, manganese, mica, ilmenite and monazite. Bauxite we have, of course, in plenty. There is no scarcity of bauxite elsewhere.

Ilmenite is rapidly becoming very important as a source of titanium which is said to be the metal of the future. These great resources that we possess can be converted into wealth. Thus far we have hardly benefited much from our underground potential wealth. We only think constantly of the things we lack, such as petroleum, sulphur and non-ferrous metals.

The only real progress, he said, that we are making was in regard to the atomic minerals which are in charge of the Atomic Energy Commission. Our young men working there have done very fine work.

He told me much else about the possibility of our finding petroleum in Cutch and Rajputana, etc.

It seems to me that we are far too cautious in our estimates and far too reluctant to use our minerals or export even though we have plenty of them.² We talk about our deficits and about the lack of money for plans, etc. But we do not think enough of how we can exploit our minerals better.

The more I think of it the more I feel that the Planning Commission lacks the scientific and technical outlook. The world elsewhere is more and more run by technical men, engineers, scientists, etc.; more specially are great development schemes run by such people. We still think that it is the

1. File No. 17(4)/47-PMŚ.

2. Wadia noted on 16 June 1952 that a judiciously guided export trade in iron ore, manganese, mica, ilmenite and monazite would preclude the possibility of a slump resulting from increase in such exports as feared by the Planning Commission.

administrator that counts with no specialized knowledge. Elsewhere the administrator has very much of a second place.

I feel also that the Planning Commission tend to develop rather on the old Government of India lines. We talk about harnessing public enthusiasm, but our methods are such and involve so much delay that enthusiasm fades away. Perhaps it is not the fault of the Planning Commission but of the rest of the Government of India. I have just had an instance. Parmar³ of Himachal Pradesh is meeting with great enthusiasm all over the State and large numbers of people are offering their voluntary labour for roads, buildings, schools, etc. He has been informed, however, that he must not spend any sum exceeding rupees 25,000 without getting sanction for each step. That means that he has to report to the States Ministry, which considers the matter in a leisurely way and reports to the Finance Ministry. They then consider it. The Planning Commission has got also to be consulted. Gradually the process is reversed and notes, etc., go back to the various Ministries. In the course of five or six months the final sanction trickles through. Meanwhile, of course, the season has changed, the people who wanted to do the job have gone home and all enthusiasm has ended. It becomes more difficult to rouse them again. To make a road, it is estimated that one mile costs one lakh of rupees. If the sanction is to be taken for every twenty-five thousand rupees spent that road making will proceed in bits and will start with long intervals.⁴

The Himachal Pradesh Government is one of our best in many ways and is full of enthusiasm. It disheartens one to see that enthusiasm coming up against the blank wall of our routine procedures.

As regards the mineral policy, etc., I think that we should have a meeting of representatives of the Ministries concerned as well as of the Planning Commission. The Ministries would be Commerce and Industry, NR & SR, and Production. I am asking the Cabinet Secretary⁵ to fix up some meeting. I should like to be present.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Y.S. Parmar was the Chief Minister of Himachal Pradesh at this time.
4. C.D. Deshmukh, however, clarified to Nehru on 25 June 1952 that fresh sanction was not required for each individual item of expenditure in respect of any development scheme included in the Five Year Plan and once approved by the Central Government.
5. N.R. Pillai.

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

I. Planning and Resources

(iii) Community Projects

1. Community Projects¹

It all depends how you and I and all of us approach this question to consider which you have gathered here. Is it just another scheme² of the many schemes—good schemes—that we have in which we shall do our day's work and leave the rest to consequences or is it something more than that? Is it something which you will direct from above as Administrator,³ Development Commissioners, Central Committee, Planning Commission and so on and so forth or is it something in which you will succeed in unleashing forces down below which come right up from our people and do that work? Forces unleashed without definite aims and without proper coordination sometimes may yield good results, sometimes bad. A good lead from the top and a good organization from the top is obviously necessary and essential and yet it may be completely useless unless those forces are released from below.

Sometimes I begin to suspect and become a little afraid of these leads from the top that we, including me, are always giving. We have got into the habit of doling out good advice to everybody, to the country, to our people. Nevertheless, my own experience has shown that people who give too much advice are not liked. They irritate. At any rate, it does not conduce, as they would like to, to the good of others or other activities. That is to say, if we function too much from the top without adequate foundations and without that intimate relation with the lower rungs and the foundation itself, we can hardly achieve any great thing. We will achieve something, of course. So the problem becomes one of how to bring about a union of these two elements.

Obviously it is necessary to plan, to direct, to organize and to coordinate, but it is even more necessary to create conditions when spontaneous growth from below is possible and can take place. I wonder if this community scheme is something which is likely to bring about that union, that combination of the top with others—not in the sense of something superior. By top, I mean those who guide; the organizers and the others are those millions who will participate

1. Inaugural speech at the Community Projects Conference, New Delhi, 7 May 1952. PIB. The conference was attended by Cabinet Ministers, Ministers and officials from various States and officials of the community projects scheme and the US Technical Cooperation Administration.
2. The community projects aimed at the intensive development of the resources in selected areas, notably by increasing agricultural production, fostering social education, improving the health of the rural population and introducing new skills and occupations. The programme was provided with financial assistance by the Indo-American Technical Cooperation Fund.
3. S.K. Dey was the Administrator of the community projects scheme.

in it. In fact, ultimately there should be no top and no gradations like this. Properly speaking, I should imagine that even the lead, even the organizational lead, should be tossed about like a ball from what is the top to what might be called bottom, if you like; that is to say, even the inception of the community projects should be considered wherever possible by the people who are most affected by it.

It is not good enough often to sit in our chambers and decide everything according to what we consider is the good of the people. I think the people themselves should be given the opportunity to think about it and thus they will affect our thinking as we affect their thinking. In this way, something much more integrated and living is produced, something in which there is a sense of intimate partnership—intimate partnership not in the doing of the job, but in the making of the job, in the thinking of the job. It is true that those of us or those of you who are more trained, who have given more thought to the problem and might be considered to some extent especially suited to that kind of work, are better qualified for thinking out and giving that lead and you do so, but it is equally important that those who may not be specialists but for whom you are working and who ultimately are supposed to work it themselves, unless they feel that mental urge, that trace of the creative spirit in them to think and act, they will not work in the way that we all want to work.

I do consider that the scheme of community projects is something of very great importance not merely because you can sum up and write down on paper the material achievements of such a project which I hope will be considerable and good—all the additional food grown, the houses built, schools and dispensaries, better roads, tanks, wells and so on. You can make a list of them and it is pleasing to see that list, but somehow my mind gropes beyond that list to the man, woman or child behind it. The house may be good, but it is the builder of the house that counts ultimately, not the house or even the occupant of the house. Therefore, it is to the builder my mind goes and we want to make the people of India all builders. So this scheme of community projects appears to me to be something of vital importance not only in terms of the material achievements that it would bring about, but much more so because these projects seek to build up the community and the individual and make the latter a builder not only of his own village centre but, in the larger sense, of India.

Now, how are you going to proceed about it? Naturally, not by vague talk and discussion. One cannot have these plans without a very great deal of careful discussion and I am glad to say that there has been a good deal of these discussions in the last two or three months and it has borne fruit already to some extent. Yet a slight fear seizes me when I see all this planning and organization that perhaps we begin to think that all this infinite planning and

organization is the major part of this business. That is, we begin to think, as many of us are apt to, that we, sitting in big buildings and big offices, are doing the job. We are doing nothing of the kind. We are only indicating how the job is to be done; it is others who will have to do the job. But somehow, as things are, the persons who do the job are rather diffident. How to give the initiative to the people in these matters? How to bestow on them that sense of partnership, that sense of purpose, that eagerness to do things themselves?

Looking back into my own mind and trying to revive old memories, I remember how at some periods of our existence, both individual and national, we did think that way, we did feel that way and acted that way. It is a sense, a realization, which increases one's stature. While that kind of thing has happened in this country, whether anything similar to it can happen again in our life time, I do not know. We may not achieve that particular standard because conditions differ and other things happen. Anyhow, I belong to a generation that more or less is fading away and I cannot speak therefore for others who ought to feel that way—the younger generation. But whether we feel that way or some other way it seems to me quite obvious that if this tremendous task of building up the new India is undertaken, it will have to be undertaken with something much more than with books and statistics, papers and directions and planning and organization that we may put into it. It will have to be undertaken with something fiery about it, with that spirit which moves a nation to high endeavour. Well, can the community projects be looked at that way? Perhaps I am putting it too high and it is dangerous to put a thing too high because if you do so, you are liable to react the other way.

I suppose there is hardly a country—and I speak with all deference to other countries—there is hardly a country in the world which has such high ideals as India. And I may add that there is hardly a country where the gap between ideals and performance is so big as in India. So it is a dangerous thing to talk very big and then not go anywhere near your objective—of what you are talking about. Nevertheless, one has to gaze occasionally even at the stars even though you may not reach them and therefore merely to lower your ideals because you think they are too high up, is not right, even though you might not quite achieve these ideals. So how far can we make these community projects free from the confines of our offices and make them the scheme for living men and women inspired by something worthwhile to do and achieve? That is the problem. We measure and calculate rightly and inevitably about the financial part, about the money involved and about our resources and how one should go about as one cannot act irresponsibly. Nevertheless, if I may say so, all these are secondary matters. What matters most is the human being involved, the man who is going to work, the man who is going to feel it and translate that feeling into action. Are you going to try to develop that type of human being? The human being is there of course; you have only to reach his

heart and mind. You can do that, not by doling out advice. Take it from me, do not advise too much. Do the job yourself. That is the only advice you can give to others. Do it, and others will follow. Why do you think it is your business to sit in a big office because you are the Development Commissioner and issue orders? If I may say so with all respect, you are no good if you do that. Better go somewhere else and do some other job. Be clear about this.

Whether it is the Development Commissioner or the Administrator, he must not sit in his office and issue orders all the time. He must take up the spade and dig and do something himself. No man connected with the scheme who merely sits in his office is good enough so far as I am concerned. That is the only way to give a lead and call upon others to work. If you work, it will make others work. We are becoming a lazy people, especially lazy with our hands and feet, and often enough intellectually lazy too. I regret to say, although it has nothing to do with our present work here, that our university standards are going down, and I do not know, if this is not checked, how are we going to make good in any big thing later on. However, that is another question.

I expect, therefore, wherever you are in charge, you begin your work every morning, if possible, with a little manual effort in furtherance of the community project work, wherever it may be. You must develop this sense of partnership there.

I do not know what our Development Commissioner or the Administrator has done thus far in regard to the production of leaflets, pamphlets, etc., explaining the schemes. I have seen a pamphlet here. It is in English. It is rather businesslike and good. I hope that such pamphlets will be issued in the various languages of India. But much more is required. I want this matter to be explained, not in this businesslike way, but in a more human way, so that somehow it may catch the imagination of the people concerned. But what is more necessary is that you, the Development Commissioners, should function in that human way with those people, should talk to them in a friendly way, get to know what they want, and explain to them what you propose to do, how it is their work, how it is not something imposed upon them from above, not something even as a gift from above, but rather that it is going to be a project of cooperative endeavour, how they will benefit by it, and their children and their children's children will benefit later. See that you get to know them somehow and reach their minds and hearts and invite them to work with you. Not under your command, but with you. So that you gradually form some kind of brotherhood, a fraternity of workers there.

I speak, naturally, with knowledge of my people to some extent, not of others. I am not reluctant to criticize my people. I just called them lazy and all that. And yet I do believe, quite honestly, that the human material we have in India is very fine and, given the opportunity, it can achieve big things.

How to give an opportunity to this vast manpower resource—that is the problem. You cannot give it suddenly to all, however much you plan for it. Of course, you must plan for all. No planning which is not for all is good enough. But you must always have that view before you, and you must, in a sense, prepare the foundations for the next step for that final aim. And in that ultimately you start a process which grows by itself, if I may say so. You take, today, let us say, fifty-five community centres; you plan next year to take another one hundred or whatever be the number, and so on. You want it to grow, so that in the course of five or six years you may have five hundred or six hundred community centres or more.

That itself is a tremendous thing to do, covering as it will possibly a very large proportion of our population. But I was thinking of something slightly different and in addition to it—that is to say, if you have a centre in one place comprising, let us say, one hundred villages, what you do there in a concentrated way percolates to the surrounding villages, areas, towns, etc. But if it is too officialized, it will not happen. It will never spread beyond what lies within your immediate view. It has to become something not rigid, but something which has the elements of spontaneous growth in it. And that only comes in when you catch the imagination of the people and affect them. Then it grows automatically. There is always a danger—I am myself guilty of it often enough—that by direction and authority we may make a thing rigid, not flexible, making it a kind of a part of official hierarchy. Now, official hierarchies are, I suppose, necessary, no doubt. But with all the good they do, they have a certain deadening influence on anything that is spontaneous or vital. Community projects will never grow if these are subjected to such influence. You must always think of that element of spontaneity.

This kind of project will succeed or fail in the measure that you achieve results within stated periods. There is of course a certain amount of vagueness when you approach the people. But apart from that vagueness, there must be some precision, some time-limit, that is, within this time I have got to do this. That target must be continually before you. And if you do not reach it, well, you fail in that measure.

Really what we are committed to is not a few community centres, but to work for the biggest community of all, and that is the community of the people of India, more especially for those who are down and out, for those who are backward. Backward people are far too many in this country. There is an organization, apart from the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes organizations, called the Backward Classes League. As a matter of fact, you can safely say that ninety-six per cent of the people of India are economically very backward. Indeed, apart from a relatively handful of men, most of the people are backward. But anyhow we have to think more of those who are more backward, because we must aim at progressively producing a measure

of equality in opportunity, equality in various things. In the modern world today, you cannot go on for long having these big gaps, big differences between those who are at the top and those who are below. You cannot make all men equal, of course. But we must give them equality of opportunity at least. So I hope that these community centres will not merely pick out the best place, the most favourable place, and help them start, but try to work out the problems of the other places too which are more backward economically, socially and otherwise and thus gain a wealth of experience of the various types and conditions of India. This would enable you to tackle this tremendous problem in the best and quickest way possible.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating this conference.

2. To Rameshwari Nehru¹

New Delhi
June 5, 1952

My dear Bijju Bhabhi,²

... You have mentioned the community projects and want one of them for the Harijan agriculturists.³ In this matter, I am afraid I cannot help you, more especially at this stage. Community projects are not meant to be set up to aid areas or people in special distress. If that was so, the whole nature of the project would change. They are highly important experiments which have to take many factors into consideration. If any of these factors were left out, the experiment would not be a good one and might indeed fail. Apart from this, the allocation of community projects has been made this year. This being the first year, we have to be particularly careful.

It is hoped, however, to extend this scheme of community projects later and it might be possible to consider your proposal then....

Yours affectionately,
Jawahar

1. File No. 29(114)/48-PMS. Extracts.

2. She was the Honorary Adviser, Union Ministry of Rehabilitation, and Vice-President, All-India Harijan Sevak Sangh, at this time.

3. She suggested that a settlement of displaced Harijan agriculturists on evacuee land in Alwar district in Rajasthan be extended the benefit of the community projects scheme as they were suffering hardships on account of barren land and lack of irrigation facilities.

3. To Pratap Singh Kairon¹

New Delhi
July 9, 1952

My dear Pratap Singh,²

The central committee for the community projects scheme³ met today and we discussed the points you had raised with me the other day.

We have to consider these matters from an all-India point of view so as to have a certain measure of uniformity in the procedure to be adopted. At the same time we do not wish to make this procedure at all rigid. It is of the highest importance that this first efforts of ours should succeed. You know that we look upon this as a foundation for changing the whole face of India, or at any rate rural India. Perhaps many people do not realize the vastness of this ambitious undertaking. So much therefore depends on how we begin and that we make good at the beginning.

Ultimately everything depends upon the human beings that work it. Therefore it is of the highest importance that persons connected with this scheme, from top to bottom, should be most carefully selected. They should have not only the knowledge and technical competence to do this work, but should also have faith and enthusiasm and the capacity to make others work. They should have in other words something in the nature of a crusading spirit. But all this enthusiasm is wasted or does not bear fruit if it is not based on knowledge and experience. We are going to train our workers, but this training itself presumes a certain basic knowledge. If that basic knowledge is lacking, then no benefit will be derived from the training given later.

It becomes essential therefore for every worker selected to have a certain basic knowledge. He must have had some schooling so that he can follow easily what is said and done. He must have some agricultural knowledge, preferably both theoretical and practical. We are going to try to introduce some modern methods in agriculture. Therefore the worker should possess some elementary knowledge at least of these methods. It was for this reason that certain standards were laid down by the central committee for these village workers and it was mentioned that he should be the holder of a diploma in agriculture or have passed the high school final or matriculation with agriculture as one of the optional subjects. If you get a village worker with this training, he is obviously to be preferred. But we agree with you that any hard and fast

1. JN Collection.

2. He was Minister for Development and Consolidation of Land, Punjab, at this time.

3. The Planning Commission, acting as the central committee for the scheme, was to lay down broad principles and supervise the work assisted by an advisory board comprising senior officials of the Departments connected with the scheme.

rule of this kind may defeat its own purpose. Therefore we are prepared to have more flexible rules. But in any event some schooling and a knowledge of agriculture is quite essential. Otherwise the selected person will not profit by the further training that will be given.

This whole scheme of community projects in any State will be of course directly under the Development Minister and it is hoped that he will take personal interest in this. Indeed his advice is desirable at every stage. For the selection of the candidates also, his final approval is desirable. We feel however that his being associated with the selection committee, as a member of it, will not be in keeping with his position and dignity as Minister. The selection committee should keep in touch with him throughout and should send their recommendations to him for his approval before they are forwarded to the central committee. This procedure will have many advantages. The Minister will be enabled to play a decisive role in the whole scheme, without being entangled in the relatively minor processes. It is always better for the Minister to function above the secretarial level. He directs the Secretaries and others and usually decides finally about the policy and the practice. The actual selection committee should consist, as far as possible, of certain senior officials connected with the development scheme and one or two non-officials, chosen for their knowledge of agriculture. Thus the Principal of an agricultural college or school would be a suitable person for this committee. It is better to keep this committee apart from politics so that no accusation is made that it is being used for preferment on political lines. If the Minister is made a member of the committee, he will be harassed by all kinds of applications and possibly by pressure from MLAs and others. He may be accused of partiality. All this can be got over if the suggestion made above is followed. The Minister will at the same time be supervising every aspect of the work and will have to give his final approval.

It is important that the persons chosen for training should have enthusiasm and public contacts. The Minister will be in a good position to see that this kind of person is chosen. But it should not appear that jobs are being provided to persons of one's choice, whether they are suited for it or not. Above all, competence is necessary. Hence some basic qualifications should be kept in mind in selecting persons. Those basic qualifications need not be made rigid so that we can choose others who may not possess those special qualifications but who may nevertheless fulfil the conditions laid down.

We are so anxious that the right persons should be chosen that it is proposed to have some kind of a physical test lasting three days or so to see that the persons chosen are suitable. During these three days candidates may have to do some agricultural or other work to indicate their capacity. If they do not come up to the mark, then they will have to be rejected.

Further tests will come in the course of training. If at any time then they

do not come up to the mark, they will not be selected. At the end of the period of training, there will be a final test which might eliminate some. It is necessary therefore to train more people than are actually needed for the particular project to allow for casualties in this way.

You will observe how anxious we are to get suitable persons who will work with discipline and with knowledge, apart from enthusiasm. Congress workers are often very good and they should certainly be taken, provided they fulfil these conditions. But many of them, though full of a certain kind of capacity, may not be suited for this disciplined hard work. We cannot lower standards for them or for any one.

We do not wish to attract any person who is merely seeking some profitable job. Only those who are actually keen on this work ought to come. There was a proposal that trainees should get rupees 75/- a month. I do not like this at all. I think that we should judge this from the village standard point of view and there should be no money attraction about this work. During training period, food and other necessities should be provided with a little pocket money, if necessary. In case the person chosen has a wife or children to look after, they might be helped a little. My point is that our conditions should be fairly hard so as to keep away people who are not really keen. I have suggested this to the central committee to work out.

In Uttar Pradesh, the Chief Minister has expressed a special preference for a selection committee of which the Minister is not a member. Previously he had experience of the other kind when the Minister was a member of the selection committee. He came to the conclusion that this was not desirable.

What we have suggested above, I hope, will meet the essence of your points without sacrificing the need for efficiency, etc. The whole burden of this will have to be carried by you as Development Minister and we expect very special results in the Punjab because a Punjab worker is good if properly chosen. We want to avoid, and you will appreciate why we want to do this, any appearance of the community project scheme being just a political stunt to further a political party or some special proteges of ours. In the old days in some provinces, rural uplift schemes were organized. Where really good workers were chosen they made progress, where the choice was not good they failed. We do not want to have failure anywhere or of any kind in this business now. We are bent on success and good results. I am sure that with your great energy and enthusiasm, you will ensure success in the Punjab. Success can only come by building up a strong team spirit under your leadership and guidance. This team spirit means a fusing together of the official and non-official elements. If the officers chosen function purely as officials, then they are no good. If the non-officials chosen dislike discipline and hard work, then they will not be much good.

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I am writing to you on this subject after our meeting. You will hear officially from the secretariat of the central committee.

You will remember that this is a first step in a very big undertaking. We propose to have far more community centres later, but their coming will depend on the success of the first step.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

I. Planning and Resources

(iv) Population Control

1. To Anusuyabai Kale¹

New Delhi
April 15, 1952

My dear Anusuyabai,²

I have your letter of 12th April in which you express your concern at the possibility of the Planning Commission dropping the idea of family planning.

I understand that this matter is under consideration of the Planning Commission. It is quite possible that there may be some difference of opinion as to the approach to this question. But I believe there is a large body of opinion which wants to take some effective steps in regard to family planning. For my part, I am anxious that we should give a clear lead on this subject.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 28(65)/51-PMS.
2. (1896-1958); took active part in national movement and social reform work; member, AICC, 1932; Deputy Speaker, CP and Berar Legislative Assembly, 1937; President, All India Women's Conference, 1948; elected to Lok Sabha, 1952 and 1957.

2. To Amrit Kaur¹

New Delhi
April 19, 1952

My dear Amrit,²

Thank you for your letter sending me a report of the Ministry of Health.

I agree with you that Ministers should have more discretion in spending money on projects which have already been approved of. Also that it should not be necessary for references to the Finance Ministry for expenditure under the head "discretionary grant". We shall have to take up this matter.

As regards housing, as you know, I have been laying stress on this a great deal. The more I think of it, the more I feel that we should strike out a new line of approach. A scientific committee is examining that matter. In thinking of housing, we think inevitably of brick buildings or cement and spend a lot of money on them, probably not giving much thought to sanitation,

1. JN Collection.
2. She was the Union Minister for Health at this time.

water supply, etc. I think that we should think less of houses and more of habitations, whatever shape they might take, and the first approach should be in regard to sanitation, water supply and lighting, and to save money on actual heavy construction. Also, I think that our houses, or small houses, are not suited to climatic conditions generally.

The Health Ministry has done very good work during the past few years and I congratulate you upon it.

In the paragraph on family planning, you state that "the growth of population has been a matter of concern to those serving the cause of health. Mechanical and chemical contraceptives, after prolonged thought and discussion, having been ruled out as unwise and impracticable from every point of view, it was decided to try out an experiment in family limitation by means of the rhythm method." It is perfectly true that we have been trying out this experiment by the rhythm method, but I am surprised to read that the mechanical and chemical contraceptives, after prolonged thought and discussion, have been ruled out as unwise and impracticable from every point of view. I was not aware of this, and I do not know who has been giving thought and discussion to this matter. Certainly, Government have not ruled these out and are fully prepared to consider all methods. As you know, there is a very large body of opinion in favour of such methods. I myself have expressed, in my personal capacity, an opinion in favour of them, though, of course, the matter has to be fully considered before we arrive at any definite conclusions.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

II. Food and Agriculture

(i) The Food Problem

1. To C.D. Deshmukh¹

New Delhi
May 2, 1952

My dear Deshmukh,

I sent you yesterday a letter from Morarji Desai² about food prices. I sent a copy to Munshi also and he has sent me a reply.³ I understand that he has sent you a copy of this reply.

There is a good deal of agitation in many parts of the country over the rise in food prices. I am not very much concerned with this agitation, but, naturally, we are all concerned with any real distress. Many cases of real distress have been cited to me.

It is clear that we cannot afford to give the full subsidy. That is beyond our capacity. But it is worthy of consideration as to whether we can do something else in the matter. Munshi suggests a subsidy for milo.

Would it not be worthwhile for the Planning Commission to consider this matter calling the Food Minister also, or, if you like, the Cabinet can consider it, or the Economic Committee. I imagine that the Planning Commission should do it first.

Recently in England a high-powered commission recommended that tramway fares should be increased.⁴ This had become inevitable. Churchill⁵, however, stopped this because, no doubt, of fear of public reaction. Tramways cannot run with these reduced fares. Now it is suggested by the Labour Party there that fares should remain as they are and a considerable subsidy should be given to the tramways to cover loss.

Food is more important than tramway fares, and if there is real distress,

1. JN Collection.
2. Morarji Desai, Chief Minister of Bombay, wrote on 30 April about public discontent over fifty per cent rise in prices of food items due to abolition of subsidies in a highly deficit area like Bombay. He recommended some immediate relief to the people by providing at least one cheap grain like milo at a subsidized price.
3. On 2 May, K.M. Munshi, the Union Food Minister, stated that the system of controls was unworkable as the inter-State bans had reduced the country into surplus and deficit areas and suggested their removal. He favoured Desai's suggestion to subsidize milo for which, he said, a subsidy of rupees seven crores would be required.
4. In April 1951, the British Transport Commission had recommended increase in fares for public transport services throughout Britain by about twenty per cent.
5. Winston Churchill, British Prime Minister, 1951-55.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

something is perhaps to be done to relieve it. Probably, a reduction in the price of milo would have some effect.⁶

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharal Nehru

6. After discussing the matter with Deshmukh and Munshi, Nehru wrote to Desai on 4 May: "We would like to help you insofar as we can but you will realize that it is quite impossible to give the full subsidy. As it is we are giving a subsidy to the extent of Rs 23 crores. We are however examining what further we can do about milo." On 10 May, Y.B. Chavan, Minister for Civil Supplies, Government of Bombay, announced a reduction of 35% in food prices in the rice-eating areas and 28% in other places in the State. The relief in the form of more milo at cheaper rates was to become effective from 18 May 1952.

2. To N.V. Gadgil¹

New Delhi
June 9, 1952

My dear Gadgil,

Your letter of June 8th about the Madras food policy.²

We have considered this question at considerable length in Cabinet during two long sessions at which the Members of the Planning Commission were also present. We agreed to the proposal made by the Madras Government. But, in doing so, we have not changed our basic policy of controls at all. It is true that Rajaji has rather emphasized one aspect of it, while we would have liked some other aspects to be emphasized. The whole control apparatus remains in Madras and will be utilized as soon as it is required.

The position today there was that prices were going down and in fact in many places were below the controlled prices. We have a very large stock of foodgrains there. We have, I think, enough rice for a year and a half's rationing

1. File No. 31(94)/50-PMS.
2. Strongly disapproving the policy of decontrol of food in Madras State announced by C. Rajagopalachari, Chief Minister of Madras, on 6 June 1952, Gadgil, Member, Lok Sabha and former Union Minister for Works, Production and Supply, said its "consequences will be disastrous and once more we will be entirely at the mercy of the mercantile community." He thought it augured ill for the implementation of the Five Year Plan as no planned economy could succeed unless there was a complete and thorough regulation of the resources available in the country.

at the present rate and then there is a great deal of wheat. Therefore, in Madras we are not in short supply at all and there appears to be no danger of prices going up. If they go up, we can flood the market from our stocks.

Madras has been divided up into seven zones.³ Six of these are more or less self-sufficient. That is to say, surplus and deficit districts have been joined together in one zone. The only zone, which is heavily deficit, is the Malabar-Nilgiri zone. That has to be provided for and we propose to do so. There will be no difficulty about it with our present stocks.

We are reducing the price of milo and wheat somewhat, without giving any subsidy.⁴ This will be an all-India reduction and is due to foreign prices as well as freight charges having slightly gone down. In Madras it is proposed to continue rationing at five ounces of rice per person plus freedom to buy in the free market. The prices of the free market are low and we propose to keep them low wherever this is necessary by opening fair price shops.

Thus, there is no present chance of prices going up and if they go up, we think we can control them. At the same time we keep our machinery of controls ready.

You will thus see that we have not taken any undue risk. Circumstances were propitious for making this change largely because of our large stocks. Any step that we take has some risk. Not taking a step also involved a fairly big risk in view of the situation.

It is not proposed to abolish procurement or rationing. Indeed, procurement will be inevitable if we are to continue even the five ounces ration of rice in Madras. But it will be for us to consider what is the best method of procurement or levy for this purpose there.

There is no intention of making any major change elsewhere, where conditions are different. But it is proposed, subject to enquiries, to remove internal barriers within States, that is, district barriers, etc.

You will thus see that we have proceeded there cautiously and there is no comparison with what was done in 1947-48.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. On 6 June 1952, Rajagopalachari announced the division of Madras State into six zones. Within each zone there would be free movement, with one or two surplus districts supplying the needs of the deficit districts.
4. The price of imported wheat was reduced by rupees two per maund, while there was a further cut of one rupee and eight annas per maund in milo. Thus milo was to be sold at eleven rupees eight annas per maund against its cost of nineteen rupees six annas per maund on landing.

3. The Food Situation¹

Friends and comrades,

I am speaking to you over the radio after a long time, and there are many things that I should like to talk about for much has happened during this interval. But today I shall speak to you chiefly about the food situation. I would have preferred to do so a week or two later, when perhaps I could have given you some more facts. Our Food Minister, Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, is travelling about from State to State, and conferring with the State Ministers, so as to know personally the situation in every part of India and to consider in cooperation with the State Ministers what steps we should take. He has not finished this survey, and so I cannot, for the present, talk to you about the position in different States. But as I had fixed tonight for my broadcast, I have kept to this date.

Whether I give you much new information or not today, I should like to talk to you about our common problems because it is very necessary that there should be a close understanding between the people of this great country and the Government they have elected. You know that for many years we have had to face tremendous difficulty about our food. The last world war, the partition of India, overwhelming natural disasters in the shape of earthquakes, floods, and drought and the growing population of India made this country deficit in food. Food is after all the primary necessity and if we fail in feeding our people adequately, then we can make little progress in any other direction. Because of our lack of food, we imported large quantities of foodgrains, wheat and rice and milo, at an enormous cost to this country. We have struggled against famine and scarcity in many parts of India, and even in recent months we have had to face very difficult conditions in Rayalaseema, parts of Mysore, the Sunderbans area in Bengal, eastern Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, Saurashtra, the Hissar district in the Punjab and Ajmer. In some parts of India, even drinking water has been difficult to obtain. Some districts of Madras, such as in Rayalaseema, have been peculiarly unfortunate as there was a drought for four successive years. We sent our army to do relief work there, and from all accounts they did a very fine piece of work indeed and demonstrated that they are as good at serving the people in a civil capacity as

1. Broadcast from All India Radio, New Delhi, 14 June 1952. AIR tapes, NMML.

they are in their military capacity.² Even as we grappled with the difficult situation in Rayalaseema, and began to control it, bounteous rains fell from the heavens, and broke that long spell of drought. For Rayalaseema that was a blessing. Let us hope that meant an end of the ill-luck we have been having in the country during the past four years. We have tried to the best of our ability to give relief by productive works, by deepening wells, boring new wells, desilting tanks, authorizing agricultural loans and remissions of land revenue, and distribution of free food, where necessary. In spite of this serious situation that we have had to face and our manifold difficulties, there has been in some respects a turn for the better.

For the first time, we have got large stocks of foodgrains and prices have generally gone down except for the foreign imported grains. Our stock position, therefore, is very good for the present, and to that extent is some insurance against future mishap. We started the year with a stock of 13.3 lakh tons of foodgrains. At present we hold a stock of more than 36 lakh tons, of which a little over three and a half tons is held directly by the Centre. The wheat harvest is good, and our procurement this year has been better than that of last year. More foodgrains are coming from abroad. There is at present plenty of wheat and milo in the country. There is not quite enough rice, but we are making special efforts to get larger quantities of it. Prices of locally produced foodgrains have gone down, but unfortunately we had to pay heavily for imported grains and thus the pool rate of supplies of imported foodgrains to the States had to be increased. As you know, the Central subsidy on foodgrains was withdrawn, though special relief was given in regard to milo and in some other ways. Owing to the withdrawal of the Central subsidy, undoubtedly distress was caused. But this led for the first time to a more correct appraisal of the food situation in India. At the beginning of the year, States asked us to import over seven million tons of foodgrains, a quantity which it was quite impossible for us to import, and indeed it was not available in the markets of the world. This was reduced to five million tons after some argument. Later we reduced it still further to four million tons. Even so, we have enough and a large stock. We know better now what our needs are, and they are well within our competence to supply. Therefore the future is hopeful. Prices are going down, and the Central Government is taking steps to reduce the pool prices of wheat and milo all over the country.

This is the background, and, if I may say so, it is a satisfactory background;

2. As part of operations for famine relief in Rayalaseema, army units went into action on 21 April 1952 to improve the water resources of the region. Conveying C. Rajagopalachari's appreciation of the role of the army, Nehru wrote to N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, the Defence Minister, on 6 June 1952, "I should like you to convey my own personal high appreciation of this work. I think that some publicity should be given to this."

but we have to be wary and we cannot grow complacent or relax our vigilance. We have always to be prepared for any contingency that might arise, because of world conditions or the misfortune of drought or the activities of anti-social people. We propose to be vigilant and to take necessary steps to meet any new situation that might arise.

You know that our policy has been one of controls. This has been criticized often for various reasons, but we have felt convinced that any relaxation of it involved grave risks. And so, in spite of criticism, we have continued it. We could not take the risk of prices rising again and bringing misfortune in their trail. I want to tell you that policy continues to guide us, even though we might vary it here and there. We have varied it somewhat in the Madras State and, for the moment, controls have been removed there. The whole State has been divided up into six zones. Five of these are more or less self-sufficient in regard to food; the sixth comprising Malabar and the Nilgiris is highly deficit. Within each zone, there is going to be free movement, but there will be barriers as between zones. In the deficit zone of Malabar and the Nilgiris, we shall make special arrangements to supply food. Even in the others, we shall have price shops so as to prevent prices from going up. Rations of five ounces of rice will be provided to the present holders of ration cards, and there will also be a free market, where any kind of foodgrains can be purchased. We have taken this step in Madras, because conditions were peculiarly favourable for it there. There is a large stock of rice there enough for more than a year on the present scale of rations, and there is much wheat and milo in addition. Prices in the free market are also low. Therefore, any risk involved in this change was inconsiderable. But we have insured ourselves against that risk by having Government fair price shops to control the price. If we notice any untoward development we shall be prepared to take immediate steps to prevent it. Our machinery for doing so will be kept intact. I hope, however, and believe that the steps we have taken in Madras will prove successful and that it would not be necessary to revert to a stricter system of controls.

About the other States, I shall not say much now because we are considering their problems, but it should be understood that we do not propose to give up controls and procurement, though the manner of procurement may vary. Where conditions are favourable and risks negligible, we shall relax barriers within the States and permit freer movement of foodgrains in the State. We want to remove irksome restrictions as far as possible and offer incentives to producers to grow more. Now is the time for all of us, Central and State Governments, producers, distributors and consumers, to cooperate in coming to grips and solving this problem of food, which has been a menace to us for these many years. The solution may take some time, but we can go a long way towards it if we try hard enough. Essentially it means more production and not hoarding. Procurement must be made easy and prices must

be kept down. There are many ways of increasing food production: more land can be brought under cultivation, more water can be supplied for irrigation, and there can be more intensive cultivation. Our Governments have undertaken many schemes for these purposes all over India. Perhaps the most important of these methods is more intensive cultivation. If we increase the yield per acre even by a little, the total increase is very great. Our yield at present is very poor and there is no reason why we should not increase it, as other countries have done. Our farmers are good and hard-working, but sometimes they lack good seed or good manure or something else that is necessary. Government will help them, of course, but ultimately success can only come by self-help, each individual trying his hardest and, better still, cooperatives of farmers working together for their common good.

Over two years ago, the Government of India introduced a crop competition scheme on a countrywide basis in order to increase food production. As I speak to you, we are having our crop competition fortnight for this half year. This competition has already yielded very fine results and prizes have been awarded to many of our farmers. These prizes are given for the highest yield at the village, the mandal, the district, the State or at the all-India levels. Three crops were originally selected for competition, namely, wheat, paddy and potatoes. This year three others have been added to them, namely, gram, *jowar* and *bajra*. We want these competitions in every village and we want the Gram Panchayat or the agricultural development committee or cooperative society to organize these competitions. The prizes go up to rupees 5,000 for wheat; a tractor costing rupees 7,000 will be the all-India prize. Also a diesel engine for paddy. Those who won these prizes will be awarded certificates and will have the title given to them of Krishi Pandits. I shall tell you about some of the remarkable results already obtained through these competitions.

In Uttar Pradesh, the highest yield for wheat per acre has been for over 59 maunds; for potatoes, over 726 maunds. For paddy in West Bengal, the figure is over 73 maunds. In Madras it is 146 maunds. Look at these figures. They show what we can do if we make up our minds to do it. Even if these are exceptional figures, the average goes up, and a ten per cent increase in our average solves all our food problems.

These crop competitions are thus very important and I hope that they will spread to every village in India. In Uttar Pradesh this year, 60 thousand competitors enlisted. They hope to have over 9 lakhs of competitors at the next competition this year. But this is not enough. We want every farmer to enlist and we want scores of millions of farmers to take part in these competitions all over India. I hope that what I have told you will indicate that we are turning the corner in regard to food production and the prospect is definitely hopeful. But everything depends on our own efforts and our will to achieve. Given that will, success is certain even though ill fortune may

sometimes attend our efforts. I hope therefore that you will undertake this task with all earnestness and strength of will and that good fortune will be yours.

May I, before I conclude, offer you my grateful thanks for the innumerable messages of greetings and goodwill that came to me on my assumption for the second time of this high office of Prime Minister. Vast numbers of friends and comrades, known and unknown, from all over the country sent these heartening messages and I felt infinitely grateful and very humble on receipt of this high token of your affection and goodwill. May I be worthy of it and may our beloved motherland advance and prosper by our service and our joint efforts. *Jai Hind.*

4. To Chief Ministers¹

New Delhi

June 21, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

As you know, our activities are becoming more and more planning-minded. Almost every proposal we have is considered from the point of view of our general plan which is being finalized. In particular, every proposal which has an economic or financial significance is so considered. Matters relating to food are so important and have such large consequences that these are specially considered, not only from the point of view of immediate difficulty but their larger consequences.

I am writing to you to invite your cooperation in this matter so that no step might be taken by your Government in the economic plane which might have these consequences in regard to our planning without reference to us. I include in this even matters which are entirely within your Government's competence. We do not wish to come in your way, but we do want as much coordination of our policies as possible. I would therefore request you to inform us before you take any step which might have economic consequences in the

1. This letter has also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-64*, Vol. 3 (New Delhi, 1987), pp. 31-33.

country. We should like our Department of Economic Affairs and Planning Commission to consider it before it is finalized. I am anxious that there should be no delay when a reference is made.

A somewhat unnecessary argument has arisen recently about control or decontrol of foodgrains because of the steps taken by the Madras Government with our concurrence. I made it perfectly clear in my broadcast² that this did not involve any major change in our policy which continued to be one of general control. But owing to the special circumstances of Madras we decided to lift controls there for the present and to watch results. This was safe because there were large stocks there and prices were falling and arrangements were being made for fair price shops to be opened.

Recently the newspapers announced in banner headlines that control had been abolished in Bihar.³ I was surprised to read this because I knew nothing about it. As a matter of fact what the Bihar Government had done was nothing very much. It was a minor variation of their policy. But it was so announced that it led many people to believe that some major change had been brought about. This was wrong and as a result a wrong psychology was possibly created in the country to the effect that controls were going step by step.

This kind of wrong and exaggerated publicity can do us great harm and therefore we have not only to be careful about what we do but what we say.

I invite your cooperation in this. I should like to make it clear again that we have no intention of doing away with controls except in limited areas for limited objectives where conditions are wholly favourable and there are no risks. All our planning would collapse if we went in for a policy of decontrol all over. This decontrol may result in our losing control of the situation itself and we cannot take that risk.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. See the preceding item.

3. Announcing reduction in the wholesale issue price of wheat and milo, removal of restrictions on movement of foodgrains except rice and paddy in certain areas and suspension of levy on paddy and wheat in the current year in Bihar, the State's Minister for Civil Supplies claimed on 18 June that these measures practically amounted to decontrol of foodgrains.

5. Policy of Controls to Continue¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: A short while ago I made a broadcast on food² and I might repeat what I said then. First of all, there is no question whatever of our going in for a general policy of decontrol. We propose to keep a close grip on the situation by control wherever necessary. We might vary it in some ways here and there. Even so we keep the machinery and take other steps to prevent any rise in prices, the objective always being to prevent a rise in prices. Where we can take a step without undue risk and can decontrol prices, we take that step. Now, you know about Madras where the two chief reasons were: prices had gone down and we had large stocks of rice and wheat there. Therefore we made certain arrangements. Even there we are functioning though on a somewhat lower scale because we provide a free market also with it and we try to control free market prices by fair price shops. In one or two places, the prices showed a tendency to rise. Immediately we opened fair price shops and the prices came down. The main thing is that we have got stocks to control the situation.

Then there was a great newspaper display the other day about Bihar. You will be surprised that I heard about it for the first time from the newspapers. It was a local matter put in a rather dramatic way. In Bihar the whole organization of rationing and control has always been rather loose. So what they have done is this: they have certain deficit areas and certain surplus areas. In deficit areas they used to have very little procurement. They have removed inter-district barriers from the deficit areas, keeping those barriers in the surplus areas. There is not much difference except that they can deal with the situation better. The only thing they have done is they have removed some kind of control, rationing, in one place—Jamshedpur. Instead of that they have opened fair price shops in Jamshedpur and are giving the same ration through fair price shops. In effect there have been no major changes. That is entirely a local matter. That was decided without my knowledge till I found it from newspapers. In regard to surplus areas, there is district control. It cannot go out of that district. In those districts which are deficit they have removed the barriers where they existed. In fact, Bihar was functioning to a large extent that way. The only important thing is that they have removed rationing from Jamshedpur which was a rationed area, but they have provided a different machinery for giving rations through fair price shops. A free market will have

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 21 June 1952. PIB. Extracts. For others parts of the press conference, see, pp. 36-38, 144-145, 169-170, 352-353, 405-410, 466-467, 476-477, 515, 542-544 and 580-582.
2. See *ante*, pp. 70-74.

to be developed. The whole point is that in all these areas we have not got large stocks today which we can throw into the market at any place we want. Meanwhile we can always revert to a stricter control anywhere at a moment's notice. That is all about food.

Question: In view of this, is there going to be a revision in the import quotas this time?

JN: I cannot give you the exact figures but there is no doubt about it that the original estimates made in January-February this year were far from the mark. Originally, as I stated, the States wanted seven million tons of foodgrains, an enormous quantity. We could not get it; so much was not perhaps even available. So, after much bargaining and arguments with the States, this was reduced to five millions and ultimately it was reduced to four.

Q: It is 4.5 millions, Sir.

JN: Maybe 4.5 millions and we have contracted for that; whatever the basic figure is, it remains. We cannot get out of that. It does not matter really how much it is. We want to build up a big stock and, if all goes well, we should start the next year in a much more favourable condition, that is, with a fair accumulation of stocks. From our experience of this year, I think we ought to import less next year than we did this year. How far less, it will depend on the monsoon and other factors. The wheat crop this year has been quite good—in the Punjab, in UP and wherever wheat is grown.

Q: Will it encourage us to lend to Pakistan?

JN: Certainly, we have got stocks now. We can give it to them on any condition; either they can give it back to us from the next harvest or on some other basis.

Then, as for the next monsoon it is anybody's guess. But I think we have some reason to expect a fairly good monsoon. We have had bad luck for four years running, and on the whole the indications up till now are that there will be a good monsoon. As you know, Rayalaseema has had good rains and it is still continuing there. So that, even with average luck, the position is an improving one, though we have to take great care at every step.

Q: Do you believe that the present change in the food policy of the Government of India — call it major or minor, as you please — contravenes the recommendations of the Planning Commission on this point?

JN: No, I do not think so at all. In fact, we are proceeding in full consultation

with and with the full cooperation of the Planning Commission, because the basic policy is to keep a firm control over the prices by various methods of control. Now, you may vary the area of control; you may have fair price shops; you may have a larger area within a barrier and a smaller area somewhere else; these are all various methods of approaching this problem. Basically we are proceeding on the basis of the Planning Commission's views on the subject and such changes as are being made are in keeping with that basic outlook.

Q: Do you envisage that our stock position and production will be so satisfactory that we will be able to build up a stock of one million tons for reserve?

JN: This year?

Q: Yes, Sir.

JN: I think so, certainly.

Q: Have you seen a report of a statement by a Deputy Minister or Parliamentary Secretary in Burma that Burma is willing to give four million tons of rice, part of which will be in repayment of India's loan to Burma?

JN: I have seen that report. It is a very good statement— a very generous statement — of friendliness with India, giving top priority for their dealings with India and so on and so forth, but I know nothing more about it. Our relations with Burma are extremely cordial and friendly.

Q: Incidentally, have the Burmese Government made any reference to the question of the repayment of their loan?

JN: Not recently.

Q: Do you not think that the policy of decontrol in Madras will actually result in frittering away the stocks which you have built up spending so much time and with such energy?

JN: No, I do not think so. But one cannot be certain about these matters. But I don't think so because the stocks are adequate for a full year and that what will happen is likely to be more favourable to us. Anyhow, for the next many months there is no question of procurement. The procurement season comes after a few months. This is not a major season; this is relatively a minor season—the next six months or so — so that it does not make much difference. Meanwhile procurement has been going on extremely well — whatever the reasons may be—everywhere. Procurement has been unusually good.

Q: In Madras also?

JN: Yes, even in Madras it has been good.

Q: Do you think in 1953 or 1954 this basic difference of ten per cent shortage in production will be covered up, or will you again be changing your policy?

JN: Well, do not ask me to give guarantees and all that. But the position does appear to be more hopeful. There is no doubt that we shall have to import food next year and the year after that, but much less than we used to think will be necessary. Also, I think, the Grow-More-Food Campaign is going to yield greater results. The results are coming in now. Then, there are still fairly large cultivable but uncultivated areas. For instance, take this settlement of property and land of the evacuees or displaced persons. Somehow some displaced persons who are non-agriculturists have got the land. They have taken the land but they have not used it in many places in the Punjab and Pepsu. It is excellent land, but the wrong person has got it — a person who is not an agriculturist—so much so there was a waste of production for a year or so on that land. We have to see to it that something is done in such cases, but the difficulty is the lack of interest on the part of such landlords, the question of private property and so on. I believe action is going to be taken there now to surmount such difficulties through an ordinance to take possession of land which is not being cultivated and to use it or give it to somebody on lease or something.

Q: In Punjab and Pepsu or all over India?

JN: For the moment I had Pepsu in mind, but the question is the same all over the country.

Q: Do you think the situation is basically different from that of December 1947 when Mahatma Gandhi was persuaded by certain representatives of the hoarders that there were plenty of stocks in the country and that decontrol should be enforced?³

3. Suggesting the removal of controls on essential items, Mahatma Gandhi said at a prayer meeting on 5 December 1947, "If five maunds of foodgrain is available today, we shall have ten maunds tomorrow because I feel that some of it has been hoarded." On 28 December 1947, he cited the cloth merchants as claiming that cloth had begun to be brought out and its prices were on the decline as a result of his speeches.

JN: I think the situation is basically different. We have got four and a half years' experience since 1947.

Q: To the extent that the success of the scheme depends on the control of anti-social elements, can we take it that Government will come down with a heavy hand on such elements?

JN: Government will come down with a heavy hand, and has tried to come down with a heavy hand. As you know very well, the difficulties have been in the law courts; after protracted trial, because of some lacuna in evidence, the man gets off. The question of Fundamental Rights comes in. We could go up to the High Court and the Supreme Court, and, so far as Government is concerned, it is prepared to come down with as heavy a hand as possible. In fact, the question is being examined.

Q: Suppose you control and stop procurement, will you be able to control hoarding?

JN: It is very difficult to say what is hoarding. For instance, a peasant who keeps a year's stock for his own use, he cannot be called a hoarder. It is very difficult to describe hoarding. As regards big hoarders, you can always say they just hoard. But large numbers of farmers keep some stocks with themselves for a rainy day in the normal course, and if one hundred million people do that, it makes a huge difference to India. Of them, even fifty million people's keeping a small portion would make a huge difference. Yet it is not real hoarding. It is just a little apprehension which induces them to do it. Whether it is an offence I am not clear. It is laid down in various anti-hoarding orders, etc. The difficulty is not as regards the offence; the difficulty is in getting conviction. The question needs to be examined.

I want to say again that we propose to continue the basic policy of controls. We do not propose to give it up, until in any particular area we are convinced that we can relax it somewhat — even then, keeping a hold on it and reverting to it, if necessary.

Q: Do you think that lack of a uniform food policy will result in inequality of sacrifice on the part of Indian people and will endanger our unity?

JN: Inequality in this matter is bound to occur. In Punjab, where they have plenty of wheat, the farmer will probably have more to eat because he grows it himself, just as he may lack some of the goods which are produced in urban areas and which he cannot buy. But he will have plenty to eat. Until you have an abundance of all goods, some kind of inequality is inevitable....

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

II. Food and Agriculture

(ii) Relief Measures

1. To A.D. Pandit¹

New Delhi

May 5, 1952

My dear Pandit,²

Some time ago, I sent a cheque, I think, for Rs 10,000 to your predecessor³ in Ajmer for relief, more specially relief to children. Recently the accounts I have had of conditions in parts of Ajmer, more specially round about Beawar, have distressed me greatly. Yesterday, I had a visit from your Food Minister.⁴ Dr Katju,⁵ who has recently been to Ajmer, has also told us of what he saw there.

The conditions are bad but it seems to me that they have not been tackled with as much wisdom and human sympathy as they ought to have been. Our resources are limited but we cannot afford to see our people suffering starvation if we can help it.

Certain relief works have been started there. As far as I can see, they are not adequate. But this is a larger question into which our Food Ministry is immediately going into. Apart from this, the question which is troubling me is the human aspect of it, that is to say, the way things are being done appear to lack the human approach. I was astounded to learn that people had to walk sometimes as much as eight miles each way, that is, sixteen miles, to come to the relief centre in this hot weather. Also that mothers had to bring their children to exhibit them daily in order to draw something for them. This latter, I understand, has stopped now under orders from the Food Ministry. But the mere fact that it existed even for a while does not speak well for the officers in charge of it.

The larger question of relief is being considered by our Food and Finance Ministries. Meanwhile, I am sending you a cheque for Rs 25,000 from the Prime Minister's Fund. This is not for normal relief of course. This is specially meant, as my previous contribution was meant, for children. Of course any other special case could also be helped.

Please consult your Ministry about the way you are to spend this money.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Anand Dattatraya Pandit (b. 1909); ICS; Chief Commissioner of Ajmer, 1952-54, and of Delhi, 1954-60; Special Secretary, Union Ministry of Agriculture, 1962-65; Secretary, Ministry of Defence and later of Supply, 1965-66.

3. K.L. Mehta.

4. Brij Mohan Lal Sharma.

5. K.N. Katju, Union Minister for Home Affairs at this time.

2. To C.D. Deshmukh¹

New Delhi
June 3, 1952

My dear Deshmukh,
Sri Krishna Sinha, the Chief Minister of Bihar, came to see me today. He really wanted to meet you to discuss his difficulties but as you were not well and could not see him, he came to me.

He told me of his State's misfortunes and difficulties during the past few years. First, the communal upheaval and massacres at the end of 1946,² which cost them a vast sum of money in rehabilitation later. This money apparently had been promised to them by the Central Government but never paid. Then he referred to the famines which had come later and so on and so forth. According to him the Bihar Government had arrived at the end of its resources and just did not know what to do. I could not go into these matters with him and I referred him to the Finance Ministry. I suggested that some person fully acquainted with the facts might come over here to discuss matters with the Finance Ministry.

There was one fact however that he mentioned, which I should like to bring to your notice. Our Government gave a grant of Rs forty-eight lakhs to Bihar in 1951-52 on condition that this would go towards meeting fifty per cent of the expenditure on gratuitous relief by free distribution of food, etc. They did spend nearly Rs fifty lakhs or a little less on such free relief. But we were impressing upon them all the time that they should avoid free relief and give some kind of light productive work. They organized therefore charkha spinning and some similar activities on a large scale and gave relief in this way. According to a strict interpretation of the condition laid down by the Central Government they cannot apply your forty-eight lakhs to this kind of relief although much of it was pure relief to the lower middle class including large numbers of women.

They spent nearly Rs two crores in 1951-52 on relief of this:

Rs ninety-two lakhs was for hard manual labour.

Rs nineteen lakhs—medical and public health relief.

Rs thirty-five-lakhs for charkha spinning and other forms of light manual labour.

Nearly Rs fifty lakhs on free relief.

But their difficulty is that they could not even use the forty-eight lakhs

1. File No. 37(65)/49-PMS.

2. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 1, pp. 47-65.

that we have given them fully because of the condition attached to it. That condition I take it was really meant for normal labour and not for light uneconomic labour like charkha spinning, etc. I think that we might waive that condition insofar as this type of relief by some light labour was given.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To K. Hanumanthaiya¹

New Delhi
July 10, 1952

My dear Hanumanthaiya,²

... So far as relief for distress is concerned,³ the Government of India have laid down a definite policy. You will realize that demands come to us for distress relief from all over India. Some uniform policy has to be pursued and we cannot vary that policy from State to State. Also that policy has to keep in view our capacity for helping. Where there is real distress, some kind of works are started to give relief and supply purchasing power to the people. The Government of India are prepared to share to a certain extent in such relief works. You can rest assured that Mysore will be treated as favourably and generously as any other State. Surely you cannot expect our Finance Minister to be generous at the expense of other States or to follow a varying policy in regard to your State. He is doing his utmost to give help. We have reduced the price of foodgrains all over India and that has meant a heavy burden to the Central Government. Sympathy and consideration you will have of course in full measure just as other States deserve them too.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31(147)/52-PMS. Extracts.
2. Chief Minister of Mysore at this time.
3. In his letter of 8 July, Hanumanthaiya pleaded for Central assistance for distress relief in Mysore. He noted that the Union Finance Minister had a "technical and wooden" approach to the problem and had turned down his earlier request in this connection.

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

II. Food and Agriculture

(iii) Agriculture and Land Reforms

1. To B. Ramakrishna Rao¹

New Delhi
June 5, 1952

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,²

... You mention the case of some landlords who are personally cultivating land above the prescribed limit and who are using mechanized methods, etc. This certainly offers a difficulty and it would be a pity if we came in the way of new methods of cultivation and thus reduced production. The two standards by which we should judge any change are: (1) social justice and (2) more production. Sometimes, the two conflict a little. You say that probably there are not many such cases. If so, it might be possible to deal with them in a particular way. It would be a pity to come in the way of the application of improved methods of agriculture in certain places.

I feel strongly that far too great a proportion of the Hyderabad revenues is being spent on the police. I do not know the exact figure, but I believe it was somewhere in the region of six crores. This might have been justified a year or two ago, but there is no justification for it now. Indeed, law and order are basically dealt with by improving economic conditions. We cannot build up a police State to preserve law and order.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. (1899-1967); a prominent leader of the national movement in Telengana; one of the founder-members of the Hyderabad State Congress and actively associated with it from 1938 to 1956; Chief Minister of Hyderabad, 1952-56; Governor of Kerala, 1956-1960, and Uttar Pradesh, 1960-62.

2. To Chief Ministers¹

New Delhi
June 20, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

In my fortnightly letter of June 16² I mentioned that I intended to write to

1. This letter has also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-64*, Vol. 3 (New Delhi, 1987), pp. 29-30.
2. See *post*, pp. 621-630.

you separately on the subject of land reform on behalf of the Planning Commission and to ask you to let me have your views. The abolition of zamindari was a necessary step before other reforms could be effected. Our problems of agriculture and rural poverty, however, are very much deeper than the existence of intermediary or other rights. We have, therefore, to approach them in a fundamental way.

In recent months there has been a growing feeling that a ceiling on existing agricultural holdings should be imposed, so that disparities in the ownership of land may be reduced. Action of this nature in respect of land is bound to be followed by similar action in other fields, though its details will necessarily differ. A ceiling on holdings by itself may have certain psychological advantage, but it might injure production, at any rate, for a period. We have to think in terms of large changes which we can bring about in an ordered, democratic manner, and which will result in greater production and in equality of opportunity for all sections of our people. Naturally, there are many difficult questions involved and we have to consider these with the utmost care, exercising such caution as may be necessary and yet not shirking bold measures. Once we have made up our minds on the course of action that we have to adopt, we have to go all out to prepare the minds of our people for the change and to proceed as fast as we can to persuade them and carry them with us.

In the Planning Commission and outside we are at present giving much thought to the land problem. I should like you to consult your colleagues and let me have your suggestions within ten days. I enclose a note³ prepared in the Planning Commission which sets out the various issues and considerations which have to be kept in view. I should like you to consider these as carefully as possible.

I realize that it is not quite fair for me to send you this long note dealing with one of our most complicated problems and to expect a reply within a few days. But there is no help for it. The Planning Commission are finalizing their report and cannot delay it much longer. I shall be very grateful to you if you could send me as full a reply as is possible in the circumstances by the end of this month. You have to deal with the questions raised with the data with you. There is no time for you to collect more data. Your answers therefore may not be quite as full as they would otherwise have been. Therefore some reply should be sent to me within the next ten days. If you like, send me a fuller reply somewhat later.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Not printed.

3. Abolition of Zamindari in Uttar Pradesh¹

For long years we have worked and waited for the abolition of the zamindari system in Uttar Pradesh. All kinds of difficulties and obstructions came in our way and delayed this much desired objective of ours. At last we have triumphed over those difficulties and the zamindari system in Uttar Pradesh becomes a matter of history.

Let us celebrate this day² as a day of the progressive emancipation of our peasantry from a social system which prevented their growth. But let us realize also that it is only a first step towards the goal we aim at. It is the removal of an obstruction to growth. We have other and many steps to take before we settle the land problem. In doing so, we have to keep two objectives in view always: social justice and greater production. Neither should suffer.

I send my greetings and good wishes on this day to the millions of our peasants and farmers in Uttar Pradesh. It is more than thirty years ago that I started my pilgrimage to the villages and rural areas of Uttar Pradesh and found innumerable friends and comrades there. I rejoice with them that this day has come and I send them all my good wishes.

1. Message, 25 June 1952. JN Collection.
2. The UP Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act, passed by the State Assembly on 10 January 1951, came into effect from 1 July 1952.

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

III. Industry

1. Public Sector versus Private Enterprise¹

There is no need to be apologetic or explanatory in answering the letter of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India. They have quoted a resolution passed by the Central Legislative Assembly in 1941 in regard to the functions of the Council.² It might be pointed out to the Associated Chambers that many things have happened since 1941, including the establishment of the Republic of India.

The Council as such cannot, of course, undertake commercial activities on a large scale. They can only run pilot plants. But it is perfectly open to Government to run a commercial undertaking, which grows out of the pilot plant. Indeed, it is the policy of Government to run such undertakings wherever feasible and considered desirable. It is for private enterprise to fit into the picture of the planned economy and not for Government to give up a suitable plant because it is considered as unfair competition with private enterprise.

It should be clearly understood that our general policy is to encourage the public sector, in other words, State enterprises. In particular, where research has taken place in our laboratories, first preference has to be given to our developing them as a State enterprise. This is not always feasible or practicable. If so, we encourage this development by private effort.

The sooner the commercial community realizes our general policy, the better. The argument that private enterprise is sacrosanct does not hold good in India today.

1. Note to S.S. Bhatnagar, Secretary, Union Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research. 8 April 1952. JN Collection.
2. Council of Scientific and Industrial Research.

2. Economic Development through Cooperative Methods¹

One of the major questions, not only in this country but in every country, is the economic issue: how to create wealth, how to equalize wealth and how to prevent conflicts. Existing conditions are not satisfactory and they have to be changed. But one has to go towards the goal in an intelligent and civilized

1. Speech at the inaugural meeting of the Central Advisory Council for Industries, New Delhi, 10 May 1952. From *The Hindustan Times* and *The Statesman*, 11 May 1952, and the *National Herald*, 12 May 1952.

way. There are groups and parties and ideologies representing various sets of opinion, but any intelligent person today must approach these questions with an open mind and try to find a way out.

All is not well with the present-day world. There are conflicts, including class conflicts. But it does not follow that a conflict has to be resolved by another conflict. At any rate, it is a better way to resolve a conflict by removing as far as possible its causes. That cannot be done suddenly but one can move in that direction. Normally speaking, an attempt at removal of a conflict by another conflict leads to fresh complications in any sphere. Sometimes war might have good aspects, but in the balance war is bad. War might give an opportunity for display of individual courage, but in the balance it rather coarsens humanity. So, in dealing with economic problems too, the real question is, how far one can solve them and in what measure by cooperative effort. That does not mean that everybody should agree about everything. Nor does it mean that anybody should surrender. But, broadly speaking, if people look in the same direction or towards the same kind of goal, then, even though ways might differ, they can go a long way together and, as things develop, they might find out other and new methods of cooperation.

People argue and debate and indulge in fierce controversies about economic policies and the like. Controversy, I think, is a good thing because it brings out the truth. It is the tone and the method and the background of it that I shall like to see improved.

Things are changing and yet people, consciously or unconsciously, argue about things that have been rather than things as they are. They get caught up in some old argument. In India, more than elsewhere, we are given too much to argumentation. Historically and racially, we are given too much to *shastrarth*. Normally speaking, our argument has been in the higher metaphysical regions where one has the capacity to argue indefinitely. I find that it is normally much easier to deal with a practical problem and avoid these metaphysical or semi-metaphysical arguments.

The course of events is driving people to get out of the old grooves. Take the United States, which is believed to be the highest example of capitalist development. That country itself seems to undergo all kinds of changes. Modern American capitalism is something very different from what it was twenty, thirty or forty years ago. Recently the American President took charge of the whole steel industry suddenly in a labour conflict.² It shows how things are changing.

2. By an Executive Order on 8 April 1952, President Truman placed the US steel industry under Government control with immediate effect in order to avoid a nation-wide strike called by the steel workers' union following continued deadlock on their demand for wage increase. The private ownership was, however, restored on 2 June 1952 after the Supreme Court rejected the President's case for the seizure of the industry.

In the United States, there is a great deal of talk today about profit-sharing in business. I am not saying anything for or against profit-sharing. I am just pointing out how the course of events is driving people to think on new lines. If they do not move fast enough, then, of course, events sometimes go a little ahead and take charge of the situation. It is right, therefore, that we should not wait for events to do so but retain a certain measure of command over events and try to shape our policy with as large a measure of cooperation as possible towards those social purposes which we lay down.

The first thing one has to remember is that the pace of technological development and its consequences have set in motion all kinds of forces. Sometimes one can control them somewhat, but they really control and drive one in a certain direction. Both the US and the Soviet Union as they are today are children of the industrial process and technological developments.

There is a very large measure of unanimity that a State can aim only at the progressive betterment of the people taken as a whole, and not of one group or class. That becomes a deliberate aim of social policy. When that is so, how is one to attain the objective? I do not mind if there is disagreement on the method because there are undoubtedly many ways. But the problem has to be considered fully not with closed minds but with an open mind. Dogma is as bad in other fields as it is in the religious field. It closes the mind, however good it may be at certain times.

It does not trouble me for the moment whether the national policy contained in resolutions or laws is a perfect one or not. If it is not perfect, let us change it. We will change it. The psychological, human approach is more important. If that is there, then one finds a way often enough. If it is not, then not. It does not matter how you phrase your rules and laws or resolutions. They do not go very far.

One has to recognize that any larger policy in India has to be an all-India policy, treating India as an economic unit. Of course, there may be minor variations here and there, but, largely speaking, you cannot have entirely opposite policies in different parts of India. Therefore, it is intended to lay down a policy for the whole of India. This Council³ has been formed to help in every way, not only to criticize what might or might not have been done but to make suggestions and formulate ideas or policies for consideration and, above all, to create an atmosphere of cooperation for common ends insofar as that is possible.

3. The Central Advisory Council for Industries was set up under the Industries Development and Regulation Act, 1951, in order to regulate the industries, offer suggestions, and formulate ideas and policies for consideration by the industries concerned.

3. To C.D. Deshmukh¹

New Delhi
May 21, 1952

My dear Deshmukh,

I enclose a copy of a letter received by me from B.M. Birla.² I am troubled by this matter. I know that you have been thinking about it, but I do not know what the result of these consultations has been. I presume this matter will be put up before the Economic Committee³ after you have thrashed it out.

I am beginning to dislike more and more the sight of huge American cars (even though I use them sometimes myself) going about Delhi. Somehow they appear vulgar in the circumstances. I think that the import of all luxury cars, for whatever purpose, should be completely forbidden.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. B.M. Birla, chairman, Hindustan Motors, wrote on 20 May 1952 that the automobile industry in India was suffering heavily on account of excessive import of cars. The factory of Hindustan Motors had to be closed down and no steps had been taken by the Ministries concerned to prevent its closure for fear of criticism in Parliament, he added.

3. Of the Union Cabinet.

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

IV. Railways

1. Reorganization of the Indian Railways¹

Mr Minister,² Excellencies and friends,

I gladly accepted the invitation to be present on this occasion not merely because of its importance, but, if I may say so, much more so, because I wished to pay my tribute to the Indian Railways. I remember five years ago or about that time when the question of the then state of the Indian Railways came up repeatedly before us, in the Government, in our Cabinet meetings, it was a woeful state. After the War, with our resources depleted, with all kinds of rolling stock and railway lines sent to Mesopotamia and distant parts of the world, with no replenishments, no renewals, and with a terrific traffic, it was in fact a painful experience, not only to travel but to see other people travelling. It is hardly conceivable to me, and I would not have believed it if I had not seen it myself, how many people were jammed specially in our third-class compartments then and to some extent even in other classes.

So far as the goods were concerned, I believe mountains of them piled up in our ports. I remember, in Bombay, there was an astounding accumulation and industry suffered, business suffered, everybody suffered, and it was a scandalous state of affairs that many people whose goods remained there had to pay, I believe, some kind of demurrage and yet they could not take them away. Now, that was a state of affairs about five years ago. Soon after that or some months after that came the partition, and that involved a break-up, a sudden overnight break-up of the railway system in the north and north-eastern parts of India. That was a big blow. A big blow at a time when we were just staggering under the weight of the effects of the War. Immediately in the wake of partition came huge migrations. Those millions and millions of refugees, either coming from Pakistan to India or going from India to Pakistan, was an unprecedented thing. And nobody who saw that migration, either by train or by road or otherwise, can ever forget that astounding and ghastly sight. Trains, not merely full inside but overcrowded on the roofs, on footboards, everywhere, filled with suffering humanity. It was an awful scene. Now, all this burden fell on our railways, just when they were least capable of even carrying their normal burden. And yet we survived, and the railways survived. And when we see our railways today, we find how they have coped with the challenges and overcome a multitude of difficulties. Indian Railways not only overcame those problems and difficulties but built themselves anew

1. Speech at the inauguration of the Northern Railway, the North-Eastern Railway and the Eastern Railway, New Delhi, 14 April 1952. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Minister for Railways.

and we may say that they are functioning now with a good deal of efficiency and punctuality. In the old days—those days, I call them the old days although they are only four or five years ago—trains were late by hours and hours. Nobody quite knew when they would arrive. Well, it is an astounding change that has taken place. I think we should take note of that change and I hope even our worst critics will note that change and realize how that change has been brought about and on whom the burden of bringing about that change has lain. Things do not happen by themselves specially in complicated systems, in highly complicated transport systems, employing a vast number of human beings. Things do not happen by themselves. They go wrong by themselves. You can well presume the enormous amount of hard work and cooperation that must have gone into bringing the railways to their present level. I think we, as a people and as a Government, have every reason to be proud of this work and to congratulate all those connected with our railways on what they have done. I should, in particular, like to offer my respectful congratulations to my colleague, Mr Gopalaswami Ayyangar, for the great leadership and vision he has shown in this matter, and how he has led his team of about a million people through these difficult days to reach the present moment of a fairly large measure of success. I should like to add to that the name of one who is no longer now connected with the railways but who worked quietly and silently for this consummation, that is, my colleague, Mr K. Santhanam.³

And then I would like to mention, of course, the members of the Railway Board, and all others who have worked hard at planning and its execution. But when we talk of the railways of India, it is not enough just to talk of the work of a few high placed officers, but rather of nearly a million men engaged, night and day, who are ceaselessly performing their duties in various places. And there can be no doubt at all that the railways of India could not possibly function effectively, efficiently and with success, without the cooperation of this near one million men, who are working all over the places. Therefore I should like to pay my tribute and I should like to congratulate all those railway workers, of all grades wherever they may be, for this great example of efficient cooperation and working. I think that we have reason to be proud of our railways.

In many ways I believe the railways are our greatest national asset. They are a State undertaking, run by the State, controlled by the State, wholly managed through the officers of the State, although, naturally, they form a separate department of the State. Now, in these days of argument about State undertakings and the like—when some people cast doubt on the efficiency of State enterprises and think that the State is some kind of an outsider which

3. Minister of State for Railways and Transport, 1948-52. He was the Lt Governor of Vindhya Pradesh at this time.

encroaches on the preserves of the private individual—it is well to remember the success of this magnificent example of State enterprise in India, which is not only a success in itself, but I hope it is an example to others, and I hope that the success of this State enterprise will induce us, the State and the people of India, to enlarge the scope of State enterprises in all public utilities, more specially in all basic industries, and gradually further still. Because I believe that the human being functions not merely by the incentive of private profit, but he can be moved to perform good work by other incentives also.

Now, may I say just a word about these, about the names attached to these three systems.⁴ I was glad to notice that my colleague, the Railway Minister, in his speech slightly altered the written word, because, when I saw the written word, that is, in Hindi, you call it the *Uttar* Railway, the *Poorva* Railway, the *Uttar-Poorva* Railway. Now, I am glad he did not speak this rather horrid-sounding word *Uttar-Poorva* Railway. He called it the *Poorvottar* Railway, which is obviously much better from every point of view, linguistic and euphonious.

But, if I may suggest, it should not be *Uttar* Railway, but the *Uttari* Railway and the *Poorvi* Railway, the North-Eastern, the *Poorvottari* Railway; not just North Railway, Northern Railway as you have it. Therefore, in Hindi also it should be *Uttari* and *Poorvi* Railway and the other should be *Poorvottari* Railway.

The other day, a few weeks ago, I visited Chittaranjan⁵ where a locomotive factory or, what you call it, the locomotive works, had been put up. And I saw not only the locomotive works there, but the little town that has grown up all around it. And it became a symbol to me of, what shall I say, development and progress in general. It was a fine symbol; not only was it an up-to-date factory, but what interested me much more was the fact that the human aspect of the problem had been carefully considered, that the houses for workers had been built with care. They were good little houses, and they were cheap, insofar as rentals went. Another thing that pleased me was that the institutes for work as well as recreation, such as they were, were common to the officers and the members of the staff. The class barriers, unfortunately so much in evidence in almost every phase of our life in India, much to our great disadvantage, were also not there. I was glad to see that in those institutes officers and men of various grades could all come and amuse themselves or instruct themselves. And ever since my visit to Chittaranjan, I have spoken

4. The Government announced on 15 March 1952 the formation of three zones under the railway regrouping plan, namely, the Northern Railway, the North-Eastern Railway and the Eastern Railway with their headquarters at Delhi, Gorakhpur and Calcutta respectively.
5. Nehru visited Chittaranjan on 1 March 1952.

about it in many places, because that example has become etched in my mind and it became a symbol to me of the progress that our railway system was making not only in building our own locomotives, our own wagons and generally in improving the functioning of railways but what is at least equally important is the human factor, that is, how the workers who run the railways are looked after and cared for. We are concerned in this matter with those who run the railways and those who utilize the services provided by them. And those who use the railways are, practically speaking, a great part of the population of India. Particularly we have to think of all those who use them and give them every comfort such as we can, and we have to think of those who run them and give them every amenity as far as possible. And in doing so, we have to remember that the men and women who use the railways, the vast number of them, are third class passengers. And all our schemes should ultimately revolve round the comfort to that mass of human beings that travel in the third class of the railways of India. I do not mean to say that the other classes should be deprived of that. They get them, they should get them—comfort and amenity—certainly. But ultimately what will count in measuring the efficiency of the railway system is what they offer to the common man and to the common traveller. I am glad to note that there has been and there continues to be a considerable improvement in that direction. I hope particular attention will be paid to it.

Now, may I say in this connection that after I went to Chittaranjan, I visited, for another purpose, Kharagpur,⁶ which is an important railway centre. Seeing the housing conditions of railwaymen there, I was filled with no enthusiasm. I thought they were horrid, and that sight still haunts me. And I do not think that there is any justification whatsoever for human beings to be kept anywhere in India in the condition that they are kept in some places like Kanpur, Calcutta, Kharagpur, Bombay and in this city of Delhi. I am quite clear in my mind that it is better for people to live in the open, right in the open, than to live in those slums. And I am also quite clear that no country can, for long, say that we are very sorry, we mean well, but we have no money to do this. There are certain factors which affect the self-respect of the human being. We cannot, at peril to ourselves, forget them.

Now, we are dealing today with the amalgamation of various railway systems, and producing out of that amalgam three, the Northern, the North-Eastern and the Eastern. Now, personally, being born and being resident in Allahabad for a considerable number of years, my life was closely associated with the East Indian Railway. And I can very well understand people living in those parts and connected to the East Indian Railway feeling a slight pang at

6. Nehru visited Kharagpur on 3 March 1952.

the cutting up or the liquidation, if I may say so, of the East India Railway⁷ as it was. The East Indian Railway was not only the biggest railway, but the oldest too, I believe.

In some of the pamphlets distributed, I noticed that there are some pictures of several rather palatial stations which have been built in recent years. I, however, noticed that there was no picture of the Allahabad Station which no doubt dates back from the middle of the last century. I am rather fond of its dilapidated condition. It reminds me of my early boyhood and infancy. The world has changed but the Allahabad Station remains as it was. So we get used to what we have been familiar with, and we are sometimes sorry for a change. And so many of us living in those regions served by the East Indian Railway regret this change, and may look back later perhaps with some feeling of nostalgia to the old East Indian Railway. But I am afraid that one cannot stop the pace of change. One cannot stop a good thing from happening because of a feeling of nostalgia. And so it became quite inevitable that the East Indian Railway, one of the oldest and the greatest of our railways, should undergo a sea-change—undergo a change in name and perhaps for reasons of administration—and emerge as something new. It was inevitable.

I am sorry that in this matter there has been some controversy and some feelings have been aroused.⁸ Because now when we are really doing something in regard to the railways of India, of which we should be proud, to hear such discordant voices is not good. As I said, I can quite understand the sentimental or other kind of attachments to things as they were, and have been till now. But I feel that in this matter, ultimately sentiment must have second place, and the public good is more important than sentiment. I believe that the present arrangements will be conducive to the public good and to the greater efficiency of the working of the railway system and thereby would be of greater service to the people of India for whom the railways are meant. I hope, therefore, that this controversy will not be prolonged. My friend, the Railway Minister, has made it perfectly clear that no one, no railway worker, is going to suffer because of this change. There is going to be no pushing out of people, no retrenchment because of this change. He has also made it clear that there will be no transfer of people, except with their consent. Now, these are, I think,

7. The East Indian Railway Employees' Union demanded that the old EIR should be kept intact.
8. There was some criticism of the inclusion of the Allahabad Division in the Northern Railway and of the Sealdah Division in the North-Eastern Railway. While the interests of West Bengal demanded the inclusion of both these Divisions in the Eastern Railway, the demand to include the Allahabad Division was strongly opposed by the UP Government. West Bengal wanted the location of the headquarters of both the Eastern Railway and the North-Eastern Railway in Calcutta to provide job opportunities to people living there.

fair and generous offers and statements of policy. After that, no one, as an individual, should have any feeling of grievance. There may be other feelings which unfortunately crop up, which might be called provincial feelings and which in a way one can understand. There is no reason why people should not be a little proud of their provinces. But we have ultimately to subordinate that to the larger interests.

So presently I shall pull this lever and before I do so I want you all to have a good look at that map. Have a good look at it, because that map represents the railway system as it is today. Within a minute or two when I pull the lever, it will represent the railway system as it is going to be now onwards. You will see that in the South, the Southern Railway and the Central Railway are already parts of the new system.⁹ They will not change. It is in the North that change will take place. West also will not change. It is in the North and North-East that the change will take place. Now you see the EIR and BNR and the OTR and various others all over in various colours. After I pull this lever you will see, emerging in that map, the three new groupings—the Northern, the North-Eastern and the Eastern. So, as I pull the lever, I wish all success to the railways of India in the new step that they have taken and all success to the people of India in this great nationalized undertaking.

9. The Southern Railway, the first integrated railway system under the six-zone regrouping plan, was inaugurated on 14 April 1951. The Central Railway and the Western Railway were inaugurated in November 1951.

2. To N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar¹

New Delhi
April 20, 1952

My dear Gopalaswami,

You have had your railway conference and discussed the matters left over with the Chief Ministers of Bengal, UP and other people.² I do not know what your decisions are but I gather vaguely that they are not in favour of the contentions put forward on behalf of Bengal.

1. File No. 27(96)/51-PMS.
2. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, B.C. Roy, G.B. Pant, U. Bose (Assam) and Syamanandan Sahaya (Bihar) discussed on 19 April the disputed matters arising out of the scheme of regrouping of railways. It emerged from the discussions that though the inclusion of the Allahabad Division in the Eastern Railway was unlikely, the Sealdah Division was, however, to be included in it.

Dr Roy came to see me today and was gravely perturbed at the possible consequences of this decision in regard to the law and order situation in Bengal. Every group and party there has joined hands over this matter and they promise to give trouble. In the ultimate analysis, there is the fear of unemployment in Bengal because of this or new recruitment in Bengal being stopped. We have given a guarantee that there will be no retrenchment and that there will be no transfer unless agreed to. Dr Roy said that even so, as there will be a surplus of 4,000 or so, this will stop new recruitment which otherwise would have taken place. Also that promotions will be stopped in case of refusal to accept transfer.

You know all the merits of this matter and I am not for the present concerned with them. But is it not possible to give some assurances in regard to new recruitment as well as promotions? Also, it might be desirable to slow down the process of change so that any immediate marked effect might not be noticeable.

As you know, Pakistan is introducing the passport system soon.³ This is also adding to the apprehension in West Bengal and Calcutta.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. See *post*, pp. 463-467.

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION
V. Health

1. To Amrit Kaur¹

New Delhi
April 13, 1952

My dear Amrit,

I find I have a letter from you dated the 26th February still awaiting reply. This deals with village doctors.

Personally I have no objection at all to English Quaker doctors coming here or indeed anyone else. It would be better to take them on a contract for a period. How you can get over the Public Service Commission I cannot tell you. You will have to enquire what the procedure is.

I think that we should try to make a rule that all new medical graduates should spend a period, say, at least a year, in rural areas before they can practise or can be taken into service in towns.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.

2. Adulteration of Ghee¹

... The question of *vanaspati* being used for adulterating ghee has excited many people greatly. I confess that I have not been able to understand any adequate reason for this excitement, except that adulteration of every kind is bad and should be stopped as far as possible. In fact there are much worse types of adulteration of ghee than by *vanaspati*. Scientific opinion is perfectly clear that *vanaspati* is harmless. Something in the nature of *vanaspati* is widely used in a large number of countries. Its use in England is common.

The real question, I think, is that we should have good 'pure food' laws and that these should be enforced. To confine our attention to *vanaspati* is to limit our survey. Therefore I would suggest to you to give consideration to this wider aspect. There are plenty of food laws against adulteration, etc., in other countries, notably UK, USA, etc. It should be quite easy for us to draw up some simple law to that effect. This should be done in consultation with the Health Ministry.

1. Preliminary comments on the report of the Ghee Adulteration Committee, in a note to the Union Minister for Food, 14 May 1952. File No. 31(99)/50-PMS. Extracts.

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION
VI. Housing and Town Planning

1. The Need for New Concepts in Housing¹

Two days ago I had an occasion to visit the site for the new Punjab Capital, Chandigarh. This was the first time I went there. The site appeared to me as an ideal one from many points of view. I had seen the previous plans made and the general layout of the Capital. This was originally done by Mr Albert Mayer.² These plans have now been varied somewhat, though the main approach is the same. I think that the whole conception is very good and, if given effect to, will produce an attractive city, combining somewhat modern conceptions of town-planning and the needs of the community with our own customs and habits and the requirements of the climate.

2. The Punjab Government have engaged, as their senior adviser, M. Corbusier,³ who is acknowledged to be perhaps the greatest authority in the world in architecture. They have also engaged some other foreign experts. M. Corbusier was full of enthusiasm for this work and I am glad that full advantage is being taken of him.

3. As usual, I was greatly interested in the quarters being built for the staff of all grades. On the whole they appeared to be good and not too expensive. In the course of a conversation with M. Corbusier, he told me that he was surprised and somewhat unhappy at the way we copied foreign models in our buildings and houses, regardless of our own climate and environment. We had got so used to the Anglo-Saxon approach, which was largely based

1. Note to Planning Commission, Union Minister for Works, Mines and Power, Governor of Punjab, and P.N. Thapar, Financial Commissioner and Administrator, Capital Project, Punjab, Mashobra, 4 April 1952. File No. 28(72)/52-PMS.
2. He was planning and development adviser to the UP Government at this time.
3. Le Corbusier (Charles Edouard Jeanneret) (1887-1965); French architect and town planner; built numerous private houses in France and other countries; planned several cities including Chandigarh, Buenos Aires, Stockholm, Antwerp, Algiers, Nemours and Bogota.

on foreign engineers or on our own engineers who had received their training in foreign countries, that we tended to forget that India was somewhat different from these countries of the West. I think that there was a great deal in what M. Corbusier told me and we should definitely investigate what changes we should make to make our buildings conform more to Indian conditions and at the same time have some artistic value. In the past we have paid little attention to architecture or to aesthetics in this respect. This does not necessarily mean greater expense.

4. What is more important however is that our housing schemes should be thought out anew, specially houses of a cheaper variety. Nothing is more horrid than the type of peons' or servants' quarters which became the standard pattern in British times and which still continue though with some variations. These quarters were looked upon as small, narrow, lightless little rooms. Our workers' dwellings followed that pattern more or less. When improvement was sought, we thought of two rooms instead of one. Sometimes we went further and attached a bathroom or a latrine or a kitchen. The basic conception however remained the same. I think that this conception might well be considered afresh.

5. What a man requires more than anything is not just a small enclosed and covered space, but sanitation, lighting and water supply. The rest is almost secondary, though of course it is important and would vary with the climate—whether it is cold or hot, whether it rains much or little.

6. I am more and more convinced that we should begin thinking on the basis of providing sanitation, lighting and water supply. The major cost comes from the building and we have normally got bogged up because of this major cost. Houses are supposed to provide privacy. As a matter of fact, a room 10'x12' which has a dozen persons living in it, or even four or five, affords no privacy at all. An open space is more private.

7. I am writing this note just to draw attention to two facts: (i) that we might give thought to what M. Corbusier suggested, that is, all our building conceptions, small or big, should be thought of more in terms of Indian conditions and (ii) that our cheap housing schemes should be thought of chiefly in terms of providing sanitation, lighting and water supply. We can add to this as occasion offers and resources are available. Even good huts would be infinitely preferable with these amenities than solid constructions.

8. Our PWD rules, more specially in regard to cheap housing, will have to be revised completely.

9. I think it will be desirable for M. Corbusier to be invited to Delhi for a talk with our Planning Commission and our PWD engineers.

2. To K. Santhanam¹

New Delhi
April 11, 1952

My dear Santhanam,

Your letter of the 9th April.² As a matter of fact, I did read your last fortnightly letter to the President.

I have some idea of the backwardness of the Vindhya Pradesh. It is most depressing.

I suppose the only way to get construction work done on a large scale is to get the people to do it themselves. We can provide them materials, etc., and the labour must be theirs. They must be made to feel that they are building something for themselves. Roads also can be treated in the same way. I think the UP has met with some success in this matter.

The way we have been putting up buildings seems to me to have been wrong, that is to say, PWD standards are wrong and expensive. We need not bother about the long life of a building except for big structures. I think that even good sheds for schools, etc., would be desirable. I think also that bamboo-made and straw-roofed sheds and huts are quite good and should be encouraged even for schools.

If you construct a school, why not make it something more than a school? That is, it should be used as a school and also as a kind of community centre where some amenities, books, newspapers, etc., could be placed. This would give the people of the village a sense of personal contact and ownership with it.

I am sending you a cheque for rupees 15,000/- from the Prime Minister's Fund. You can spend it at your discretion.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. K. Santhanam Collection, NAI.
2. Santhanam, Lieutenant Governor of Vindhya Pradesh, unhappy at the backward condition of the State where most of the people lived in slums, wanted to improve the condition of the primary and middle schools there by encouraging the people to construct school buildings themselves. He wished to make a start with one good school costing about rupees five thousand in each of the thirty-one *tahsils* and requested Nehru if some money could be spared for the purpose from the Prime Minister's Fund.

3. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
April 18, 1952

My dear Pantji,

Thank you for your letter of April 8th about the *ahatas*² in Kanpur.³ I am glad that you are paying special attention to this matter.

I feel however that the approach now being made is essentially the same as in the past. The only difference is that some more energy is being put into this approach. What I think is necessary is a new type of habitation, which need not be even a proper house, but which must have sanitation, water supply and lighting. I am sure that we spend too much money on bricks and mortar or cement.

I think also that it is a much more costly business to build quarters near factories. Space is limited there too and space is desirable. It will be cheaper and healthier to build at some distance and provide transport.

I still think that it would be desirable for Government to acquire some of the areas of these *ahatas* and to demolish them as soon as possible providing any kind of temporary quarters for the persons displaced.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 26(77)/49-PMS.
2. Slums developed by private property owners on undeveloped land to provide cheap accommodation to mill workers.
3. During his visit to Kanpur on 24 February 1952, Nehru had passed a stricture, "These slums represent the utmost form of human degradation. Those responsible for this state of affairs should be hanged", and had written to Pant on 1 March for proper development of these areas (see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 17, pp. 253-255). Pant wrote on 8 April 1952 that Nehru's condemnation had brought the problem to the forefront and added that he had written to the Ministry of Labour about it.

4. To Balkrishna Sharma¹

New Delhi
April 18, 1952

My dear Balkrishna,²

Thank you for your letter of 2nd April about labour housing in Kanpur. I am glad that my words have made people think again of this matter.

I find however that all this thinking continues to be on old lines. I am quite sure that a fresh approach is needed. We should save money on bricks and mortar and provide habitations, laying stress on sanitation, water supply and lighting. It is better also, I think, to have these away from the heart of the city. This will be cheaper and will provide more space. Transport can be provided.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Member of the House of the People at this time.

5. To C.D. Deshmukh¹

New Delhi
May 4, 1952

My dear Deshmukh,

Thank you for your letter of May 3rd² about building costs, etc. I have received a note from WPS Ministry also. That note is to some extent based on misconceptions. For instance, a comparison is made with the cost of construction of the National Physical Laboratory. That cost includes marble halls and the like as well as a complete system of refrigeration in the whole building. This obviously has to be excluded in arriving at the cost of normal construction. That whole place has been built on a very special model, derived from America, of the type of the latest laboratories. I still think that PWD rates both in the Centre and in the States are higher than they should be. Apart from everything else, 17½ per cent surcharge seems heavy.

1. File No. 28(72)/52-PMS.
2. It related to a proposal for construction of cheap houses.

It is perfectly true that the building costs at Chittaranjan appear much lower than they actually were because of many subsidies, patent or hidden.

You mention that the Building Experts Committee have emphatically opposed the idea of substituting *kutch*a construction. It depends of course on what *kutch*a construction might mean. But I am inclined to disagree with them in spite of their expert knowledge. When they talk of the long run, that means, I suppose, 30 or 40 years or so. If a less pucca construction costs much less even from the point of view of time it immediately gives us more room for expansion in building than the pucca construction. Pucca construction of big buildings and structures, I can understand. But pucca construction of something that is very likely to turn into a slum, I do not understand. Very likely, in the future, we would have to remove that pucca construction ourselves and put something better in its place.

All these engineers, good as they are, have seldom paid much attention to the operational aspect or to the social aspect. We have very few real architects who think on these lines. When the question of Dr Crane³ came up, objection was raised that he was a great expert on the social side and that we were only concerned with cheap housing. That objection revealed to me an approach to this problem which I consider deplorable. I think that housing is essentially a social thing. It does not necessarily follow that the social approach should be the more expensive approach.

In your comparative statement there is no reference to Kharagpur where a new engineer, I think from Czechoslovakia,⁴ is building houses, better than the normal ones we provide, for under Rs 3,000/-.

The committee appointed by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research was a small committee which was to consider the problem with expert engineers. That committee has been meeting with the engineers.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Jacob Leslie Crane. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 17, p. 261.

4. Nehru probably referred to Anton Brenner, an Austrian engineer, who was at this time with the Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur.

6. To K.N. Katju¹

New Delhi
May 30, 1952

My dear Kailas Nath,

... When I wrote that the Supreme Court should be a dignified building, I was not thinking at all of grandeur and of pomp and circumstance. I was thinking rather of grace and attractiveness.² We have got into a terrible habit of putting up ugly buildings. I suppose we learnt it from the British, as we learnt many other things from them, without learning their virtues. Our engineers are engineers only and good ones. They are not architects in the real sense of the word. Indeed we have hardly any architects in India. I think that every public building should be designed by an architect.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. File No. 48(10)/56-PMS. Extracts.
2. Referring to Nehru's letter of 27 May 1952 to Swaran Singh, Union Minister for Works, Housing and Supply, in which he had remarked that the new building for the Supreme Court must have "grace and dignity, apart from convenience," though he was "all for austerity standards in our normal buildings", Katju wrote to Nehru on 30 May that although the Supreme Court should have an imposing building, it needed neither to be very extensive nor too costly.

7. Shortage of Accommodation in New Delhi¹

The present lay-out of New Delhi has certain advantages and certain disadvantages. It is an attractive city with plenty of open spaces. Indeed every house has got a large open space. The houses are usually rather big. The result is that it is exceedingly expensive to live in New Delhi. Ground values are very high. Houses, being big, require an establishment to keep them up. Large gardens are very costly. Distances are so great that some kind of conveyance becomes essential.

2. In these days when the cost of living goes up and salaries go down, it

1. Note to Swaran Singh, 18 June 1952. File No. 28(72)/52-PMS.

becomes important to explore avenues which would lead to a reduction in the expenditure of people living in New Delhi. This applies to everybody from Ministers to others.

3. I am making various suggestions for your consideration:

(i) Instead of increasing the size of New Delhi, we should build within its present confines, that is, the large compounds attached to houses should be utilized for additional house construction. The houses so built should be relatively small, say, three to four rooms or, say, three bed rooms and two public rooms. In some places they might be somewhat even smaller: two bed rooms and two other rooms. The houses should be compact and not spread out. These houses would be cheaper to build and cheaper to maintain with their smaller compounds. The older houses in those compounds will also become somewhat cheaper when part of the compound is taken away from them.

(ii) Some of the older houses should be investigated from the point of view of putting a second storey on them. This will obviously be cheaper, where possible, than having a separate house built and it would mean almost doubling the accommodation.

(iii) I think we should consider putting up all future Government offices and official buildings on both sides of the Vista (Kingsway²). The Vista is huge and it should remain an open space. But there is plenty of room at either end of the Vista on the far side of the water pools to put up attractive buildings which would serve as offices and the like. These buildings should have no gardens attached to them except a little in the front. There should be almost a continuous row of buildings on either side. Of course it will take a considerable time to fill this huge Vista up on either side with these buildings. But if we decide upon this we can gradually put up our official structures, one after the other, in this way. This will make the Vista attractive and will be convenient in other ways also.

(iv) These buildings should be about three storeys high. They should be carefully designed to be simple and attractive, with a certain nobility of line. They should fit in with each other and not differ in architecture. Perhaps it would be desirable to have an arcade or a covered verandah on the ground floor.

4. I should like you to consult our engineers about these suggestions.

2. The boulevard connecting Rashtrapati Bhavan with India Gate, now known as Rajpath.

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

VII. Rehabilitation

1. Recovery of Abducted Women¹

The recent judgment of the Punjab High Court has stopped for the present the recovery of abducted women under the Act which Parliament passed.² The matter is under appeal before the Supreme Court.

Meanwhile, we should consider what our future policy should be, apart from the results of the appeal. There are obviously two views, both stoutly held. One is that this recovery should continue; the other is that too much time has elapsed now and we should put an end to it. Even those who hold the first view think, I believe, that some change in procedure and methods was desirable. Even those who hold the second view will probably agree that we should not wholly close the door to recovery. There is thus a margin to be explored and I suggest that this should be done as early as possible without waiting for the result of the appeal.

This question has been considered, and rightly so, on the humanitarian level. It has certain political aspects also. It has also far-reaching social aspects. What occurred in 1947-48 in both Pakistan and certain parts of India was horrible in the extreme. It was much worse than what takes place in wartime. During war between two countries, soldiers misbehave, commit rape, etc. That is bad and public opinion generally condemns it though they may condone it to some extent owing to the exigencies of war. What occurred in Pakistan and India was not so much individual misbehaviour, owing to the relaxation of moral codes, but large scale, deliberate and organized abduction of women. This kind of thing cannot take place unless there is public opinion to support it. It is horrible to think that any section of public opinion should deliberately encourage such an activity.

This public opinion was largely the outcome of communal animosity and a desire to injure the other community by dishonouring and abducting the womenfolk of that community. This was thus not merely a number of individual cases of men going astray. It was communalism at its absolute worst.

We have to fight this tendency of communalism as we have to fight its other tendencies, because all these degrade us to the lowest level.

1. Note, 25 June 1952. JN Collection.

2. On 10 June 1952, the Punjab High Court held that the Abducted Persons (Recovery and Restoration) Act of 1949, which sought the removal into camps free from an atmosphere of coercion and threats of persons suspected of having been abducted during communal disturbances, was inconsistent with the provisions of the Constitution, and passed orders setting at liberty all persons for whose release writs of habeas corpus had been moved.

I looked upon this campaign for the recovery of abducted women as some kind of mass education on this point. People must realize that this abduction is disgraceful and abominable. I doubt if many of them so realize it. There are some who take pride in the fact and consider that they have acted as champions of their religion or community by indulging in acts of this kind. Indeed, the reactions of some of the communal organizations to the Punjab High Court judgment are revealing from this point of view.

It is for this reason that I think that we cannot wholly give up our attempts at recovery. There is also the human aspect of an abducted woman wanting to get away and being prevented from doing so.

On the other hand, it is obvious that after five years all kinds of new human relationships have developed and it may be a greater punishment to break these new relationships. In any event, compulsion must not be used. That, of course, was admitted but a middle stage was evolved to enable the woman concerned to think calmly and then decide after full opportunity has been given to her. I fear that there was a fair element of compulsion. Even that in the balance may have been good. But there must have been cases where it was not so good. Therefore, the element of compulsion should be reduced to a minimum or even done away with completely.

I should like this matter to be considered carefully fairly soon. I am sending this note to various Ministries who have dealt with this matter. Also to Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar who has been intimately concerned with this. The Ministries are: External Affairs, Rehabilitation, Home and Law.

After we have considered this matter to some extent, we should consult the State Governments chiefly concerned, that is, East Punjab and Pepsu.

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

VIII. Education and Culture

(i) Education

1. Appeal for Contributions for Visva-Bharati¹

Fifty years ago, Gurudeva Rabindranath, realizing the unsuitability of the educational system prevailing in the country under the British, founded at Santiniketan the Brahmacharya Asram with only five boys.² In twenty years time the Asram grew into an international university, known throughout the country and abroad as the Visva-Bharati, where the whole world meets in a single nest. To this seat of learning were drawn such scholars of international repute as Sylvain Levi,³ Sten Konow,⁴ Winternitz,⁵ Lesny,⁶ Formichi,⁷ Tucci,⁸ Germanus,⁹ Aga Pouré Davoud¹⁰ and others, as well as students from many countries, particularly from China, Japan, Siam, Ceylon and Indonesia. Men

1. 8 May 1952. File No. 9/128/49-55-PMS. Nehru was the Acharya of the Visva-Bharati University.
2. In December 1901, Rabindranath Tagore started in the Santiniketan Asram founded in 1863 by his father, Devendranath, an experimental school known as Brahmacharya Asram with the idea of providing his pupils with an education not divorced from nature so that they could feel to be members of a larger community and thus grow up in an atmosphere of freedom, mutual trust and joy.
3. Indologist and author of *Le Theatre Indien* (1890) and *Buddacarita* (1893).
4. (1867-1948); Norwegian Indologist and philologist; wrote, among others, *India's Religions* (1924).
5. Moriz Winternitz (1863-1937); Austrian Indologist and ethnologist.
6. Vincenc Lesny (1882-1953); Czech scholar; was a professor of Indology and Iranian studies in the Charles University, Prague; founder of the Oriental Institute, Prague; wrote, beside a biography of Rabindranath Tagore, *India and Indians* and *The Spirit of India*.
7. Carlo Formichi (1871-1943); Italian scholar; professor of Sanskrit; taught at the universities of Bologna, Pisa and Rome; translated Asvaghosh's *Buddhacharita* into Italian.
8. Guiseppe Tucci (1894-1984); Italian scholar; was sent by the Italian Government to teach Italian history and culture at the Visva-Bharati, 1925; was later professor of religions and philosophy of India and the Far East, Rome University; author of *Indo-Tibetica* (seven volumes).
9. Gyula Germanus (1884-1979); Hungarian scholar of Arabic literature; taught in the department of Islamic studies in the Visva-Bharati, 1929-32; embraced Islam during his stay in India.
10. A German scholar of Persian language and literature; sent by the Shah of Iran to the Visva-Bharati, 1933.

of goodwill like C.F. Andrews,¹¹ William Pearson¹² and Leonard Elmhirst¹³ gave their service to the institution as enthusiastic workers.

But it may not be widely known that Mahatma Gandhi, attracted by the ideals of Santiniketan, came to live in the Asram for some months and took over the charge of the institution as its Sarvadyaksha;¹⁴ it was just after he left South Africa and came over to his motherland with his students of the Phoenix Asram.¹⁵ Till the last, Gandhiji was keenly interested in the work of the Visva Bharati and he wanted the nation to undertake the responsibility of securing the stability of the institution.

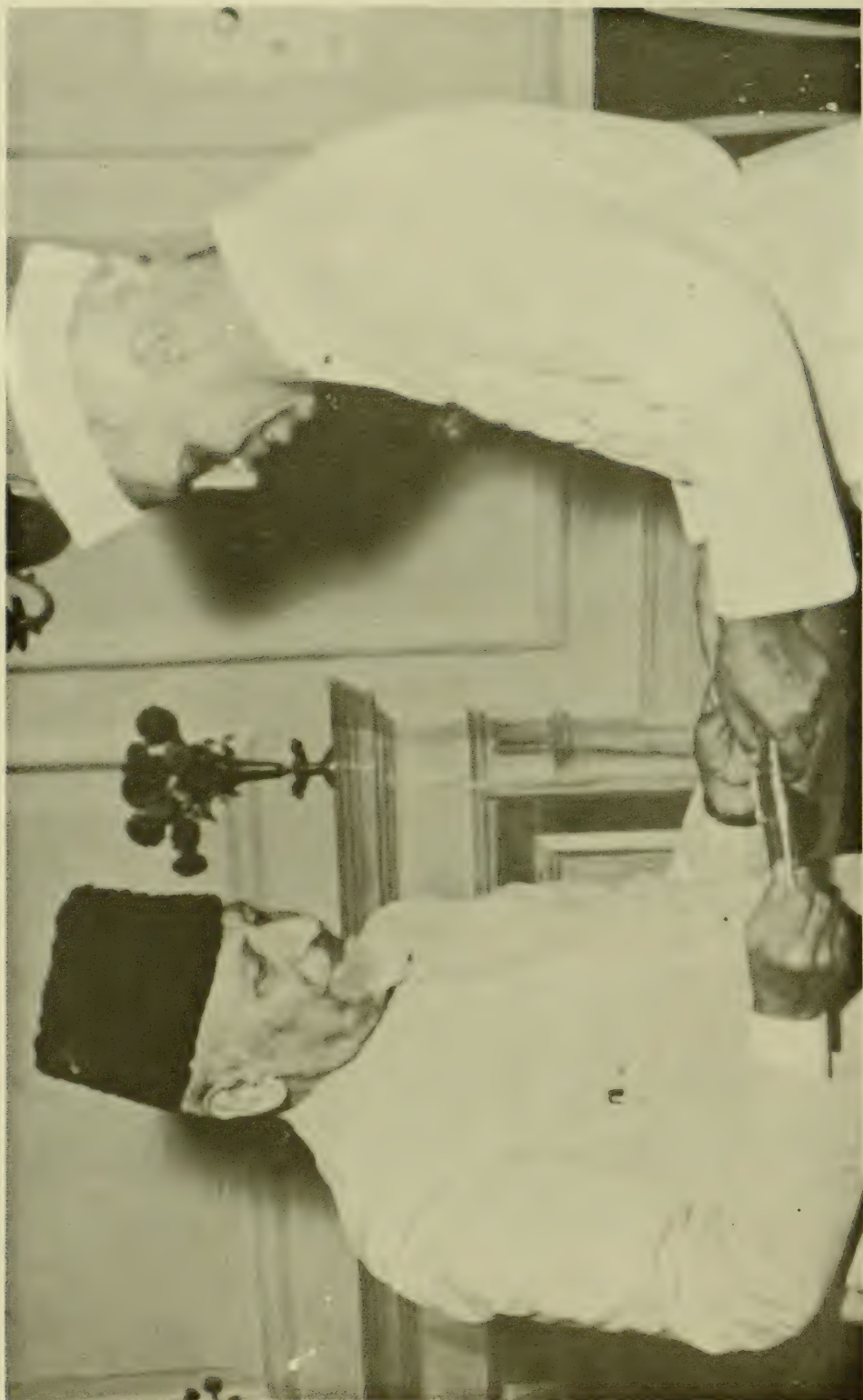
The national Government, in recognition of the work that was being done here and being assured that the institution would not be a replica of the other Indian universities but would develop along the lines envisaged by the great founder, declared the Visva-Bharati to be "an institution of national importance", and granted it statutory recognition as a university in May 1951.

But financial insecurity has stood all along in the way of the fullest realization of Rabindranath's ideals. Even in ailing health Gurudeva used to go about with the beggar's bowl practically all over the country to raise funds to keep his institution alive from year to year. For long years the teachers and workers at Santiniketan have been living on a scanty salary which is no better than a subsistence allowance.

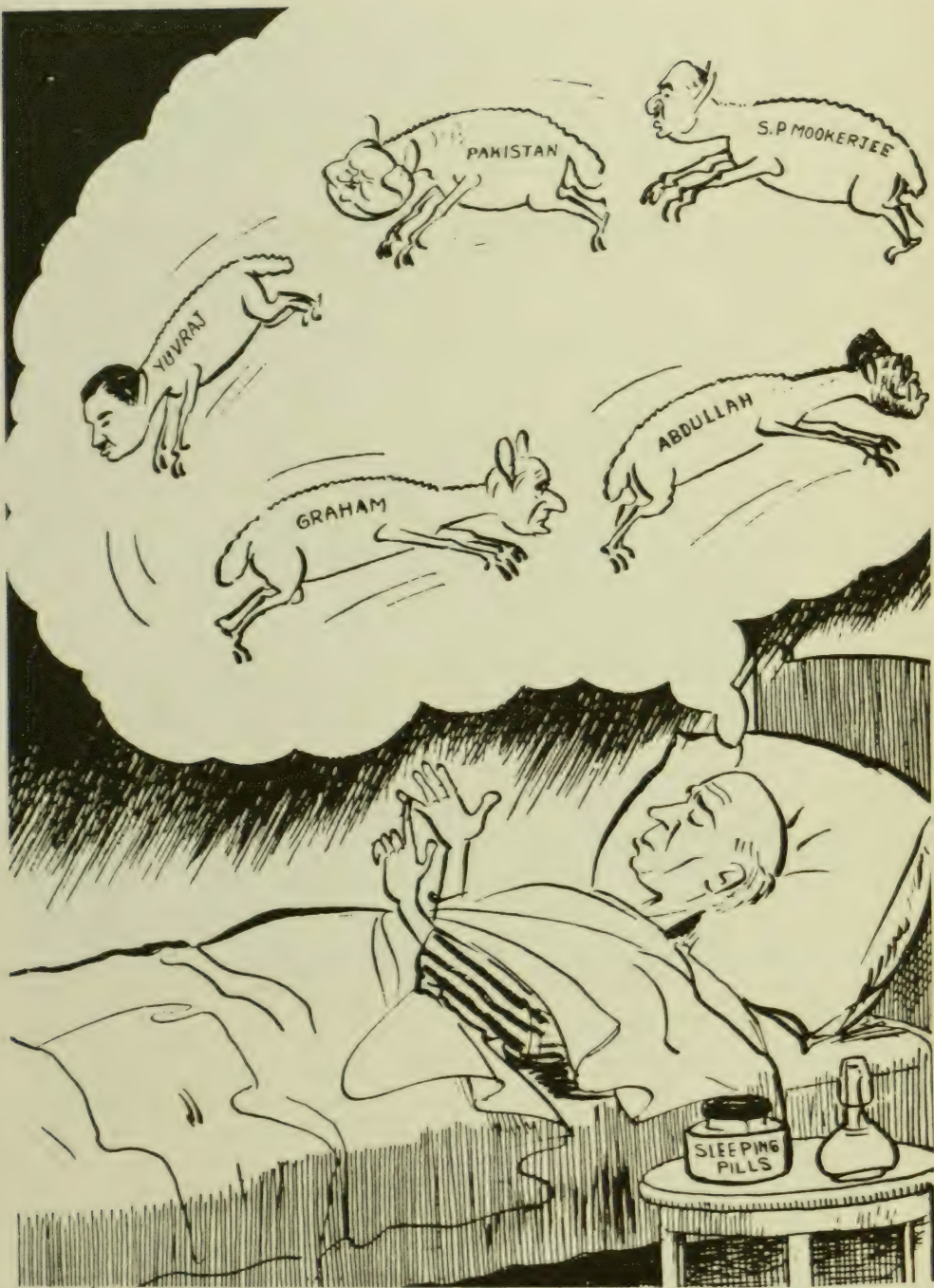
In the present state of national finances, the Union Government, however, could make the University an annual grant of rupees 450,000 only. They realize that this sum is totally insufficient to run a residential university paying the teachers a moderate scale of graded salary, not to speak of founding new Chairs or expanding the activities of the University to serve the best needs of the country.

As Acharya of the Visva-Bharati, I have now to make an earnest appeal

11. Charles Freer Andrews, an Englishman and a friend of Mahatma Gandhi and Tagore, was closely identified with the nationalist movement.
12. William Winstanley Pearson (1881-1923); member, London Missionary Society; inspired by Tagore, came to Santiniketan, 1912; joined satyagraha movement under Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa, 1913; returned to Santiniketan, 1914; accompanied Tagore to Japan, 1916, and to Europe and the USA, 1921.
13. Founder-director, rural reconstruction institute, Sriniketan, Visva-Bharati, and of Dartington Hall, a similar institution in Devonshire in Britain.
14. Mahatma Gandhi, along with the students of his Phoenix Asram in South Africa, visited Santiniketan on 17 February 1915 on his return from South Africa the previous month. As Tagore was not in Santiniketan at the time, the two met on 3 March 1915 and Mahatma Gandhi stayed with him for six days.
15. It was a settlement started by Mahatma Gandhi in 1904 at Phoenix in South Africa with the aim of organizing a self-supporting community which would maintain itself by its own manual labour.



RECEIVING A SILVER PLAQUE FROM ABUL KALAM AZAD ON BEHALF OF CABINET COLLEAGUES, NEW DELHI, 12 APRIL 1952



A CARTOON FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 13 JULY 1952

to the generosity of our people to come forward with liberal contributions to secure the financial stability of this great national institution so that it may gradually give practical shape to the ideals that inspired its founder. It may be mentioned that by an order of the Government of India donors are exempted from paying any income tax on amounts donated to the Visva-Bharati. It is now proposed to create a few Chairs in the Visva-Bharati according to the list¹⁶ given overleaf. Each such Chair would require an annual subsidy of rupees 10,000/-. It is also desired that two special University Chairs should be created which would cost rupees 15,000/- a year. These Chairs can be inaugurated only if the requisite endowment be available or grants received for their maintenance for a period of at least five years, in the first instance.

Other donations, whether earmarked for any special purpose or not, may also be made.

All donations will be received and duly acknowledged by Sj. Rathindranath Tagore, Upacharya (Vice-Chancellor), Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan PO, District Birbhum, West Bengal, or by Sj. Nripendrachandra Mitra, Artha-Sachiva (Treasurer), Visva-Bharati, 6/3 Dwarkanath Tagore Lane, Calcutta-7. Remittances may also be made direct to the credit of the Visva-Bharati University account with the Imperial Bank of India, 3 Strand Road, Calcutta-1.

16. Not Printed.

2. To B. Ramakrishna Rao¹

New Delhi
June 5, 1952

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,

Your letter of the 31st May about the Osmania University.

You will remember my speaking to you about this subject quite fully. I am quite convinced in my mind that it is good for Hyderabad, as well as for the Osmania University, for this University to become a Central University. If this does not happen, I feel sure that the University will not only deteriorate, but will tend to go to pieces. That would be a great pity, for it is a fine institution. Even the agitation against it, part of which is probably due to some misunderstanding, leads me to this conclusion that the future of the University would be gravely imperilled by disruptive forces if it is not taken away by the Centre.

1. File No. 40(54)/56-PMS.

We made this suggestion a year or two ago thinking that it was a great favour that we were conferring on Hyderabad. Almost any other university in India would like this to be done to it. Indeed, we have been criticized on this score and asked why we do not show this particular favour to old established universities elsewhere. Why have we selected the Osmania for it?

If the University remains with the Hyderabad Government, it will become the plaything of political forces and pulls and intrigue will flourish. Indeed, many of our universities have deteriorated very rapidly because of this politics and intrigue. For Hyderabad this would be much worse. Educational standards will go down. You will get no help from the Centre and the burden on the Hyderabad Government would be considerable. Far from making progress and expanding, it will shrink and become just a second-rate university to which no particular attention is attracted.

Our idea was to make it a unique institution not only for the South of India, but, in a sense, for the whole of India, serving essentially Hyderabad and the South, but, to some extent, opening its doors to others. It would become a great unifying influence for the whole of India.

When we talk of this being a Hindi University, we simply mean that special attention will be paid to the national language which should be simple Hindustani and not any Sanskritized type language. Of course, other languages would also have pride of place.

I am really surprised that such obvious advantages to Hyderabad should not be welcomed by everyone there. There must be some misunderstanding. What has grieved me is that our own Party and Congressmen in Hyderabad should also be misled in this matter.²

I do not quite understand what you mean by saying that it would be advisable to reconsider the whole matter at a future date and in a clearer perspective. There has been no question of a secret deal and personally I have been thinking about it and discussing it for about two years now or more. I remember discussing it fully with Sardar Patel, and he was also of this opinion. If people in Hyderabad are not interested in educational progress and in making Hyderabad a real centre of quality education, as well as a unifying influence for the whole of India, then of course I have nothing to say. That will apply

2. For example, Suravaram Pratap Reddy, a Congress Member of the Legislative Assembly, said on 11 May 1952 that the decision of the Central Government to take over the Osmania University was a move to suppress not only the growth of regional languages in the State but also many of the Congress members of the Assembly.

not to the University only, but to the whole future of Hyderabad. Ultimately, Hyderabad will be made or unmade by the people of Hyderabad. We can only advise from here or help occasionally.

I am perfectly prepared to discuss this matter with anybody because my mind is completely clear about it. India has, I think, a very great future, but there is one big qualification and that is, how far we maintain the unity of India: not merely a political unity, but the unity of purpose and of working. If disruptive tendencies become stronger, then all our great schemes for economic advance will suffer. China has become very great and powerful, rather suddenly, not because of following any particular ideology, but because for the first time in recorded history China is a strong State with local autonomy, but a strong Centre, and there is a sense of united working all over the country. If we can achieve that outlook, India will go ahead very fast. If not, then we remain a second-rate country.

This agitation against the proposal to make Osmania a Central University appears to me to be symbolic of these disruptive tendencies, although people may not fully realize them. Many of us are apt to be swept away by a narrow view of things and to lose sight of the broader vision. We cannot do big things if we get lost in the smaller questions of life in politics.

The South of India must necessarily play a very important part in the growth of India as a whole and in the unity of India. It would be fatal if the South thought one way and the rest of India another way. From this point of view, in order to enable the South to play that important part, this proposal of having a Central University at Hyderabad was a step to help. As a matter of fact, regional languages will prosper much more by this proposal than if they were left to themselves. The first thing is that there should be a first-rate university and I am sure that can only happen in present circumstances if the Centre is in charge of the Osmania University. A first-rate university develops all subjects, including the regional languages, much more and in a better way than otherwise. The conception that Hindi and Hindustani are being brought in to come in the way of the regional languages is completely mistaken. We are aiming, gradually, at bringing the principal languages of India, of the North and the South, closer to one another. That is part of the larger process of integration and consolidation of India. We cannot force that to take place because it has to be a natural growth from the people upwards. But we can help that process, and the whole conception of the Osmania University under the Centre was intended to help this great idea.

Obviously, the Hyderabad Government would have a large say even when the Osmania University comes under the Centre. Obviously, the very geographical situation of it would mean that it serves Hyderabad first.

I am mentioning a few considerations. I could mention many more. The people of Hyderabad have to consider this question from this point of view: Are they going to prepare themselves to take a leading part in the building up of new India, and of course Hyderabad, or are they going to think and act in a narrow parochial way, thereby not only not serving India, but also not serving the interests of Hyderabad.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Reconstitution of the Osmania University¹

Shri Ramakrishna Rao, Chief Minister of Hyderabad, and Swami Ramanand Tirtha² came to see me this evening. We discussed the question of the Osmania University. They pointed out to me some of the difficulties that they faced, not only with the public at large but even with the Congress members of the Assembly.³

2. I discussed this matter at some length with them and told them of my conviction that the proposals we have made were good for Hyderabad and of course good for the whole of India and more specially the South. It appears that there is a good deal of misunderstanding. If this misunderstanding is removed, a great deal of the opposition will also go. Part of this misunderstanding is due to the manner of our announcement of this proposed change. Although the subject was under discussion for two years and more, it was kept a dead secret and it was only quite recently that the announcement was made. Indeed, most of the Ministers of the Hyderabad Government themselves did not know about it till recently. It is not surprising that this should create some apprehension in the minds of the people. However this cannot be helped now. But we can try to remove some of the misunderstandings.

1. Note to Abul Kalam Azad, N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar and K.N. Katju, 22 June 1952. File No. 40(54)/56-PMS.
2. President of the Hyderabad State Congress at this time.
3. At a meeting of the Congress Party in the Hyderabad State Assembly on 10 June 1952, while some members expressed their opposition to the Centre for taking over the University, others preferred to be reticent about it.

3. Some of the opposition to the proposal to make the Osmania University a Central University is no doubt due to political opposition. But there is also some genuine apprehension even among our friends.

4. In considering this matter we should remember that there are two parts of the proposal. One is that the Osmania University should be made into a Central University. The other is that this University should have Hindi as the medium of instruction. Most of the opposition in Hyderabad is to the second part of this proposal. It is feared that this will come very much in the way of the development of regional languages. It will lower standards and perhaps the Osmania University will become a second-rate university which might not even be recognized by some other universities. Difficulties will be created in regard to the affiliation of colleges in Hyderabad which have regional languages as their media of instruction.

5. It seems absolutely clear to me that it is highly desirable for the Osmania University to become a Central University. Otherwise it is likely to deteriorate and become an arena for all kinds of political and linguistic conflicts. It is true that the University would be semi-autonomous even then with a charter, but that would not prevent this unfortunate development. We have seen these developments in other universities, indeed in many universities in India and we have seen the progressive deterioration of their standards. Some of these universities are on the verge of bankruptcy. Their degrees cease to have much value. It is clear that some radical change is necessary to pull them up.

6. If this can occur in old and well established universities, the process of deterioration would be more rapid in Osmania University because it would not even have that long tradition behind it and because there are many conflicting forces in Hyderabad which are likely to fight for mastery in the University.

7. Thus, negatively speaking, for Hyderabad to remain merely a provincial or State university is likely to lead to deterioration. In the best of circumstances it will follow the path that some other universities have followed. If standards are to be kept up and, as far as possible, the University is to be kept above local intrigues, it is necessary to make it a Central University.

8. It is also desirable to make it a Central University because thus far all the Central Universities are in the North. This is unfair to Central and South India and the Centre must take the responsibility of a university in the South also so as to maintain higher standards. Indeed we must always remember that the first object of the University must be to maintain high standards. We cannot allow these standards to go down for any reason whatever.

9. In considering the other aspect of this proposed change, that is, making Hindi the medium of instruction, this question of standards has always to be remembered. We cannot sacrifice standards in an attempt merely to make Hindi the medium. Because of this, quite inevitably the process of changeover

to Hindi as medium will have to be gradual. Till we develop an adequate number of suitable books and text books, much of the University instruction will have to be in English. Scientific, medical and technical instruction will inevitably be in English for a considerable time. We have therefore to remember this and not hasten the change if there is any danger of lowering of standards of instruction.

10. It is our definite policy to encourage in every way regional languages. Indeed we are prepared to encourage even dialects and the smaller languages of our frontiers or of tribal areas. Much more are we committed to the development of our major regional languages. The three regional languages of Hyderabad are Telugu, Marathi and Kannada. These will inevitably be given importance in the Osmania University as languages. If the University maintains high standards generally, even the standard for these regional languages will be higher than otherwise.

11. The question arises of the other colleges in Hyderabad. These will presumably have the regional languages as their media of instruction. How then will this fit in with the University? Will they be affiliated to it?

12. Of course they will be affiliated to it and there should be no real difficulty on the score of language. First of all a good part of the instruction in Osmania as well as in the colleges will continue for some considerable time in English because there is no alternative if we have to maintain standards. We have no suitable book for higher studies in Hindi or those regional languages. This will be a common link and studies can be continued on that basis.

13. Secondly, those colleges with regional languages are bound to teach Hindi as a compulsory subject so that a student who leaves that college and goes to the University will have a working knowledge of both English and Hindi. It will be easy for him to continue his studies in the University, at the same time improving his knowledge of Hindi.

14. In effect, a student in the colleges or the University will have to learn three languages, his regional language, Hindi and English. This need not be considered a great burden. In fact, in most foreign universities, and even in China, two foreign languages are made compulsory.

15. All this process will of course have to be carefully adjusted from time to time so as to meet with changing requirements. It is difficult to lay down a hard and fast rule. The major objective will be good education and high standards and the progressive increase of the use of Hindi as a medium and at the same time the development of the regional languages. Looked at from this point of view, there is no conflict and no serious difficulty need arise at any stage. The difficulties we have to face in regard to education are really all-India ones. Inevitably the place of English will gradually be taken by Indian languages, whatever they might be. This changeover is essential because we

cannot really have large scale education through English as a medium. But this changeover has to be gradual so as not to impair educational standards too much. I think it is necessary for people in North India who have Hindi more or less as their mother tongue to learn at least one other major language of India. At the university stage, one non-Indian language must be compulsory. Normally this will be English though it can be any other European or Asian language.

16. Thus in the Osmania University while Hindi will become progressively the medium of instruction, the changeover must be gradual and must always keep in view standards. This means that in regard to a number of subjects English will have to continue as the medium for some time. Further the University must encourage the regional languages, namely, Telugu, Marathi and Kannada. We must look up on this process as a dynamic one and not as static. Care should be taken to see that this dynamics works properly and does not come in the way of a proper integration of the various matters which have to be kept in view.

4. Medium of Instruction in the Osmania University¹

I have written a note on the Osmania University², after a talk I had with Shri Ramakrishna Rao and Swami Ramanand Tirtha. That note is of course meant for confidential use, but the main arguments in that note can well be used publicly. It may even be desirable for the Education Ministry to explain the position by amplifying its previous brief statement.

The Opposition in the Hyderabad Assembly is bringing forward some kind of a resolution³ in opposition to the Government's proposal. The Chief Minister thinks that it would be desirable and advantageous if a resolution

1. Note to Abul Kalam Azad, N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar and K.N. Katju, 22 June 1952. File No. 40(54)/56-PMS.
2. See the preceding item.
3. In the three resolutions moved in the Assembly on 8 and 9 July 1952 on the Centre's proposal to make Osmania University a Central University, it was asserted that (i) scant respect had been paid to public opinion on the subject; (ii) the proposal was detrimental to the interests of the people of Hyderabad as the State had only one university built with public money of the State; and (iii) it would hamper the growth of regional languages.

was put forward on behalf of one of the Congress Members explaining the position and giving the right lead. This resolution could be accepted by Government later.

For this purpose, a draft resolution had been prepared in Hyderabad. I do not think that that resolution is suitable and it raises many all-India issues in regard to education. I suggest some resolution as follows. This of course is a rapid draft which should be improved:

This Assembly, while appreciating the object of the Government of India in proposing to reconstitute the Osmania University into a Central University, and supporting the approval of the proposal by the Hyderabad Government, is of opinion that it should be clearly laid down that any change in the medium of instruction should not impair the high educational standards which the University should maintain. The first purpose of the University should be to maintain these high educational standards and the changeover to the medium of Hindi should be brought about always keeping in view the maintenance of these standards. For this purpose, English should continue to be used as the medium for such subjects as cannot be taught adequately for lack of suitable books, till such time as satisfactory arrangements can be made for the use of Hindi as a medium for these subjects. Further that the regional languages, namely, Telugu, Marathi and Kannada, should be given every encouragement by the University.

The progressive introduction of Hindi as a medium of instruction should be coordinated with the educational developments taking place in the other universities of India, so that the Osmania University should be able to maintain its high standards and be able to deal with the other universities in India and abroad on a reciprocal basis.

The colleges in Hyderabad, which have regional languages as their media of instruction, should find no difficulty in affiliating themselves to the University and steps should be taken to coordinate their systems of education with their University. In those colleges Hindi should be a compulsory second language, in addition to English.

While administrative and financial safeguards for the Osmania University are being considered by the Government of India and the State Government by the committee appointed for this purpose, a second committee consisting of educational experts should be appointed to consider and advise on the educational matters referred to in this resolution and others pertaining to the proposed reconstitution. The Assembly, therefore, urges upon the Government of India to appoint, in consultation with the Hyderabad Government, such a committee of educational experts.

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

VIII. Education and Culture

(ii) Miscellaneous

1. To C.D. Deshmukh¹

Camp: "The Retreat"

Mashobra

April 5, 1952

My dear Deshmukh,

Yehudi Menuhin's² visit to India³ has been an important event from the point of view of music, and specially Western music. The response he received wherever he has gone has been surprising. In terms of money, the Prime Minister's Fund will probably get over rupees 150,000.

Menuhin, apart from being a very great musician, is a man of the highest class. He discussed with me the future of Western music in India. I asked him to write a note on the subject. He sent me one.⁴ I think this will interest you and I am therefore sending you a copy. We need not do anything about this for the present, but I do think that we should give some thought to this matter. From the larger cultural point of view, and even from the point of our developing our own genius, it seems to me important that there should be place for Western music in India. Our cultural standards, in almost every direction, appear to be going down. If we live in a shell of our own, we shall not be able to check this downward trend.

I imagine that the right approach would be for this question of Western music to be taken up by some non-official organization—a new one if necessary—and for Government to help it. The AIR would naturally be interested. But the initiative should come from others. Probably Bombay would be the best place. Recently, and as a result of Menuhin's visit, a society for the encouragement of Western music was started in Delhi. That is good but it is a small show.⁵

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40(237)/52-PMS.

2. (b. 1916); British (born in USA) violinist; first world tour, 1935; undertook research and restoration of neglected compositions; gave numerous benefit concerts during and after World War II; President, Trinity College of Music, London; recipient of Nehru Award for Peace and International Understanding, 1970, and President, Royal Philharmonic Orchestra since 1982.

3. Menuhin gave concerts in Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and Delhi in March 1952.

4. Menuhin noted that Indian music signified a resignation to fate and, therefore, did not reflect the ethos of the times; on the other hand, Western music, conceived for a mass audience and asserting the personality of the individual, would correspond to the current tempo of social change in India. He suggested that the Indian Government should set up a national conservatoire for the development of Western music in the country.

5. Forwarding a copy of Menuhin's note to P.A. Narielwala on 5 April 1952, Nehru suggested to him that a beginning might be made for the encouragement of Western music in India by starting a society in Bombay for the purpose.

2. The Future of Western Music in India¹

He is, I think, right in saying that Western music is not likely to have a general appeal to the people here.² But India is a large country and there may be a sufficient number of people to whom it appeals. It is just like the English language. That language cannot be generally known in the country, but it may still be welcome for particular purposes to many. But the main argument is, as stated by HM, Education, that some kind of a training centre for Western music would encourage the proper development of Indian music.

I rather doubt how far it will be possible to have a proper training centre of Western music attached to a larger institution in Hindustani music. It might feel cramped and not develop as it should. It would be rather like having scientific medicine taught in an Ayurvedic or Unani college.

Nevertheless, I think it is worthwhile following up the idea expressed by HM, Education, quite apart from any other steps that it might be possible to take.

1. Note to Abul Kalam Azad, 16 April 1952. File No. 40(237)/52-PMS.
2. Azad doubted if Western music could ever have a general appeal to the people in the context of the cultural climate in the country. He, however, thought that a training centre in Western music was necessary for a proper development of Indian music and for this purpose a department could be attached to the academy for Hindustani music proposed to be established by the Ministry of Education in Bombay.

3. To A.K. Azad¹

New Delhi
May 28, 1952

My dear Maulana,

I think that, as a Government, we should help young and promising writers, more especially in Hindi as well as in other national languages. As a matter of fact, the plight of these writers has been deplorable and some of our publishers have exploited them tremendously. They buy up their manuscripts for a song and then make a great deal of money out of them, the poor author getting nothing.

1. JN Collection.

To my knowledge, some of these Hindi writers of talent have starved and sometimes died prematurely. One man went mad.² A number are lying ill, with no resources even for their treatment.

Sometime ago, partly at my suggestion, an association of writers, especially in Hindi, was formed to help themselves. This was called a Sahityakar Sansad,³ and I think that Shri Maithilisharan Gupta,⁴ who was nominated by the President to the Council of States, is the President of it. Mahadevi Verma⁵ is the Secretary. She is herself a well-known Hindi poet. I gave rupees 1,000/- as donation to this association and the President gave rupees 2,000/-, the UP Government rupees 10,000/- and the Bihar Government rupees 5,000/-. The object of this association was to help these people in publishing their books and otherwise.

This association writes to me that they have often approached the Education Ministry here for help, but with no result. In fact that they have been told that they are not known to them.

As a writer, I have been greatly concerned about the fate of other writers in this country. I have wanted to change the Copyright Law, but that is a complicated process. I suggested to the Finance Minister to set aside some money for writers, etc. He has accepted the general principle.

For the present, however, I am writing to you about this Sahityakar Sansad and I think that it is deserving of our support. It is a well-known and well-recognized association of Hindi writers. I think some Urdu writers are also in it. But of this I am not quite sure. I suggest that Humayun Kabir⁶ might have a talk with Shri Maithilisharan Gupta, who is here in the Council of States, and discuss this matter with him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Nehru was perhaps referring to Bhuwaneshwar (1910-1957) who wrote, among others, *Tambe ke Keere*.
3. Sahityakar Sansad was started in 1945 to raise funds to help Hindi writers in pecuniary distress and to publish their works. It was started keeping in view particularly the financial difficulties and deteriorating health of the poet, Suryakant Tripathi 'Nirala'. However, it ceased to function after 1958 owing to organizational problems.
4. (1886-1964); a leading Hindi poet and writer of modern Hindi literature; translated several Bengali works into Hindi; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1952-64; was awarded Padma Vibhushan, 1954.
5. (1907-1987); a leading Hindi poet and translator of Sanskrit poems; wrote, among others, *Niraja*, *Sandhyageet*, *Deepshikha*, *Smriti ki Rekhyen* and *Ateet ke Chalchitra*.
6. (1906-1969); educationist, administrator and politician; Additional Secretary and later Secretary, Union Ministry of Education, 1948-56; Minister of State for Civil Aviation, 1957-58, and for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, 1958-63; Minister for Petroleum and Chemicals, 1963-66; MP, Lok Sabha, 1967-69; author of *Man and River* and other works.

4. The Future of Hindi Language¹

Question: About Hindi, Sir, there is a feeling in non-Hindi areas that the Centre, without providing adequate finance for teaching Hindi in primary schools to the younger generation, is attempting to build it down from the top. Is the Centre going to give any financial aid for the propagation of Hindi at the school stage?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I think that much of this feeling of apprehension among the non-Hindi people has no justification at all. Now, tell me what the Centre is doing which comes in their way; I do not understand. The Centre talks about Hindi and tried to create an atmosphere in favour of it, but what is the specific thing that is done that comes in the way? Let us remove the obstacle if anything has been done. The Centre naturally wants to popularize Hindi and to give such financial aid as it can from the resources of the Education Ministry.² As you know, ninety-five per cent of our work in Parliament is done in English and five per cent speeches are in Hindi. Apart from a very small part of it, most of them are private Members' speeches who possibly either prefer speaking in Hindi or find some difficulty in speaking English. Now, objection was taken to a Minister's speech in Hindi although he was prepared to and he did speak in English. We should be prepared to go as far as possible to see to it that the non-Hindi knowing Members of Parliament are not put in a position where they cannot understand the proceedings, etc., and that they should be supplied, wherever any important questions, etc., are asked, with the answers, statements, etc. As I said, it is normally in English. But where it is not so, it should be done. There should be no difficulty about it at all. One has to realize that in the ultimate analysis we have to carry on, internally and internationally, with English or Hindi. We will carry on with English for a long time. But there is bound to be a change. The present generation has known English which is the medium of education today, and, broadly speaking, our knowledge of English is good or tolerably so. The next generation is not going to grow in that way. It will grow up with the medium of instruction either Hindi, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, Gujarati, Bengali or some

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 21 June 1952. PIB. For other parts of the press conference, see pp. 36-38, 76-80, 169-170, 352-353, 405-410, 466-467, 476-477, 515, 542-544 and 580-582.
2. With the aim of taking necessary measures to make Hindi the official language of the Union within the stipulated period of fifteen years as contemplated in the Constitution, a five-year plan with an estimated expenditure of Rs 1,708,000 had been drawn up by the Ministry of Education for the development and propagation of Hindi.

other language. Now, their knowledge of English will not be so good as that of the present generation. We have to do something. Either we concentrate on English, which is difficult; or we have to concentrate on a greater knowledge, for common purposes, of the other language which can only be Hindi. You cannot escape that. I can understand not doing anything in a hurry. We have to avoid that.

Q: What it really comes to is the question of unfair competition. People in the North have only one language. If it can be so arranged that so far as departments in the Central Government are concerned it is laid down that they must know some other language, preferably a language of the South, there will be fair competition. Even in the AIR, on the programme side, one has to pass in one year an examination of the MA standard. Is it possible?

JN: I do not know about the future, but in the present state of things, I rather doubt if many people in South India can complain about the manning of the Secretariat.

Q: It is not a question of manning the Secretariat.

JN: If you set the MA standard, I must say that with my capacity—I do not know about other people's capacity—if some one asked me to pass an examination in Hindi of the MA standard, in spite of the fact that Hindi is my mother tongue, I would not do so. But the point is that in regard to recruitment, etc., the fact that people have knowledge of Hindi should not give them an unfair advantage. I quite agree with you. In the higher services, but not in the lower, they should learn at least one other provincial language in India. In fact, in most other countries they have at least two compulsory languages, sometimes more.

5. Exhibition on Indian Railways¹

... 2. Personally I think that this Exhibition is not only desirable but necessary. A hundred years of Indian Railways is a very important event and we should

1. Note, 15 July 1952. JN Collection. Extracts.

utilize this opportunity for public education not only in regard to Railways in India but also in regard to many other schemes connected with Railways. We are spending large sums of money on these schemes and the public ought to know. Indeed the complaint is that we do not give enough publicity to our major schemes. From the purely educational point of view, an exhibition of this type is of great importance just as the Engineering Exhibition held last year in Delhi was of the highest importance and was visited by many lakhs of people.

3. Delhi, though our Capital, lacks the usual amenities of great cities. Any major city in Europe or in America has numerous permanent museums and exhibitions apart from the archaeological museums—there are scientific museums and exhibitions, engineering exhibitions, museums of Man, and so on and so forth.

4. Since we have not got these and may not have them for a long time, we should at least have temporary exhibitions of this educative value. Indeed these ought to become essential features in our life.

5. The exhibition would not only be educative in the larger sense of the word, but would further knowledge of parts of our planning and thus fulfil an important objective, that is, interest people in our major undertakings. It should also be remembered that the Railways are our greatest national State-owned undertaking, employing a million men. It is important that we demonstrate how State-owned undertakings progress in India.

6. As regards the expenditure on such an exhibition, probably it will be recovered very largely if not entirely by gate money and rent, as was done in the case of the Engineering Exhibition.²

7. I would like to make a suggestion about such exhibitions which are so educative. Special efforts should be made to get boys and girls in schools and colleges to visit the exhibition from other cities and areas. Railways should give concession tickets for this purpose. Also selected peasants should be invited to come and see it at concessional rates....

2. An International Engineering Exhibition was held in New Delhi from 10 January to 16 March 1951. Nineteen countries participated in it.

AFTER THE ELECTIONS

I. Appointment of Governors

1. To H.C. Mookerjee¹

New Delhi
April 25, 1952

My dear Mookerjee,²

As you know, all the Governors have sent in their resignations to the President in view of the General Elections and all that followed. The question arises of a fresh appointment of Governors.

We wish to follow two conventions in regard to such appointments. One is that no Governor should continue in his office for more than his full term of five years. The other is that a Governor should not be appointed in his own province.

You have been functioning as Governor in Bengal for only a few months and therefore no question arises of a five year term now. But there has been and there is the difficulty of your serving in your own province. We are very reluctant to encourage this practice for reasons that you will no doubt appreciate. We do not want our provinces or States to lose their all-India character. As it is there is a tendency to be provincial. The Governor should at least bring some fresh air from another province.

Nevertheless, we value your services so much in Bengal that we would not like to move you from there. I would therefore suggest, with the approval of the President, that you might continue as Governor in West Bengal for another year from the date of the fresh appointment.

I hope you will agree.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 1(6)/51, President's Secretariat.
2. He was the Governor of West Bengal at this time.

2. To N.V. Gadgil¹

New Delhi
April 25, 1952

My dear Gadgil,

Thank you for your letter of the 21st.² I appreciate what you have written. I had a brief talk with Pantji also and I have given a great deal of thought to this matter.³

There is and can be no question of your leaving me. Wherever we might work we have to work together, in comradeship for the same great causes.

I have been feeling very anxious about the way things are happening in some of our provinces. I am glad that matters have smoothed down in Bombay. Your advice had effect.⁴ I have heard from Bombay that the new Ministry has begun well and in a serious and cooperating mood.

I wish other provinces were in a like state. Few things have troubled me so much as the way one of our best provinces, that is, Bihar, has gradually gone to pieces. The most disheartening feature is that our troubles there are due to ourselves⁵ and not to outsiders. I hope we shall pull through and I see some silver lining. Bihar, as you well know, is of high importance because of the big schemes that we have launched there. It is going to be in future the heart of industrial India. It requires careful looking after and nursing. I am a little afraid that any Ministry that we have there, however good it might be from other points of view, might not prove quite adequate from this point of view.

I feel that a wise and tactful Governor could have prevented many of the inner difficulties that we have had to face there. Shri Aney⁶ is a very good man but he has kept rather aloof and allowed things to drift. We cannot

1. N.V. Gadgil Papers, NMML.

2. Gadgil requested that he should be spared from the duties of Governorship. Pessimistic about the emerging scenario, he felt that "whatever be my future status... I ought to be at home for you to deal with any situation." He added that four days before Vallabhbhai Patel's death on 15 December 1950, Patel had sent for him and said, "I am going. Say whatever you feel honestly and respectfully but don't leave Panditji."

3. Gadgil wrote that he had suggested to Govind Ballabh Pant that former Chief Justices and High Court Judges might be considered for the posts of Governors.

4. Gadgil wrote that though B.S. Hiray had accepted his advice about the formation of Ministry in Bombay, "the fact remains that things have not started well." Hiray had some disagreement with Morarji Desai on the allocation of portfolios before he agreed to join the Ministry on 20 April.

5. Differences between Sri Krishna Sinha, Chief Minister of Bihar and leader of the Congress Legislature Party, and Anugraha Narain Sinha, the deputy leader, over the formation of the Ministry and the claims of partymen for rewards for their loyalty plagued the State Congress at this time.

6. M.S. Aney, Governor of Bihar at this time.

afford to do that. I have therefore been particularly anxious that we should find a Governor for Bihar who could tactfully and wisely deal with the internal situation, and also give a push to these great schemes like Sindri, Damodar Valley, etc., that we have there. Inevitably my mind went to you who have had so much to do with these great schemes and who can bring a great deal of experience to these various tasks.

On giving full thought to these matters, I have not been shaken in my conclusion and I feel that you will do a very great service to the nation if you went there as Governor. I would not have thought of you in this connection if I thought of the work there as just formal and meaning little. Bihar is a very tricky province. It might be a tower of strength to us and it might also collapse utterly. Therefore it requires wise handling.

I know the difficulties here as I realize the difficulties in the States. I think the distribution of our leading colleagues to deal with the situation all over the country will help greatly and will bring about a feeling of newness and a new approach which always has a great psychological effect on the people.

I spoke to Sri Babu, the Chief Minister of Bihar, and he welcomed the idea of your going there.

I hope therefore that you will consider this from the wider point of view that I have put forward and agree.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To N.V. Gadgil¹

New Delhi
4 May 1952

My dear Gadgil,

Thank you for your letter of the 29th April which you wrote from Wadi Junction.

I have given a great deal of thought, as indeed I must, to the appointment of Governors and the constitution of the new Government. I am anxious that the Governors should be good and effective. I am also anxious that the new Cabinet should have a new look and new persons should be given an opportunity to serve in it. It is good to have changes. I wish I could go out for a change.

1. N.V. Gadgil Papers, NMML.

I have been functioning, with some others, for over five and a half years. That is a long enough period. But circumstances have made me a prisoner.

It is with all this in view that I came to the conclusion that you might go as Governor to Bihar. I still feel that you would perform an important and vital task there. But of course it is for you to decide. If you decide finally against it, then I shall obviously have to think again about the Governorship.

Your suggestion that a Central Minister should be specially deputed to advise States Ministers is interesting and there is something in it. But I do not think it is feasible at present, at least in the obvious way suggested. I think later we might have a minister without portfolio for various purposes. I want to proceed a little cautiously.

I would even suggest to you, if you agree, to go to Bihar for a year or so.²

I realize all the difficulties you have pointed out. I still feel, however, that it will produce an excellent reaction in the country if we show them that many changes can be made in the Government and that it is not an unchangeable thing.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. R.R. Diwakar was eventually appointed the Governor of Bihar.

4. To B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya¹

New Delhi
June 18, 1952

My dear Pattabhi,²

Some newspapers have announced that you are going to be the Governor of Madhya Pradesh. I suppose some kind of a leakage occurred in Nagpur. It seems to be quite impossible for our people to keep a secret.

Anyhow I wrote to Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla, Chief Minister, Madhya Pradesh, and suggested your name for the Governorship. I did so naturally after consulting the President. Shuklaji has signified his approval of the proposal. So now I am writing to you making this offer formally.

Some people have strange ideas about the functions of a Governor. They think that it is just a decorative appointment and nothing more. I do not agree with this view. I think a Governor's appointment is most important. He

1. JN Collection.

2. Pattabhi Sitaramayya was a member of the AICC at this time.

functions as the Head of the State and naturally must do so with dignity and responsibility. Unfortunately our people seem to be losing such dignity as they possessed and we become lazy and sloppy in our work as well as in our play. We have to pull ourselves up and the Head of the State has to set an example.

Then he has to keep in intimate touch with various sections of the people, various parties and groups, etc., and thus be a cementing factor in the State. He has to be a good host and he can often bring people together who would not have the opportunity of meeting each other otherwise.

A Governor I think should tour a great deal, not only in the towns and cities but in the villages also so that he may come in contact with our rural population.

His chief function of course is to deal with his Ministry and more specially the Chief Minister. There also he has to be a cementing force. He cannot interfere with the work of the Ministry but he can in many ways smoothen difficulties and remove friction if it arises. He has to keep in touch with the activities of Government and give his advice whenever he thinks this necessary. He should normally see the papers meant for the Cabinet or other important papers not only to keep in touch with events but also to give his own advice, preferably informally. Some of our Governors have followed the practice of hardly ever writing a note in a file because once notes are written a long argument develops and sometimes the Ministers might not agree with the Governor. It is better as a rule to discuss matters orally or to write informal notes or letters to the Chief Minister leaving it to him to accept the advice or not. But in any event the Governor has to keep in intimate touch with all kinds of developments so that he can help whenever necessary.

I think thus that a Governor's position is of great importance in our Constitution. Much depends upon the individual selected as to whether he can make it a success or not. It is for this reason that I have had to give considerable attention to this choice of Governors. I want the Governor to help in pulling up our standards in every way, political, social, and cultural, and above all to be a dignified Head of the State to whom the people look up.

I hope you will agree and will let me know soon. Please keep this matter completely secret.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

P.S. The normal term for a Governor is supposed to be five years. That is rather a long time in this fast changing world. In some cases, therefore, we are for the present fixing the term of two years for the appointment. At the end of that period the matter can be reconsidered. I propose that your appointment should be for this term of two years.

AFTER THE ELECTIONS

II. Formation of the Government of Madras

1. To Sri Prakasa¹

Camp: "The Retreat"

Mashobra

April 3, 1952

My dear Prakasa,²

Your letter of March 31st. Also your telegram. The newspapers have been full of developments in Madras.³ I am sorry I could not write to you from Delhi. I am now writing to you from Mashobra where I have come from Delhi for two or three days.

I confess I am not too happy at these developments, more specially your having to nominate Rajaji to the Upper House.⁴ At the same time, I could suggest no other and better alternative to all this and so I left it to our friends in Madras.

You will have a difficult time with Prakasam⁵ and others but you will be supported by Rajaji's instincts and accumulated wisdom. All we can do is to leave further developments now to Rajaji and his colleagues there.

I shall be returning to Delhi on the 6th.

Yours affectionately,

Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.

2. Governor of Madras at this time.

3. After the Congress suffered a setback in the Assembly elections, with the Party winning only forty per cent of the seats and the Chief Minister, P.S. Kumaraswami Raja, losing his own seat, C. Rajagopalachari was persuaded by Congressmen in Madras to form a ministry with the support of Independents. On 31 March 1952, Rajagopalachari was elected the leader of the Legislative Congress Party and the next day he was invited by the Governor to form the ministry.

4. Following his discussions on 31 March with Rajagopalachari and Kumaraswami Raja, Sri Prakasa informed President Rajendra Prasad on 1 April that it was agreed that Rajagopalachari, who had shown his disinclination to stand for a by-election to the Assembly, should be nominated to the Upper House "and in order that the matter may not look too obvious I should nominate two or three other persons along with him", whereafter the Legislative Congress Party should unanimously elect him its leader. On 31 March, Rajagopalachari, Mohamed Usman, V. Bhashyam Ayyangar and O.P. Ramaswami Reddiar were nominated to the Legislative Council.

5. T. Prakasam, leader of the Madras Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party (KMPP), claimed that as the United Democratic Front, formed by the KMPP, the Communists and other groups, commanded 166 votes as against about 160 supporting the Congress Party, it should be invited to form the ministry.

2. To P.S. Kumaraswami Raja¹

New Delhi
April 7, 1952

My dear Kumaraswami,²

Thank you for your letter of April 3, which I received last night on return to Delhi.

The situation in Madras was so delicate and complicated that I came to the conclusion that the less I interfered with it the better, and that the best persons to decide were those on the spot. This meant principally you, Rajaji and the Governor and, of course, other colleagues there.

From all accounts that I have received, you have played a worthy part in these developments. For Rajaji I have the greatest sympathy in his dilemma. I hesitated all along to press him to accept it because this meant a great burden to him. But, in the circumstances, there appears to have been no other way out. Now that it has been decided we shall, of course, try to help him to the best of our ability.

I must thank you for all the courtesy and cooperation I have received from you during the period of your Chief Ministership of Madras. We are going through difficult times and for the moment you may not have any official responsibility, but you cannot get rid of the other responsibility that attaches to you, as to some others of us, whether we occupy official position or not. I hope you will continue to write to me from time to time and keep me informed of your views.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. He was the caretaker Chief Minister of Madras at this time.

3. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
April 7, 1952

My dear Rajaji,

You must forgive me for the delay in writing to you. Events moved fast in Madras and I felt rather helpless here. I realized that any interference on our part from here would not help at all, and the matter must be decided in Madras itself by you and others. Naturally, I was reluctant to press you to accept this burden at this stage. On the other hand, all our efforts to find some way out also did not succeed.

Now that you have accepted the Chief Ministership, all I can tell you is that you will have all our help and we shall try to make it as easy as possible for you to function in this very difficult position.

I have been out of Delhi in Mashobra and returned last night.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.

4. Telegram to Sri Prakasa¹

On return last night to Delhi I received letters from you, Rajaji and Kumaraswami Raja. I am sorry for delay in answering them.

The circumstances in Madras were very peculiar and finally I came to the conclusion that the best persons to decide were on the spot. I can quite realize Rajaji's extreme reluctance to assume new responsibility. I also appreciate that ultimately developments left him no other choice but to accept. Having come to this decision we must act up to it to the best of our ability.

Please convey this to Rajaji and tell him that he will have all the assistance that we can give him. Give him my love and regards.

1. New Delhi, 7 April 1952. JN Collection.

5. To Sri Prakasa¹

New Delhi
April 7, 1952

My dear Prakasa,

I sent you a brief letter² from Mashobra. On arrival here last night I received your letter of April 2nd, and also letters from Rajaji and Kumaraswami Raja. I have sent you a telegram today containing a message for Rajaji.

You know how I have been most reluctant to press Rajaji to accept this new burden and charge, and yet, as circumstances developed, there appeared to be no other way out. Now that the decision has been taken, it is up to all of us to make it successful. You can assure Rajaji of this.

I have read your fortnightly letter to the President. I am naturally very much interested in the famine relief operations, and I hope these will be carried on with vigour.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.
2. See *ante*, p. 157.

6. To Sri Prakasa¹

New Delhi
April 8, 1952

My dear Prakasa,

The President has sent me a letter today enclosing a note which embodies his reactions to the recent happenings in Madras. In this note he expresses his sorrow, surprise and anxiety at these events, in particular at the nomination of Rajaji, Mohamed Usman² and Ramaswami Reddiar to the Legislative Council. He thinks that this was a wrong step, wrong not only in the spirit of the Constitution but also the letter of it. He has asked me if he can send this note to you and that you might show it to Rajaji if you consider this worthwhile. I have told him that he can certainly send this note to you.

1. JN Collection.
2. Former Vice-Chancellor, University of Madras, and Member, Governor-General's Executive Council, 1942-46.

I do not entirely agree with what the President has written, but I must confess that I was taken aback by these nominations, which were clearly political and made with the object of strengthening a political party. As a precedent they were bad and others might follow this precedent later.

Right from the beginning, I felt that Rajaji should not be pressed to become the leader. In spite of repeated requests made to me, I did not encourage this idea. I felt that this was a very drastic step, not fair to Rajaji or to others. While it might ease the situation at present, its later consequences might not be so good.

At the same time, sitting here far away from Madras, I found it more and more difficult to offer useful advice. Ultimately, I told the party in Madras that they should decide whatever they wanted and I would abide by that decision.

Whether the steps they have taken and you have taken will ultimately prove right, the future will show. But they have left a feeling of uneasiness in my mind, more specially the nominations. The steps having been taken, however, I had no alternative but to accept them and to give such help as I could in stabilizing the situation.

Drastic situations no doubt require drastic remedies. Perhaps the situation in Madras was such a drastic one. Anyhow the thing is done now and we must accept the consequences that flow from it.

I thought I ought to tell you of the note that you are likely to receive from the President soon.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

7. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
April 8, 1952

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Thank you for your letter of the 8th April with which you have sent me a note on the recent developments in Madras.²

I do not entirely agree with what you have said in the note, but I am largely in agreement with your main argument and conclusion. I think that the

1. JN Collection.

2. Rajendra Prasad considered the nomination of C. Rajagopalachari and three others to the Legislative Council as wrong, unconstitutional and wholly unnecessary and said that it might be used as a precedent in future.

nomination of Rajaji by the Governor was not in keeping with the spirit of the Constitution and was showing favour to a certain party. This particular nomination was done at the last moment without reference to me.

Before the nomination I was pressed repeatedly to induce Rajaji to agree to become leader of the Congress Party and subsequently Chief Minister. I did not like this business of pressing him and made it quite clear that, in the circumstances, I would not interfere and left the choice to the party itself. The situation undoubtedly was difficult and I could not make it any easier by interference. Ultimately I said that whatever the party decided, I would accept.

Later when news of the nomination, etc., came to me, there was not much point in my objecting and I remained silent. Yesterday I informed Rajaji³ that now that he had been elected, I would help him to the best of my ability. Legalities and proprieties apart, I think it is probably true that the steps taken in Madras have met with considerable approval there. The situation was one of dangerous drift. For the moment this drift has been checked and it is possible that some more permanent improvement may also set in. Nevertheless, I share your apprehension at taking a wrong step.

If you so wish, you can send a copy of your note to Sri Prakasa.⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. See *ante*, p. 159.

4. Rajendra Prasad, who wanted to send a copy of his note to Sri Prakasa for showing it to C. Rajagopalachari, wrote on 9 April that "they are all engaged in the very delicate task of forming a Ministry and this note, if shown to Rajaji, might create a wrong impression. Now that the step has been taken, we have to give him all possible support."

8. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
May 4, 1952

My dear Rajaji,

Your letter of April 24th.² I am sorry for the delay in answering it. As you know I was out of Delhi for some days.

1. JN Collection.

2. Rajagopalachari wrote that his Government, without an absolute majority, was in a precarious position and felt that some former Congressmen who had been returned as independents in the elections but were trustworthy and willing to rejoin the Congress should be allowed to do so. He wanted that he should be allowed to advise K. Kamaraj, the PCC President, on these lines.



AT THE PRIZE DISTRIBUTION FUNCTION OF THE SHANKAR'S WEEKLY CHILDREN'S ART COMPETITION, NEW DELHI, 13 APRIL 1952



WITH THE MAHARAJA OF SIKKIM, GANGTOK, 28 APRIL 1952

AFTER THE ELECTIONS

I do not wish in the least to discourage people from joining the Congress. I did feel however that it would be more decent both from the point of view of the public and the individuals concerned and also of the Congress that there should be some small interval before people who had opposed the Congress in the elections joined up formally. I should have thought that those people themselves would appreciate this. Meanwhile, they could function for all practical purposes as members of the party. Ultimately, of course, we shall have to leave this to your discretion. I would like, however, this matter to be considered by the Working Committee. I think the Committee will meet soon after the 20th of this month. If you like you can advise the Provincial Congress Committee as you wish. The PCC should then make a recommendation to us.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

9. To K.T. Kosalram¹

New Delhi
May 6, 1952

Dear Friend,²

I have your letter of the 5th May. The question of taking back any Congressman, who had recently opposed the Congress, has of course to be carefully considered in each individual case. As a general rule, such persons are not taken back unless a period lapses. The circumstances in Madras have been very peculiar and it is, therefore, difficult for me to pass any general remark. I am prepared to consider each individual case. No doubt, such cases will be referred to the AICC.

The Congress has been, and should continue to be, a great people's organization. Unfortunately, there was a tendency for it to become confined to narrow groups and cliques. That itself was very wrong. I warned against it many times. Where this development took place, difficulties arose sometimes for some Congressmen.

As you know, some Congressmen left the Congress and joined the Praja Party. Later, they came back to the Congress and we accepted them. Thus, this has to be considered, keeping in view all the circumstances.

1. JN Collection.

2. Member, AICC, and Secretary, District Congress Committee, Tirunelveli, at this time.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

The fact that a non-Congressman is taken into a government does not make it a non-Congress government. The Central Government thus far has been very much Congress government, although some important members did not belong to the Congress. What Rajaji is reported to have said at a public meeting is not clear to me. For him to lay stress on the people's rule is perfectly right. If the Congress does not represent the people's rule, then it has ceased to function as it should. I do not know of any condition that I laid down being violated by Rajaji's nomination to the Council.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

AFTER THE ELECTIONS

III. Miscellaneous

1. To Satya Narayan Sinha¹

New Delhi
May 12, 1952

My dear Satya Narayan,²

You have spoken to me and to many of our colleagues about your position in the Government. It was evident that you felt rather strongly about it. You had every right to speak to me. But I confess that I did not think it very appropriate for you to speak about this matter in the way you did to so many other people, however intimate they might be with us. If I may say so, there was some lack of dignity about this and a person occupying high position should never lose his dignity.

Apart from any other consideration, I do not see how it is possible for a person who is Chief Whip to be a Cabinet Minister. It was possible, of course, for you to cease to be the Chief Whip and to do something else. But I value your work so much as Minister for Parliamentary Affairs and Chief Whip that I was very much averse to your giving that up. In many ways, that work is of far greater importance than that of a Cabinet Minister. Indeed the whole work of Government depends upon the organization of the Party. It seems to me that the two most important persons in regard to this matter are the Chief Whip and the Secretary of the Party. The latter, of course, will not hold any Government office.

The Chief Whip is a kind of General in command of the situation. He has many other Whips, Deputy and Assistant, under him. He has to keep in close touch not only with governmental activities but also with the mood of the Party and the mood of the Opposition. This is a heavy and delicate work. It requires constant vigilance and awareness. Your past experience and the work you have done³ makes you specially fit to undertake this delicate and onerous task. Therefore, I was wholly unwilling that you should leave it for another. If that is so, then the question of your being a member of the Cabinet did not arise.

I do not myself understand at all this business of hierarchy and status which we have inherited from service traditions in India. In England there is no such marked feeling about it. Indeed there is little difference there between a so-called Cabinet Minister and a Minister. In regard to powers, they have the same and a Minister has freedom to go to Cabinet meeting whenever occasion arises. But owing to the multitude of governmental activities now in every advanced country, there were so many ministers that it became impossible for them to function in Cabinet. Hence a distinction arose which I think is

1. JN Collection.

2. He was appointed the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs in the new Government.

3. Sinha was Chief Whip of the Congress Party in the Central Legislative Assembly for many years and Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs since 1948.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

good. In England there are many very senior men as ministers and there are others far less senior as members of the Cabinet.

I hope therefore that you will appreciate this and not feel that any kind of unfair treatment is being accorded to you. I want you to be the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs and Chief Whip and you have got your work cut out for you. It is a tremendous work, far greater than you or any of us has had previously.

I propose therefore to submit your name to the President tomorrow as Minister of Parliamentary Affairs.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To C.D. Deshmukh¹

12/5/52

My dear Deshmukh,

Now that various formalities about the election of the leader & co. are over, I have to take steps to submit the names for the new Govt to the President. This will be done tomorrow afternoon. You know that I would like you to continue and I shall therefore include your name in the list.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. C.D. Deshmukh Papers, NMML.

3. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi
June 3, 1952

My dear Bidhan,

I wanted to speak to you about your Ministry. I hope you will not delay the formation of this very much. All other State Ministries have been formed.

I have spoken and written to you on several occasions about the inclusion of some of the defeated ministers in your new Ministry and you have explained to me reasons why you feel you should include them.² There is some force in

1. JN Collection.
2. Of the seven defeated ministers, B.C. Roy wished to retain P.C. Sen and Kalipada Mookerjee as Ministers for Food and Labour respectively, because of their usefulness in the Cabinet and their "extraordinary knowledge of their own departments."

your reasoning but of one thing I feel sure, that is, the public reactions will not be good. One can judge those reactions even now. Would it not be possible for you not to include any of these defeated ministers at least to begin with in your Cabinet? You might take them in later. I do not want your Cabinet to get a bad start from the public.

Personally I also feel that even if Profulla Sen is taken in, Kalipada Mookerjee³ might not be taken. I know his virtues, but I have come across some lack of virtue also.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

3. (1901-1962); took part in the national movement; imprisoned several times; President, Bengal PCC; held various portfolios as Minister for several years after independence:

4. Nomination of Congressmen to Upper Houses¹

Question: Against the background of the statement with regard to Morarji Desai which you made at the last press conference,² do you approve the inclusion of three Ministers in the Bengal Cabinet who have been defeated in the elections?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The two Ministers who have been taken back who were defeated, were subsequently elected, not indirectly.³ And we had said so, that persons who have been defeated in the general elections should not be put up for indirect election by the Assembly members to the Upper House because that is a rather informal election; you can push anybody if you have the requisite majority. But if a person stands from a normal constituency, then it is a different thing, just like Raj Bahadur⁴ who stood from a normal

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 21 June 1952. PIB. For other parts of the press conference, see pp. 36-38, 76-80, 144-145, 352-353, 405-410, 466-467, 476-477, 515, 542-544 and 580-582.
2. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 17, pp. 155-156.
3. P.C. Sen and Kalipada Mookerjee eventually won elections to the Legislative Council and were included in the Ministry.
4. (1912-1990); participated in the national movement; Member, Constituent Assembly, 1948-50, of Provisional Parliament, 1950-52, Lok Sabha, 1952-67 and 1971-77, and Rajasthan Legislative Assembly, June 1980 and 1984-85; Deputy Minister for Communications, Government of India, 1951-56; held various portfolios as Union Minister, 1957-67 and 1971-76; Ambassador to Nepal, 1968-71.

constituency and has come back.⁵ In Bengal these two persons were elected not in an indirect way but by those wider constituencies, local bodies, etc. My point is that this matter does not come within the purview of the guidelines issued by the All India Congress Committee. I am talking strictly constitutionally; whether on the merits it is desirable is another matter.

Q: What was your attitude about nomination to the Upper House of Mr C. Rajagopalachari.

JN: Generally I should say it is undesirable. As a rule, it is not a desirable thing. Nomination generally to the Upper Houses is supposed to be of people who normally do not belong to any political group or party. These are specialists, experts, poets, engineers, people who have done exceptionally well in their specialized fields. That is a normal case of nomination. Therefore the nomination of the politicians who might have stood for election is not normally desirable. In the case of Madras there were obviously rather extraordinary circumstances and special reasons and it was a little difficult, specially at that moment, to ask Mr Rajagopalachari to take the burden of election on himself by fighting the election.

Q: The reports were that this did not have your approval.

JN: No. As a matter of fact, I was informed before it happened and having regard to all the circumstances, I left it to the discretion of the people there.

Q: What about the third Bengal Minister?

JN: The third Minister⁶ will get elected very soon in the normal way.

Q: What is your attitude as Congress President to the fact that every fourth Congress member is a Minister in Bengal?

JN: Well, that is division of responsibilities.

5. Raj Bahadur was defeated from the Bharatpur-Sawai Madhopur constituency but subsequently won a by-election from the Jaipur-Sawai Madhopur constituency.
6. Renuka Ray who lost in the election for a seat in the House of the People was included in the Ministry.

PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS

I. President's Address

1. Reply on Debate on the President's Address¹

I have listened with care and, I hope, earnestness to this debate which has lasted nearly four days; sometimes with a measure of astonishment also at the things that have been said. I am perhaps at a certain disadvantage compared to honourable Members on the other side of the House, and more specially those on the opposing benches, because I have to try, at any rate, to speak with a certain restraint, because I cannot refer to great countries or small casually, either condemning them or praising them up to the skies. It may be that I do not agree with what another country says or does, but honourable Members will appreciate that the foreign policy of Governments is not carried on in the same way as public meetings are carried on, that the phraseology which may come very easily to some honourable Members on the other side of the House is not used when responsible people speak about other countries.

First of all, I should like to point out, as has been pointed out in fact before, the strange misconception about the President's address. Honourable Members have given notice of hundreds of amendments and in their speeches have pointed out how many things are not included in the address. Now, the address is not meant to be a catalogue of all the things that have to be done. It is a brief, a concise statement, with some reference to foreign policy, of what the next session of Parliament is likely to do. That is all. This particular session specially is a budget session and, as is pointed out in the President's address, not much legislation can be undertaken. In any event it is, I think, not possible or desirable for the President's address to contain these long lists of all that we wish to do. Therefore, for us to be told that it does not contain references to so many subjects shows a certain misapprehension of the situation.

There are many things. For instance, an honourable Member from Manipur,² I think, talked about the tribal people, about the Nagas in particular. Well, so far as I am concerned I attach the greatest importance to the tribal people of India, and I hope that this House also will consider this matter at the proper time more fully, not only because there are a large number of tribal folk in the country but because they occupy a very special position and have a very special culture which, I think, should be protected and helped to advance on the lines of its own genius. I do not want the tribal culture to be

1. 22 May 1952. *Parliamentary Debates: House of the People, Official Report*, Vol. I Part II, cols 376-397.
2. Rishang Keishing, a Member from Outer Manipur, regretted on 21 May that the President's address was silent about plans for the progress of the tribal people.

overwhelmed or exploited by others among our people, because they happen to be simple folk. So in this way there are many other matters. Reference was made to the refugees, that nothing is said about them.³ On a previous occasion there were full particulars given in the President's address on the rehabilitation of refugees. Now, I do not see the point of repeated reference unless you merely wish the President to go on saying that we wish well by them and we would like this to be done.

So I should like the House now and, I hope, in the future to deal with the President's address in a concise way. I do not wish to limit the freedom of the House to discuss any matter. But the result is that somehow we get lost in a maze of detail and the main points that should come out in such a debate are somewhat hidden from view. No doubt we have had a fairly long debate and many points have arisen, and I shall in the course of what I say refer to some of the minor matters if I have time and to some of the major matters.

First of all, I should like to say a few words about something that fell from Dr Mookerjee and perhaps one or two other Members opposite.⁴ They asked for some measure of cooperation from Government with the Opposition in regard to various policies that we adopt or are likely to pursue. I want to say that so far as we on the Government side are concerned, we would welcome every kind of cooperation from every Member of this House, whether he sits on this side of the House or the other. It may be that in certain vital matters there may be differences of opinion, basic differences, but I feel quite sure that there is a large field over which there can be cooperation, and even in matters where there might be difference of opinion. It is always a good thing to see and hear the other opinion and then form your own. Naturally the Government cannot give up its responsibility for coming to its own decisions but in doing so it certainly wishes to consult and to have the views of other Members of the House, whoever they might be.

Having said that, I would like to point out that it is not a particularly easy matter to pursue that course always. Stress has been laid by some honourable Members on the fact that the majority party in this House according to some arithmetical and mathematical calculation represents 47 decimal something percentage of the electorate. I take that figure to be correct. I have no personal means of judging it, but then, of course, the question arises as to

3. N.C. Chatterjee said on 20 May that the absence of any reference to the refugee problem in the address showed the Government's complacency on this question.

4. S.P. Mookerjee called for resolution of differences and accommodation of diverse viewpoints honestly expressed in the House for a successful working of a democratic Government. H.S. Reddy said that constructive criticism should be welcomed and those offering it should also voluntarily cooperate with the Government as the country could not progress without the cooperation of all its citizens.

what mathematical percentage honourable Members on the other side represent. It will interest the House to know that the Members of the Communist Party plus the Peoples Democratic front of Hyderabad, etc., represent 4.45 per cent. The Socialist Party represents the most and from this point of view it represents 10.5 per cent. The KMP Party represents 5.8 per cent, the Jan Sangh 3 per cent, the Scheduled Castes Federation 2.3 per cent, the Independents 15 per cent, and so on till we get into infinitesimal fractions. Now, we have in these Members who sit in the Opposition every variety of opinion—I say so with all respect—and if it is represented in colours, from scarlet, various hues of red, pink and yellow to deep blue. If you represented in the normal language of the West, you have every variety in the Opposition, from the extreme left to the extreme right. They hold together, I suppose, because of the stress of circumstances and sometimes there are marriages of convenience, sometimes followed by rapid divorces, and on the whole we find these strange bedfellows consorting together because of a certain spirit of opposition to the majority group. I do not criticize that. I am merely pointing out the fact that where you have this motley array, it is not exceedingly easy to deal with it in the matter of consultation, etc. But I do wish to make it clear that we are desirous of having that consultation and cooperation wherever it is possible.

We welcome the coming to this House of the Members of the Opposition. Whoever they may be, and however much we might differ from them in many matters, we welcome them, because, undoubtedly, they represent a certain section of Indian opinion, and because it is good in a House of this kind to have a vigorous Opposition so that whether it is Government or the majority party, they do not become complacent. If I may strike a personal note, regardless of the present differences, when I see many faces of old comrades who belong to the Opposition now, some memories of the past come to me. I do not wish to forget them, and I cannot imagine that ways may not be found for a measure of cooperation with those with whom we have cooperated in the past. It is in this spirit that I approach this problem.

It would be easy for me, or perhaps not so difficult, to address my friends in a spirit of argument, of bandying words and making debating points as other honourable Members have rightly done. But I do feel the importance of this occasion because the matters that we are considering are of grave import.

An honourable Member told me that I had lost my place in history because of the attraction of some tinsel, something or other.⁵ Well, it is a matter of little consequence what happens to me in history. It is a matter of

5. Referring to reports about the distressed conditions of the famine-stricken people, especially those coming from the Sunderbans, H.N. Mukerjee said on 22 May that the Sunderbans could prosper immensely if only the Government followed a "really fundamental agrarian policy" which Nehru used to champion once. He regretted that Nehru had lost his place in history for the lure of a tinsel portfolio.

little consequence ultimately what happens to any individual present here in history. But it is a matter of very large consequence what happens to India and her millions of people. Therefore, forgetting the personal aspect, I should like to direct your attention to certain basic facts of the situation.

Perhaps, when we consider certain important issues like the economic issues confronting our country, there might be differences; there might be a very large measure of agreement as to ideals and objectives. The differences may be about the methods to achieve them: maybe the speed, maybe the cost, and many other things. But there is a certain vital method of approach to these problems which has obsessed my mind, if I may say so.

Just think of the state of affairs in India four and a half years ago when independence came, because you have to judge of every situation in a particular context. You may have principles, you may have ideals, but you cannot divorce ideals or principles from the particular context in which you are working. The Communist Party in India has changed its policy many times in the last few years. It is open to it to do so. It is not for me to lay down their policy. But I am merely pointing out how they have changed their policy repeatedly, because they found themselves off the track, because they found themselves losing what they thought was so important, that is, the confidence of the Indian people which they aimed at getting. So, compelled by circumstances, they had to give up something about which they were shouting so loudly a few months before. Ultimately you have to adapt yourself. You have to have certain ideals and certain objectives. You have to give certain priorities to them. But you cannot carry on an ideal regardless of the context, regardless of the consequences, because, if you do so, the ideals may go and may take with them many other things that you thought were quite safe.

Many of the honourable Members present here know recent history in Europe and elsewhere, and know how at the end of certain conflict between progressive forces in great countries, there came out not the victory of those forces, but a victory of the most naked fascism. That thing occurs. People talk about revolution, believe in it maybe, and work it out maybe. But because they do not judge the circumstances properly, because they act wrongly, they actually open the door to counter-revolution. It is not good enough that you try for great objectives; it is equally important, if not more so, that you try to achieve them through right methods. That is, of course, I should be told, a platitude, as we have been told that the President's address contains platitudes. All the great truths of the world are platitudes. But it is no answer to meet an ancient platitude which is true by well-worn cliches which sometimes honourable Members of the Opposition indulge in.

So we have seen that in spite of progressive movements trying to attain certain ideals they have lost ground and something completely reactionary has come into the field as in some countries of Europe. Now, with this background

look at India four and a half years ago, four years nine months, whatever the period is—August 1947. How many Members remember that period vividly? It is a matter of history now, and public memory is short. That was a period when independence suddenly came to us and came peacefully so far as the British were concerned, and that was an advantage because it is easier to build after a peaceful transfer than otherwise. But it was followed by enormous upheavals, migrations, violence, massacres, etc., in Pakistan, on our side of the border and on their side. We had suddenly to face, apart from these upheavals, a new country where everything was split up—army, police, Services, telephones, telegraphs, wireless, railway system, transport; everything was split up suddenly overnight and on top of that came these upheavals and mass violence on a prodigious scale. And then these migrations of unhappy people, losing everything, coming in their millions. I do not know of a single instance in history where a country had to face exactly this kind of a thing. Well, we had to face it and we had to face something much more. All kinds of reactionary forces not liking the changeover from the British power to the new nationalist Government wanted to upset that Government. It had nothing to do with the fact—if I may say so, forget it for the moment—that it was dominated by the Congress Party; it is immaterial. It was a national, a more or less progressive, Government. All kinds of reactionary forces did not like that—feudal forces, communal forces, other forces—because they thought, rightly or wrongly, that this new Government is going to work for social and economic change—they did not want that. So behind the power of that communal upheaval in India there arose all kinds of counter-revolutionary violent movements all over northern India. Our friends who come from the South may have no conception of this because they were far away from the scene of action, but here in northern India we lived in the middle of this upheaval where all the reactionary forces were fighting for mastery. They could not have succeeded, of course, in the sense of really gaining mastery as a whole because they did not have that strength. But they did have strength in that particular context to break up things, a destructive strength, and it was touch and go whether that would succeed because if that had succeeded it would undoubtedly have spread all over India. Of course, we would have got over it because I think India and the people of India are fundamentally sound, but we would have had a considerable period of anarchic violence, not even violence for any supposed noble cause but just anarchic violence where every man with a band of a hundred men behind him is the master of a particular patch of land. We would have gone on to that period of history which brought in the British power to India, when India was disrupted, States fighting each other, not thinking of the whole country.

And so we had to face this situation. We had to face it not for a day or week but for a lengthy period. Gradually, we overcame it at tremendous cost

not only in the shape of human suffering, in the shape of migrations, etc., but at tremendous cost in other ways and that took many, many months. But in a sense it took years—I mean in the sense of controlling this grave situation, arranging for the rehabilitation of the refugees and the rest. What was the basic duty of any Government that India might have possessed then? The phrase “law and order” is often used. May I say with all respect to my colleague, the Home Minister, that I dislike that phrase.⁶ I do not dislike the meaning behind it, but I dislike that phrase. I dislike it because others have used it on other occasions and at other times wrongly. Do not call it law and order. If you like, say that it is an essential thing that at a time like this the unity and stability of the country should be maintained. Therefore, if I may speak in terms of history, the first priority was for the unity and stability of India to be maintained. It just did not matter what economic or social ideals you might have had, because they could not flourish and you could make no advance along those lines unless there was this cohesion of India, unless India held together, and there was a measure of peace and a measure of stability about her. Therefore, from this consideration of priorities, it became quite essential to lay the greatest stress on that.

Now, what did many of our friends do at that time? I have not mentioned the other difficulties that we had. I did not mention that Kashmir came into the picture and later Hyderabad. I am also not referring for the moment to the Telengana movement. But we had the old, feudal Hyderabad and behind this picture always there were conflicts with Pakistan and I should be quite frank with you and say that no man knew at what moment there might be war with Pakistan in those years. So we lived on the verge of this conflict. We did not know whether the Kashmir struggle might extend to a large war; whether Pakistan or Hyderabad might lead to it, or something else. We were not going to war with Pakistan, but we did not know what the people of Pakistan or the Government of Pakistan might or might not do. We had to be prepared for all contingencies, naturally. So here is the background. Now, what cooperation did we get in this moment of great national peril—not Congress peril, not a party matter, but a national peril—what help did we get from many of the groups and parties represented on the other side? There were the communal parties; each aided and abetted these disruptive tendencies. There were our friends of the Communist Party who tried to take advantage of that national difficulty by giving trouble, in small ways and big, all over the country and, ultimately, in a few months’ time, while this peril lasted and was at its highest, by the development of this Telengana business. Think of the background. I cannot conceive how honourable Members opposite who

6. On 21 May 1952, K.N. Katju had emphasized the importance of maintaining “law and order” in a vast and populous country like India.

are so intelligent and so eloquent could have been ignorant of this background. They did something which might have shattered India and made it go to pieces. It just does not matter how noble their sympathies were for any cause and how that cause was influenced, because that cause itself was bound to suffer and fail if they did not take this larger view of things in India. Therefore, it is not a question of my arguing with honourable Members about certain noble ideals that they might have had.

Honourable Members talk about the current of history and historic forces. I agree. Let us judge things by the current of history and historic forces. Let us see where the current is leading us, and what is the first thing and what is the first priority; because if that current itself somehow falls over a precipice and is dashed into a thousand little streamlets, then it ceases to be a current and I say that at that moment the first and the most essential objective that an India should have had was to hold India together, was to keep the unity of India and then, at the same time, if you like, go ahead as far as you can to maintain the other most important thing, the social and economic progress of India.

Honourable Members often draw parallels with other countries. Here again I am at a disadvantage, because I do not wish to make invidious comparisons and I do not wish to say ill of any country. I am not afraid of any parallel that you might draw with any country. I do not mean to say that we as a Government have not made mistakes; that we could not have done many things which we could have done or that we should have avoided doing something which we ought not to have done. I admit that failing. But I do submit to this House that this Government and, if I may say so, this party, the Congress, has performed a certain historic function which was essential and that historic function was to hold India together, to lay down certain basic foundations on which you can build the future social and economic fabric of India, because without those foundations all your attempts would have failed. We did that. And, if I may again carry on that metaphor, even to this day the Congress represents a certain historic need in this country in that respect; it has gained and continues to gain a large measure of sympathy from our public. The moment it ceases to perform that historic task and does not change itself to perform the new historic task, that moment the Congress or any party will cease to function effectively. Let us admit that. It is not a matter of individuals, however bright or clever they may be, or of election organization and the like, but of putting yourself parallel, and in tune, with the current of human events and history. If you do that, well, you are doing something important. If, on the other hand, you get divorced from it, then you stagnate and cease to be—whether it is the Congress or the Communist Party or any other. That matter is not going to be judged by the slogans and clichés that people may use.

With respect to the Communist Party, I would repeat something that I have said at other times. I recognize the worth of many individuals in the Communist Party. They are brave people. But, with all respect to them, they sometimes appear to be completely out of date. A strange thing to say of a party which considers itself the vanguard of human progress! They have something about them which is the vanguard—I admit it—in communist theory, something towards which the world will go inevitably, I think, unless it breaks up before that. But they have something else with them which makes them rigid like the old bigots of religions. Well, so far as I am concerned, I have refused to bow down to the bigotry of any religion and I refuse to bow down to the bigotry of this new religion.

But let us understand these historic currents, especially in the present phase of human history, when we stand on a verge which may lead to grave disaster or which may lead to a new world. And, in this, how are we to help? How are we to decide which way the world should go or to put our weight on that side? I do not know exactly; but I know generally the direction in which we should try to do that—we or any country. Of one thing I am quite positive in my mind, that the way of war is not the way which we or any country should pursue. Now, when I say that I mean something a little more than actual warfare—of course, I mean actual warfare between countries—what is called nowadays cold war, which I think, not only leads to a shooting war, but essentially from another point of view it is almost as bad, because it coarsens people, it degrades people, as it is coarsening and degrading humanity because we tend gradually to lead a life surrounded by hatred, anger and violence.

Now, I cannot offer any logical proof of this, but of this I am absolutely convinced, that any way which depends on hatred and violence or anger is bound to lead to wrong results and consequences. And indeed history shows us—recent history, if not past, and in the present one can see and one can judge mathematically, if you like—when a shooting war or a cold war continues, you may balance and say this party is more to blame than the other. It may be so. We may have our private or public opinions, but the fact remains that the result is the same. The fact is that if you have a war, it will bring the most disastrous results for humanity and it passes my comprehension how after a terrific war you can build up any social or economic order that you may aim at, because it will take generations just, perhaps, to get rid of the ravages of war and to come back to some low stage of human existence. It passes my comprehension how some people who dislike communism and make it an enemy, how they think they are going to put an end to communism by war. What will happen after that war I do not know, except that there will be large scale, vast destruction, a large measure of anarchy over a large part of the world, lower standards and so on and so forth.

So I do not think that it is right for us as individuals or as a nation to follow a path which coarsens and degrades us and which leads to this international vulgarity that we see all around us. If honourable Members opposite will forgive me, the methods they adopt in the national sphere, however noble their motives might be, coarsen and degrade them. I do not say that the methods, as individuals or as a group, my colleagues on this side of the House adopt are always good or pure or do not coarsen. They do often enough. We have to meet this challenge. But there is a difference in deliberately adopting a method as a group, or as a party, which coarsens and degrades and in others slipping through the weakness of human nature. Therefore, I am prepared to have the largest measure of cooperation, but with violence and coarseness and vulgarity, I hope, there will be no cooperation.

And I would appeal to honourable Members opposite also to feel that way and to act that way. Let them hold on to their principles, whatever they are, completely, because apart from the obvious fact, if I may say so, that violence and vulgarity and coarseness affect and degrade people—once you let them enter into you, it is not easy to get rid of them—and apart from that fact, India as she is constituted is a large and varied country and there are many forces in it which have held it together, held it intellectually together even if it was physically separated, held it culturally together when it was divided into many bits. There are many disruptive tendencies and forces in India also. In the past it perhaps did not matter so much, but in the present it is a matter of the utmost consequence that the disruptive forces in India do not gain strength. Even though each particular force may have some justification, nevertheless if it is a disruptive force in the larger context of things, it tends to break up India at a critical moment when India must hold together. There, again, if violence is indulged in even for a supposed good cause, I have not the shadow of a doubt that it means disruption. It means civil war, and if you have civil war, it is worse than international war insofar as vulgarity, coarseness and the spirit of violence are concerned. It is because of this that it becomes a part of the normal business, as others may say, of promoting law and order, which words, as I said, I do not fancy very much, but from this larger point of view it is the bounden duty of any Government, any group, any individual who thinks rightly along these lines to prevent violence, to prevent the degradation of our public life, the splitting up of our public life, the civil conflicts that it may bring about. Quite apart, of course, from this fact, all idea of economic progress itself is undermined. You cannot have both. At the most you can say: we will have civil conflict first; after we have won that, we will have economic progress, after we have paid a terrific price for it.

Other countries are mentioned, and I admire the achievements of other great countries like Russia, China, etc. I do not admire everything that has

happened there. First of all, it is well to remember the terrific price that was paid in the Russian Revolution. How far we are prepared—by we I mean the people of India—to pay that price I do not know. Certainly, I rather doubt—I say so with all respect for the leaders of the Russian people—if they had another chance to pay that price, they would try other ways of achieving their ideals. I rather doubt that they would. However, that is a matter of opinion. But it was a terrific price they paid. Let us not forget that. Also let us not forget that it is thirty-five years or so since their revolution. It is not fair to compare results of this long period of intense working—they were working on a clean slate and with full power to do whatever they wanted to, still it has taken a considerable time.

An honourable Member spoke about education.⁷ Education is highly important, of course, and I deeply regret that we are not doing in the field of education what we should do. Yet, may I mention a simple fact? The Russian people and the Russian leaders after the revolution attached the greatest importance to education, rightly of course; the greatest importance to compulsory education of every single individual there. And yet, if I remember rightly, it took them thirteen years to introduce it to every place of that great country with all their desire, with all their intense wish to do so. It takes time—and they were working at high pressure all the time. I know that in the early days of the Russian Revolution there were years of civil war and difficulty and all that and outside forces were attacking, but then that is just the difficulty. If you take to the sword and if I take to the sword, others take to the sword also. In India, if we take to the sword, others take to the sword. It may be that nobody knows whose sword will be the longest in the end. But anyhow, whatever the result may be, you lose enormously. Apart from time, you pay in human misery, in human resources, and you delay that time that would make for progress. Take China, a country for which I have the greatest admiration. Now, there have been big changes there. My honourable friend opposite, Mr Hiren Mukerjee, asked us to copy China.⁸ I do not mind copying China insofar as I can copy it. I will be glad to do so. May I remind him that a little while ago, maybe a year ago, China was held up as a place where corruption and blackmarketing and everything bad had been completely and absolutely put an end to? A wonderful example it was. Six months ago, the Government of China said that they were shocked and amazed at the amount of corruption in China, and they started a great movement in which the biggest

7. Speaking on 20 May about the neglect of education in India, Meghnad Saha said that the country was heading towards disaster because neither could the electorate be educated nor could the right type of men be found for building up the country.

8. Referring to the food situation in India, Mukerjee stated that while the Government had sent a cultural delegation to China, it had not endeavoured to find out how within two years China had achieved self-sufficiency in food.

people were involved; they took effective steps. My point is that the picture that we saw a year ago was not quite the same, as the Government themselves said. It may be that they are a more effective Government and they take more effective steps. Possibly, I agree. Let us be more effective. But the distant pictures that we see may not exactly be as they appear today.

So I come back to this period of history through which we have been passing, where we have had constantly to face difficulties, turmoil and trouble. There were the post-war difficulties, of course. There were the difficulties of the partition. There were the difficulties of the constant tension with Pakistan. There was the Kashmir issue, and the Hyderabad issue, and many other issues apart from our internal natural disasters that we have had in the shape of earthquakes, floods, droughts and the like. There were so many of them. We should, of course, expect some natural disaster every year and provide for it. But I must say we have been peculiarly unfortunate in the succession of these. Now, with this background, how did many of our groups or parties represented here in the Opposition—how have they functioned during these past few years? We are asked to extend our cooperation. I extend my hand of cooperation. How far have they cooperated during these four or five years, not in high policy, where they might disagree, but in the day to day happenings? Take food procurement—an essential thing. We talk of food subsidies and this and that, and we go in for food procurement, and many people, respected people, go about preventing that from happening. Many of them even advocate a scorched earth policy. Just imagine that. It is an amazing thing. Scorched earth policy, so that the Government cannot have food! The House will see that the whole outlook, far from cooperation, was to injure the Government. And injure the Government—how? By injuring the people of India, and thereby injuring the Government. Now, it is open to any Opposition to go against the Government. But it is a dangerous thing, and I say a bad thing, if in order to shake or weaken a Government you go and hit the very people of India whom you seek to serve.

And so we have had to contend during these last four or five years with a continuous barrage of propaganda against us, of vituperation, of condemnation and the like. I honestly put it to honourable Members opposite: Is that propaganda justified in truth? I am perfectly prepared to stand comparison with any country about our achievements, about what has been done in the last four or five years in this country. I remember, some years back—was it twenty or twenty-four years ago—when in the First Five Year Plan of the Soviet Plan they started that very great scheme of the Dneprostoi Dam,⁹ the

9. Dneprostoi, one of the largest dams and power stations in the Soviet Union, was built between 1927 and 1932 on the Dnieper river near Zaporozhye. More than eight kilometers long and 200 feet high, the dam raised the level of the river making it navigable; its hydroelectric plant had a capacity of 648,000 kilowatts.

whole of the Soviet Union rang with this great work, because they knew at that time that it was going to be the foundation of many other schemes. And quite rightly. But we do something here, something bigger, and we are condemned and criticized. We have got at least three of our major schemes today which are much bigger than that to serve a much bigger area. I am not comparing invidiously; I am merely stating a fact. But what we get is criticism of it, although that very thing, I am quite sure, if it had happened in China or Russia, would have evoked praise from honourable Members opposite. If that thing had happened—I am not quite sure that it has happened in China or Russia—honourable Members opposite will have praised it, “See, how China is progressing, how Russia is progressing?” Now, does that not indicate, if I may say so with all respect, a perverted outlook and a jaundiced view of things and a closed mind? True, I agree entirely that we should not think much, with our limited resources, of grandiose schemes. We must think of small schemes which will bring quick results. I agree; certainly let us do it. But at the same time we have to think of some grandiose schemes too; because, remember, if we think in terms of industrialization, industrialization means and is measured by the amount of electric power that you produce. Honourable Members opposite will certainly remember what Lenin was supposed to have said about communism being Soviet Russia plus electricity or electric power. It is an essential thing for us to have this electric power if our industry is to grow. For that electric power we have to have these hydro-electric works quite apart from agricultural or other purposes which are so important. My point is that what has been done in India is not a small thing. If I may venture to say that people who have come from abroad—and among them are not small people—not only from America, England, Germany and Turkey and other countries, but people who have come even from the great land of Russia and the great land of China, have expressed often enough their surprise at the measure of achievement that we have had. I do not say they liked our policy or anything, but they were surprised. They did not know that. Why did they not know it? Because, unfortunately, their means of getting knowledge of India is somewhat limited and those who supply the knowledge about India supply not facts but their own idea of what those facts are or might be and that too always full of condemnation of everything. Surely in these four or five years has everything that the Government has done been bad? It is a well-known fact that if you condemn wholesale, your condemnation is not worth much. It is only if you look at the full picture and give credit where credit is due and discredit where discredit is due, that there is something true in it. I should like honourable Members to go and see some of these great river valley schemes. We shall welcome them. I should like them to visit, here in Delhi, if they like, some of our great laboratories. Everybody who has seen them from any country has been amazed, not at the fact of the buildings—

there is nothing at all in it—but at the fact that in this scientific age we are laying the foundations of scientific progress, because without it you cannot progress. We are not going to depend greatly on the help of America, Russia or China all the time. We hope to build our own resources and our own scientific men and knowledge. I wish it could be more. I wish our universities could be helped more—that is a different matter, however, of what we have done. I do speak without much knowledge of what is happening in other parts of the world, but nevertheless with some confidence that there is hardly any country perhaps including Russia which has made that solid progress in building scientific laboratories as we have done in this short period of time. Of course, they are infinitely more in advance of us. I am talking about the initial stages. Once you go ahead, you progress. For instance, take this enormous undertaking in Sindri, our telephone factory in Bangalore, our Chittaranjan locomotive workshop—all these things are really worthwhile things; it is a man's job that we have done there. It is not good to cavil at those things. Cavil at other things, if you like.

Many of our countrymen have gone abroad—I am not referring to honourable Members opposite only, there are others also whose chief function has been to run down our country abroad. It is not the usual practice of other countries to do so; they keep their quarrels at home. When they go abroad, they speak favourably about their own country, and not run it down before foreigners. There are others who have struck against certain basic facts of ours: whether it is our national flag, whether it is our national emblem, the Asoka Chakra, or whether it is our national anthem. They are not party symbols; they are national symbols. If any group or party does not accept them, that group or party offends against the national idea. It is one thing to admire other countries, and seek to learn from them; let us do so by all means. It is totally a different thing to think of that country as more one's own than one's own country.

Right at the beginning of this debate, honourable Members opposite started by saying something which had been referred to later as well, which seemed to me to be perfectly remarkable; an honourable Member referred to the President's address as being a declaration of war on the people of India.¹⁰ He has every right to use that phrase. It is parliamentary, I suppose. If he feels that way, then there is war between him and us. I say so plainly, because anything more fantastic, more nonsensical, and more perverted, I cannot imagine; I challenge him to sit down with me here or elsewhere, to take the President's address and point out to me phrase by phrase, word by word, what

10. A.K. Gopalan said the President's address was a declaration of war on the people because millions of distressed people in the country who had been looking forward to some plans of the Government for an immediate solution of their problems were disappointed.

he means by that statement. There was another honourable Member who talked about it as being callous, I believe. She has got every right to say that the President's address is full of platitudes.¹¹ You may have it as your judgement. But what exactly does it mean? Who are the people referred to in the declaration of war? War against what people? Are they the people of India? In spite of the forty-seven or forty-nine per cent, or whatever percentage it may be, we also happen to represent the people of India here. Our President also has been elected by the people of India. Are we being told that honourable Members opposite are the sole repositories of the confidence of the people of India here and they advance an amazing proposition like the story of 'The three tailors of the Tooley Street'.¹² You can advance an economic theory and say that the Government is wrong. I can understand that. But to talk like this is simply nonsensical and absurd....¹³ I am surprised that the honourable Member should object to the word 'nonsensical'. I can use any other word, if he prefers. The English language is rich in words; I can choose any other word. But I do wish to convey my sense without any offence, that it is wrong on their part to have used such phrases in regard to the President's address. The idea was the result, if I may say so, of loose thinking or not thinking at all, or of a completely perverted outlook. That is the difficulty we find in regard to many other matters. I say so in all earnestness. I do not mind what the past has been. I am prepared to erase the past. But look at the picture we had in the last few weeks. It does not apply only to the party which the honourable Members, some of them, represent but others too. We have seen repeatedly what are called walk-outs in various Assemblies when the Governor or the Rajpramukh came in. It is an extraordinary thing. Here is a Governor, whom you may like or dislike—it is not a personal matter—representing the headship of that particular State. He comes in, and normally one pays respect to the Head of the State—one may dislike him intensely. But here is a deliberate affront offered to the Heads of States like this till one almost thinks that it is a profession of some parties to walk in and out—a walkers-out party! I do not just understand it. Is this the way people seek cooperation? I do not mind much, because I hope that these ways will be given up; they are relics of the past.

11. Sucheta Kripalani said that the address was full of platitudes, beautiful words and high-sounding phrases, but it was marked by a tone of placid complacency. The sense of urgency to grapple with the various problems facing the country, especially the food problem, was missing.
12. Three Tailors of Tooley Street, Southwark, are said to have immortalized themselves for their conceit by addressing a petition of grievances to the House of Commons, with only their own signatures thereto, which commenced, "We, the people of England..."
13. H.N. Mukerjee at this stage objected to Nehru's using the word 'nonsensical' and the Speaker ruled that it was "absolutely parliamentary."

In India we have very grave problems to face, chiefly economic, and others also. Unless this Government or any other Government can solve them, that Government ceases to perform any useful function. Solving them does not mean solving them by magic, by some magic wand. Let me put myself differently, that so long as this Government or this party which forms the Government represents a liberating force in this country it is good and it will function. Once it becomes what honourable Members think it has become, that is, it ceases to be a liberating force and becomes a restrictive and repressive force, then it will fade out. It will fade out by the process of history. But the mere fact that we have come back here after one of the biggest elections in history shows that the people of India, or a very large number of them, still think of us as a liberating force....¹⁴ I have no doubt they do not think of the honourable Member who said 'No' in that connection. We are thinking about others, not you. So it will not require votes in this House. Other forces will work which will put an end to any party or group which has ceased to perform that function.

There were a number of matters to which I should like to refer very briefly. Dr Mookerjee referred to this business of passports between East Bengal and West Bengal and Assam, etc.,¹⁵ about which we have had a conference, and in that conference thus far we have arrived at no agreement.¹⁶ I cannot say much about it. But the House knows that we, that is, the Government of India, have not liked this proposal to introduce a passport system in the East because that will restrict traffic between Eastern Pakistan and Bengal and Assam. And that was the very object of the agreement of the Prime Ministers two and a half years ago.¹⁷ We opposed it, but if Pakistan introduces some kind of passport system on the other side, we shall have to take the necessary measures on this side. That is obvious, and there is no doubt at all about the fact that the minorities in Eastern Bengal have had a very raw deal and continue to have a raw deal and all the sympathy of this House and a large number of people of this country are with them. We have tried to evolve some machinery to help them and, as far as we can, we shall continue to do that. There are certain limitations. When two independent countries deal with each other, they can bring diplomatic pressure, they can bring other kinds of pressure and only the other type of pressure is a thing which we do not wish to bring because it

14. Ramnarayan Singh disagreed with Nehru.

15. S.P. Mookerjee stated on 21 May that the passport system proposed by Pakistan was not meant to regulate traffic from West Bengal and Assam into East Pakistan but to squeeze the minorities out of East Pakistan.

16. See *post*, pp. 463-467.

17. An agreement was signed at Delhi on 8 April 1950 by Nehru and Liaquat Ali Khan.

can only bring misery....¹⁸ I agree with the honourable Member that it is not a question of Hindu or Muslim but all these people wanted free intercourse between the two countries and I think this passport system is a very undesirable thing.

Then there is the question of linguistic provinces, a question about which we have made our position clear repeatedly. I shall be quite frank with this House that the linguistic provinces from some points of view are good, but it is immaterial whether I consider them good or bad, and if people want them, they will have them. We are not going to come in their way. Personally I think, especially in these last few years, when our first effort was to consolidate India, anything that might help the process of disruption was bad. So, even though linguistic provinces might be good here and there, the timing of it was bad when we were struggling for this consolidation, and when the right time comes, have it by all means. Also the rule that we laid down was that there should be a large measure of agreement between those concerned, between the provinces concerned, because each such formation or division inevitably involves interests of groups and provinces all round. We have been asked sometimes to impose our will upon others, and that I think is completely wrong. If we have this large measure of agreement we shall do it, although we would like this to be done in a way so as not to upset all kinds of things. Financial considerations and everything else will arise and that will delay the economic progress of that part as well as, maybe, other parts of the country.

Then I refer to the question of the tribal people. I personally attach the greatest importance to this. They have suffered very greatly in Assam and elsewhere by the partition. So many consequences of the partition pursue us still. Many of them are almost cut off from their normal ways of gaining their livelihood since the partition. To build roads on mountainous tracks is very expensive. We have built a number of roads; we are building them. But it is a matter of terrific expenses. In about a fortnight's time, there is a conference being held to consider this tribal question.¹⁹

The honourable Member from Manipur talked about some compensation for war damage.²⁰ As a matter of fact, I do not know its early history. Normally speaking, it was the business of the British Government to give compensation for war damage. However, we undertook that liability to some extent there and we have, I believe, paid compensation to the tune of twenty-five or thirty

18. Meghnad Saha intervened to say that not only the minorities in East Bengal had expressed their dislike of the introduction of the passport system but a large number of Muslims from West Bengal feared a worsening of the conditions as a result of it.

19. See *post*, pp. 370-377.

20. On 21 May, Rishang Keishing said that during the Second World War Manipur had been severely hit and was promised compensation. But while elsewhere people received large compensations, even when their properties were protected by the army, the people of Manipur were denied such benefits.

lakhs. An attempt has been made to pay it fairly. I cannot obviously say that this has wholly succeeded; I cannot guarantee it from here. Some claims officers have been appointed and, in consultation with the local councils of the local people, it is being paid. In fact, the process is going on and claims are still being considered.

An honourable Member from Travancore said something about monazite.²¹ Well, monazite used to be sold in large quantities almost for a song till recent years. Then it became a highly strategic and valuable mineral. For a variety of reasons, lately we stopped its export, although some of it is still going under licence. It is not quite as expensive as the honourable Member mentioned. He said it was £ 250 per ton. In America, at present, its price is half of that. We have as a matter of fact built a factory at Alwaye to separate monazite from ilmenite and other rare earths and this factory is going to be a great advantage to the State of Travancore and to India. We are keeping this under consideration all the time as to what quantities we can export. It was our policy laid down a little while ago that anything that is used for the manufacture of atomic bombs should not be exported from India, because we did not wish to get entangled in this business of other countries manufacturing atomic bombs with material taken from us. But, where this question does not arise, we can consider what quantity of monazite we can send abroad and gain foreign exchange for it.²²

Reference was made to Kashmir. Much has been said about it. I should like to remind the House that much of the argument has not been about facts, but rather about certain speeches that Shaikh Abdullah delivered, which were corrected subsequently.²³ Let us not go into that. If people know the past history of Kashmir during the last four or five years, one can understand many of the forces at play there, the background of it, and how certain communal elements have been carrying on a very wrong and harmful propaganda. There is no personal issue about Shaikh Abdullah, but something which has helped Pakistan greatly. It is in that context that one has to see some of the speeches delivered.

Dr Mookerjee asked a question about the constitutional position of Kashmir, whether Kashmiris are Indians or what they were. Of course, they are Indians constitutionally and legally. If they want a passport to go abroad, they have to take an Indian passport. The House will remember that four or five years ago, when this question of the merger of the states was first tackled, almost all

21. Criticizing the Government's policy of banning the sale of monazite, N.S. Nair said that large profits could be made by allowing the mineral to be sold to foreign countries irrespective of political considerations.

22. Some export of the minerals containing monazite had been allowed provided the monazite content was within a prescribed limit.

23. See *post*, pp. 383-390.

the old Indian states acceded in three subjects only, that is, foreign affairs, defence and communications. Every state did that. A little later, when the raid took place in Kashmir, Kashmir also acceded on these three subjects. Later developments took place in regard to other states and they acceded in regard to more subjects and the new picture has arisen. But during this period, so far as Kashmir is concerned, there has been this conflict with Pakistan, the raid, the war, etc., and the reference to the United Nations. Now, it is quite impossible, not at all feasible, for any other changes to take place in regard to the relation of Kashmir and India during this period of turmoil and war and reference to the United Nations. Those are the basic subjects—Kashmir has acceded and is a part of India—but in regard to other subjects obviously the people of Kashmir, that is, their Constituent Assembly has every right to pass any laws it chooses. That is the constitutional position and there is no difficulty about it; that is the natural position at present. There are matters at issue which we are discussing, such as financial integration and the like, and they will gradually be solved. Naturally this question has always had to be viewed with its background of international conflict and that has created great difficulties.

About the rehabilitation of refugees, if I may remind the House, while we are deeply conscious of a fairly large number of refugees, especially coming from East Bengal, who require rehabilitation, help, etc., taking the picture as a whole, and more especially the picture of those who have come from Western Pakistan, I think I am not exaggerating when I say that the work of rehabilitation that has been done has been remarkable. There has been this question of rehabilitation and refugees in large parts of the world and the United Nations has spent large sums of money over it, and other countries have done it and all that, and experts in this work have come here from various countries and they have seen our work and they have expressed their amazement at our achievements in that regard. And we have achieved that, I should like the House to remember, without the slightest financial or other help from abroad, from the United Nations or anybody. We have borne the whole burden. I will say this that no Government could have succeeded in that way if large numbers of those displaced persons themselves had not played up and done their work. You cannot do it in a one-sided way. They showed enterprise and courage and therefore they built themselves up and ultimately this very great tragedy of the migrations has really been a sign of hope for us. It has shown how our people can face tragedy and overcome it.

I have taken a great deal of the time of the House. I apologize for it and I am grateful for the indulgence shown to me. I shall repeat again that so far as our Government is concerned we welcome help and cooperation. I had not, I regret, the time to deal with many important matters like foreign policy and the food policy and the rest. They have been dealt with elsewhere and I hope occasion will arise when we can deal with them here in a more leisurely way.

PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS
II. Conventions and Procedures

1. To K.N. Katju¹

New Delhi
13 May 1952

My dear Kailas Nath,

The Vice-President² mentioned to me this morning that there was only one elected Member of Parliament who was still in detention. This man was Raj Bahadur Gour,³ a Member of the Council of States from Hyderabad (Deccan). He was anxious that this man should also be released and allowed to attend the Session of the Council of States which is beginning soon.

I do not know how far it is true that Raj Bahadur Gour is the only elected Member of Parliament still under detention. Nor do I know anything about his antecedents. But I do feel that the fact of detaining one person elected to Parliament will require the strongest and most positive justification. Prima facie he should be let out. In any event, I am conveying to you the Vice-President's desire in this matter.

Although you are not definitely in charge of the Ministry of States, yet I think that you may get in touch with the Ministry or Gopalaswami Ayyangar and either of you should telephone to Hyderabad to find out exactly what the position is.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar. Ayyangar held the additional charge of Minister of States from 12 December 1950 to 13 May 1952.
2. S. Radhakrishnan.
3. (b. 1920); trade union worker from Osmania; member, People's Democratic Front; General Secretary, All-Hyderabad Trade Union Congress since August 1946; detained in November 1946 but escaped from custody, May 1947; rearrested in April 1951 and detained upto April 1952; member, Communist Party, since 1939 and Secretary of its Hyderabad District Committee, 1945-46 and 1948-49.

2. To Satya Narayan Sinha¹

New Delhi
June 2, 1952

My dear Satya Narayan,

Your letter of the 2nd June enclosing a letter from the Speaker.²

Before we take disciplinary action, surely there are other methods which ought to be tried. Ultimately we may take disciplinary action. But before we do so in the case of any single Member, we shall have to go through a process of enquiry and find out what the facts are.

The first thing to be done is to have a list prepared by the Parliamentary Committee, which has allotted houses, about the cases where their directions had not been obeyed. These Members should be approached and asked for their explanation for not doing so. This will apply to Congress Members, so far as we are concerned. As for the others, the Speaker might mention the matter to the leader of the other party. After this, the question arises as to what other steps we might take.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 32(195)/49-PMS.

2. G.V. Mavalankar, Speaker of the House of the People, advised on 29 May 1952 that some measures should be taken whereby the decisions of the parliamentary committees were obeyed by the Members. Sinha suggested that a convention might be established for taking action against a Member of the Congress Party found to have ignored the decision of the Parliamentary Committee.

PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS

III. The Hindu Code Bill

1. To C.C. Biswas¹

New Delhi
July '3, 1952

My dear Biswas,²

What has happened to the Hindu Code Bill? In the President's opening address to Parliament, this Bill was particularly mentioned.³ Subsequently I stated also in Parliament that we hoped to bring it forward during this session of Parliament, that is, to introduce it at least. I stated further that we proposed to divide it up into parts so as to facilitate discussion and passage. It is important we should introduce one part of this Bill in Parliament during this session. This matter was discussed in Cabinet just before the present Government was formed, when we were considering the President's address. Cabinet was anxious that we should take up part of this Bill during this session. I find that from time to time newspapers charge us with sabotaging this Bill. I do not know why they say so because, so far as I am concerned and our Cabinet, we are very anxious to have it.

I had discussed this matter at some length with Katju when he was Law Minister⁴ and he told me that he was giving a lot of thought to it and had in fact written a note about it. I hope that you will proceed with this matter and have the draft put up before the Cabinet for consideration. It might be worthwhile for you to discuss this with Katju.

You told me of some simple legislation for civil marriage which would apply to everybody in India, whatever his religion or caste. That is a good idea, but it has nothing to do with the Hindu Code. It is something apart from that.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. He was the Union Minister of Law and Minority Affairs at this time.
3. Rajendra Prasad said in his address to Parliament on 16 May 1952 that as the Hindu Code Bill had lapsed consequent on the dissolution of the last Parliament, his Government intended to introduce a fresh legislation in parts so as to facilitate its discussion and passage.
4. K.N. Katju was the Union Minister for Home Affairs and Law from 5 November 1951 to 13 May 1952.

2. To C.C. Biswas¹

New Delhi

July 6, 1952

My dear Biswas,

...About the Hindu Code Bill, I should very much like to introduce that part of it dealing with marriage and divorce during this session, quite apart from your other Bill which deals with civil marriages. I agree that our Bill should be circulated. I suppose we could do this after introduction. We might have a small conference with Katju soon.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS

IV. Miscellaneous

1. Felicitations to the Chairman, Council of States¹

Sir, during the last two or three days we have been engaged in various ceremonials in this House and in the other House. Members have taken the pledges and oaths of service. It is right that we should go through these ceremonials; they have a definite meaning. And now we start, in both these Houses, on our real work. Before we do so, with your permission, Sir, I should like to say a few words, not of congratulation to you on occupying this high office, but rather of congratulation to the House that we have the privilege of having you here to guide the deliberations of this House as well as, if I may say so, to help us in a multitude of ways in another high capacity.²

We are both old and new in this country and in these Legislatures. We have, I suppose, some fund of old experience and wisdom, if not in each individual, at least in the corporate sense. Nevertheless we face new situations and new problems, and the world itself rapidly changes, and it is not an easy matter to keep pace with those changing events either in our own country or in the world. At such a moment one requires many things. One requires some roots in our ancient wisdom and experience of a race through thousands of years; one requires at least as much a certain capacity to understand this changing world, to understand its new problems, to adapt ourselves to them: in other words, to interpret the fundamentals of wisdom in a new environment and for the new demands of the situation. I doubt if one can easily think of any other individual who combines those two great qualities in himself more than you do, Sir, because you bring to this great task an intimate knowledge of the wisdom of our race, or the accumulated experience of our race—call it what you will. You bring also an intimate knowledge of the modern world and its movements and its problems.

You have occupied high positions in many fields. You are an educationist; you are a philosopher; and you have been, recently, a diplomat; and in that particular position also you distinguished yourself and did great service to this country, and, if I may say so, you contributed somewhat to that vast problem of today, perhaps the overriding problem of today, the maintenance of peace in the world.

1. 16 May 1952. *Parliamentary Debates: Council of States. Official Report*, Vol. I, cols 32–34. S. Radhakrishnan was the Chairman of the Council of States.
2. Radhakrishnan was elected as Vice-President of India on 25 April 1952.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Therefore, Sir, you come to us with this background and experience and insight and knowledge of affairs in the East and the West, in the past and the present, and with some vision of the future, and I do not think our country could have been more fortunate than to have you in this high position. Therefore, I beg with all respect to congratulate you on having come to this high position, and to congratulate this House and Parliament in general and the country that we have the privilege of having you there.

2. To K.N. Katju¹

New Delhi
July 13, 1952

My dear Kailas Nath,

I enclose a letter from Radhakrishnan. I have already suggested to you that you might have a talk with him about the Joint Committees.²

The other point he raises has substance, that is, the salaries of the Deputy Speaker and Vice-Chairman. So far as he is concerned, it is the Vice-Chairman³ that matters. He is given a salary for about four months in the year when the Council of States meets. Also apparently a daily allowance for those days. But he has to pay a rent for his house for twelve months and rents are pretty high in Delhi. He is a lawyer and he wants to know if he can practise. I think it is undesirable for a Vice-Chairman or a Deputy Speaker to practise in the law courts. We shall have to find some way out. Perhaps the best way would be to drop the daily allowance and give a salary for the year.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. File No. 32 (10)/56-57-PMS.

2. Not Printed. S. Radhakrishnan had suggested that the Public Accounts Committee and the Estimates Committee of Parliament should consist of Members of both the Houses.

3. S.V. Krishna Moorthy Rao was the Vice-Chairman of the Council of States.

3. To Satya Narayan Sinha¹

New Delhi
July 14, 1952

My dear Satya Narayan,

I wrote to you last night about the question relating to British recruitment of Gurkhas and you were good enough to speak to the Speaker about this. Although all the facts are not in my possession at present, one thing is clear. No recruitment of Indian nationals, including Gurkhas who are Indian nationals, is permitted or takes place in Indian territory or elsewhere. What has apparently happened is that some Nepalese citizens have been recruited in the past by British officers in Indian territory just across the border of Nepal.²

I think this point should be made clear to the Speaker.

As I have indicated in my last letter, we are taking further steps in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. See *post*, p. 527.

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION**I. Appointments**

1. To K.N. Katju¹

New Delhi
June 13, 1952

My dear Kailas Nath,

Your letter of the 13th June about stopping recruitment of persons who have more than one wife. I am tired of your lawyers and legal opinion. If lawyers have their way, this world would become petrified and dead. We have made a suggestion that we should not recruit people with more than one wife. There the matter stands. If any person wants to challenge it in a law court he can do so. I do not mind losing the case then. But we will have given a lead to the country.

As a matter of fact I hope that before long we shall have a law against bigamy. I know bigamous marriages are not frequent though I am surprised at the number that I have come across specially from the Punjab. There has been a tendency in their favour. What I dislike most is that young officers who think that their wives are not well-educated, discard them and take to themselves some bright young and exceedingly foolish thing to show off. I want to put my foot down against this.

It is a very simple matter. We issue our instructions. If anybody challenges them, well, we face that challenge.

You will have seen the papers in regard to *Filmindia* and the highly objectionable articles in it.² All our legal luminaries say that they are not actionable. Maybe they are right, but I am not worried about it. I should like to take action in spite of this legal opinion and I am glad that you agree. Those articles have created more mischief than almost anything else recently. We have had a protest from King Ibn Saud.³ If the law does not help us, that is our misfortune. But I would like to show that we strongly disapprove of these articles and do our best to put them down by going to a court of law. If we lose, that will be some justification for us to change the law.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.
2. In the March 1952 issue of *Filmindia*, editor Baburao Patel, tracing the "pattern of invasion and conquest set up by Mohammed Ibn Qasim...down to Jinnah", described the Premier of West Punjab, Mumtaz Daultana's recent threat "to pull out Bharat's evil eyes and trample upon them" as "a gruesome ambition for a follower of Islam." He also wrote, "In Islam, death seems to have been turned into an instrument for religious fanaticism and political conquest", the intolerance for other faiths having been "emphasized by...the founder of Islam."
3. (1888-1953); founder of Saudi Arabia and its first King; granted oil concessions to American companies, 1936-39; took a minor part in the Arab-Israeli war, 1948.

2. Employment of Peons in Secretariats¹

About two years ago or more, I wrote a note about the peons employed in our Secretariats.² It came to our notice then that the number of peons had increased from about 3,200 before the war to over 19,000. This was a prodigious number and all our corridors were full of these peons. I suggested then that something should be done to reduce them considerably and to have instead a messenger service. That is to say that no one should have a personal peon. In spite of my repeated attempts, nothing appears to have been done in this matter.

I did not want any large scale retrenchment because I did not wish to create more unemployed. But I did want greater efficiency and this process of engaging additional peons to stop. I suggested, and I believe it was agreed to, that no additional peons should be engaged. If any new ones were wanted, they should be provided from the existing number.

I should like to know what the present number of peons is and how does it compare with the number three years ago. Have any new peons been engaged during this period in spite of our decision some time ago?

I want this and relevant information so that some definite step should be taken in this matter. The present rules are completely out of date. It is absurd to attach a crowd of peons to a Minister or senior official. Every new appointment means a crowd of hangers-on.

It is likely that in the course of a week or two we may have additional Ministers. I do not want new peons to be engaged. If necessary, some of my peons should be transferred to them.

1. Note to Cabinet Secretary, 24 June 1952. JN Collection.

2. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 10, p. 371.

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION

II. Law and Order

1. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
May 3, 1952

My dear Pantji,

News of the Gorakhpur firing² reached me when I was in Darjeeling or thereabouts. Naturally I did not know the circumstances. But firing is always rather disturbing. This matter is going to be raised in Parliament probably at a very early stage. I hope you will send full particulars of the enquiries made to our Home Ministry.

I do not know if you have had any kind of an independent enquiry. Normally, whenever there is a firing some such enquiry should take place.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. About 2,000 railway workers protesting the arrest of over 70 workers following demonstrations against the alleged bad behaviour of a railway officer were fired upon by the police at the Gorakhpur railway station on 25 April 1952. Fourteen persons were injured in the firing, two of whom later died.

2. Responsibility of the Police to Curb Disorder¹

Yesterday's occurrences in the city of Delhi,² though fortunately not as harmful as they might have been, have a considerable importance. I think they are rather significant of the simmering trouble that we have in this city of Delhi. This ferment always tends to boil over when Parliament is sitting. Indeed, many Members of Parliament themselves encourage this.

2. We have had two aspects of trouble in Delhi since this Parliament began. One was the demonstration on food prices organized by the Communist

1. Note to the Minister for Home Affairs, 27 May 1952. JN Collection.
2. Thousands of people thronged the District Court premises on 26 May 1952 to protest against the attempted marriage of a Muslim youth, Sikandar Bakht, Private Secretary to the Chief Minister of Delhi, with a Hindu girl, Raj Sharma, while an application for an injunction against the marriage was being heard. Brahm Prakash, the Chief Minister, and Onkar Nath, Member of the Council of States, were among those who received injuries in sporadic disturbances that broke out in the city.

Party, the Socialist Party and others on the opening day of Parliament.³ This was more or less efficiently dealt with by the police. It was on the whole a disciplined demonstration.

3. The other aspect was what we saw yesterday. This was entirely a communal aspect. It is far more dangerous than the disciplined demonstrations of the Communists or the Socialists, because it arouses communal passions and leads to brutal attacks on individuals as well as damage to property. It produces a sense of insecurity and powerlessness of Government which is obviously very bad.

4. Yesterday for some time the mob did what it liked near the courts in Old Delhi. Later it insulted and attacked any number of individuals in the open streets. The actual injuries were not great except in the case of two Muslims in hospital. One of them is likely to recover; the other is likely to die. But a very considerable number of persons were insulted and harassed and their Gandhi caps were taken away and burnt. In fact, I am told that people went about with torches to burn these caps. Even the Chief Minister, Shri Brahm Prakash, and a Member of the Council of States, Shri Onkar Nath,⁴ were attacked and injured.

5. The police force of Delhi does not come out with advantage or credit out of this picture. Everybody knew beforehand that a demonstration was planned near the Court House. Even I had heard of it some time before the demonstration took place. Everybody knew who were at the back of this and the kind of consequences that might flow from it. And yet no adequate arrangements were made to prevent this at the Court House or elsewhere. From accounts that I have received, the police were helpless spectators of the damage and the attacks. Some of them were asked why they did not intervene. They replied that they were asked as far as possible not to interfere. I do not blame the average constable. But I do think that there is something wrong about this organization and the use of the police force.

6. I have heard for some time past of cliques and rival groups in the police force of Delhi. I have heard also complaints against the IG and the two SPs, notably the city SP. I did not go further into this matter as it did not

3. On 13 May 1952, about 3,000 people, the majority of whom belonged to the United People's Food Committee made up of the Communist Party, the Left Socialist Group and the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party, demonstrated before Parliament to protest against increase in food prices. They wanted to submit to Nehru a charter of demands urging immediate restoration of food subsidy.

4. (1904-1971); active Congressman from Delhi since 1917; Member, AICC; Member, New Delhi Municipal Committee and Delhi Board of Education, for some years; elected to the Council of States, 1952.

concern me directly. I have also heard some complaints about some of the magistrates. I cannot say if any of these complaints are justified, because I have not enquired further into them. But I have long had a feeling of uneasiness that all was not well with the Delhi police. That feeling has been powerfully confirmed by yesterday's happenings.

7. I think that it should be made a more or less firm rule that where the arrangements made to curb disorder break down, the men at the top of the force should be made responsible. They should not be allowed to pass the blame on to others. They must realize that they will have to suffer the consequences of any such lapse. I think therefore that swift action should be taken in such matters.

8. In Delhi, law and order are, I take it, the ultimate charge of the Chief Commissioner.⁵ The Chief Commissioner should, however, keep in close touch in such matters with the Chief Minister and there should be full cooperation. If the Chief Minister is dissatisfied with any officer of the police force, normally that officer should be transferred, unless there are very special reasons for not doing so. That is, the police force must realize that they cannot treat the Chief Minister or other Ministers as if they did not count so far as they were concerned.

9. Last night, I am told that a meeting of Congress workers took place. They were very excited and angry and, after a heated discussion, passed a resolution condemning the administration and the police force of Delhi. Just then Shri Brahm Prakash arrived and with great difficulty he managed to get them to withdraw that resolution. But the fact remains that there is this great feeling against the way the police behaved and, in particular, against certain senior and some junior police officers. To some extent the Chief Minister shares this feeling.

10. I have noticed that some police officers have developed a peculiar technique. They allow a situation to deteriorate to some extent and then hustle about and show that they can control it. They show off as if they were indispensable. Most police officers like to stay in Delhi and not to be transferred. Some have been here for a long time and whenever the question of their transfer arises, they try to show how indispensable they are and probably get some people to support this thesis.

11. I hope that your Ministry will take early and effective steps in this matter. Delay will not produce the effect desired.

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION**III. Corruption**

1. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Camp: "The Retreat"

Mashobra

April 3, 1952

My dear Krishna,

I have received two letters from you, one dated 25th March and the other, a hand-written one dated 28th March.²

The decision to get Radhakrishnan to stand for the Vice-Presidentship was independently taken because of internal conditions here. Radhakrishnan himself appeared to like the idea. In any event he insisted on coming back to India after a few months. Having decided on his immediate return, we naturally thought of someone to go to Moscow. I thought and still think that it would be a very good thing if you went there. When I wrote³ to you about it I had not mentioned this to a single person here. Nor did any one mention it to me. The press reports you refer to are pure guess work.

Naturally, if you are unwilling to go there, I cannot compel you to do so. But I do think that your going there would be a good thing from every point of view.

As for the London High Commissionership, it seemed to me desirable on general grounds that after your having been there for a fairly long time, there should be a change. We would like to apply this rule everywhere. As I have written to you, I spoke to B.G. Kher and invited him to accept the High Commissionership. He was by no means anxious to do so, but when I pressed him, he agreed.

In your letter of the 25th March you have referred to my letters of the 14th⁴ and 16th March and have said that the impressions I have formed and the conclusions I have arrived at are totally at variance with the facts and figures.⁵ In my letters to you I did not go into great detail but I did take a

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.

2. Krishna Menon informed Nehru on 28 March about his unsuitability to represent India at Moscow and said that this was all the more so in view of recent drifts and developments both in policy and relationships. He added he would have been of the same view even if he were not out of favour and wanted Nehru to cease to consider him in this connection.

3. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 17, pp. 646-647.

4. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 17, pp. 579-584.

5. Krishna Menon wrote, "When the facts, as they are and have been, are before you, and are studied and considered, you will know and see these problems very differently and you will be able to inform yourself that the Government of India, instead of being ill-served in these matters, have been extremely well served and much to its profit rather than that of others, as conveyed to you."

great deal of trouble over these matters before writing to you. It may be that you can correct some of the facts or the figures and I should be glad if you will help me to correct them. But I rather doubt that my main conclusions will be affected insofar as future action is concerned. I am quite clear in my mind that intermediaries should be avoided wherever possible in such dealings. Also that we have dealt far too much with the same set of people in regard to most of our needs.⁶ In nearly all of these deals, all kinds of difficulties have arisen. I have no doubt that some of these at least are due to circumstances beyond our control. But the fact is that all over India people talk about these matters continuously, and it has become impossible for me to give adequate explanations.

This is not a question merely of some people slandering or running down others, though there may be an element of that.

I have to deal with Parliament and a Parliament now which has a very strong and aggressive Opposition. Again and again, even the jeeps matter was brought up⁷ in spite of all our explanations and we are asked why the jeeps have not come. The Estimates Committee of Parliament also reports about various matters directly to Parliament and passes strong criticism. The Auditor-General does likewise. Recently a committee under Justice Rajadhyaksha⁸ was appointed about the fertilizer business. This was a bad show and we are prosecuting some of our senior officers here. In the course of Rajadhyaksha's report, some reference is made to the High Commissioner's Office in London. Rajadhyaksha put various questions which were forwarded to you. I understand that the answers that came were not considered sufficient by him and a further reference has been made to you. Rajadhyaksha is likely to write a further note on this aspect of the matter after receiving replies. Nobody thinks that Rajadhyaksha has any personal axe to grind or any special prejudices. It may be that he works narrowly from a judicial point of view.

All these matters have piled up and created a widespread popular impression that the manner business has been done in London has been unorthodox and unfortunate and has led to considerable losses. Therefore the whole system should be revised.

6. One individual, E.H. Potter, prominently figured in four contracting firms with which the Indian High Commission had transactions for the supply of jeeps, rifles and ammunition, bombers and steel plates.
7. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 16 Part I, pp. 263-265.
8. G.S. Rajadhyaksha (1896-1955); administrator and judge; entered ICS, 1920; Judge, High Court of Judicature, Bombay, 1943; sole member, Fertilizer Committee, 1950; Chairman, Indian Air Transport Enquiry Committee, 1951, and Press Commission, 1952-54.

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION

In this matter your personal integrity is not questioned. Certainly those who have known you at all have not the slightest doubt about it. But the system is certainly considered wrong.

You say that realities have been concealed from me.⁹ Perhaps this may be so but I have gone through all the available papers and I have not been satisfied. It is not much good talking about lurid and deceased imaginations. We have to deal with facts and we have to convince the public and Parliament. I shall be happy indeed if I am in a position to do so.

To my knowledge the French Government have on several occasions, directly and indirectly, expressed their surprise that we should deal with them through intermediaries. The quotations they have given to us directly have been more favourable than those we obtained otherwise. It is possible of course that they might not have been able to deliver the goods. All this is difficult to explain to any one or to understand oneself.

You refer in your letter to some long reply which you describe as a thesis in itself.¹⁰ I have not received this yet. Of course when it comes it will be given careful attention.

I have come up to Mashobra for three days. I shall be going back to Delhi on the 6th.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

9. Krishna Menon wrote to Nehru on 25 March that he realized "with sadness and concern how the men on whom you have to rely have behaved.... Now the mischief has gone farther and reached the stage of misinforming you, using the complexities as a weapon to conceal realities. I have let these slanders go unchallenged for too long, believing they were for the most part founded on somebody's lurid and deceased imagination", but now he was "determined to run all this to earth, so far as I can."
10. Krishna Menon wrote that for several months he had tried to send a reply to Nehru's letter of 11 November 1951 (see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 17, pp. 625-629). "My efforts in this regard have so far proved unsuccessful. At least I have completed one of the letters, as best as I could, but conditions have changed since then....I am however sending the letter unaltered. It has taken me months to write and is a thesis in itself."

2. To E. Stanley Jones¹

New Delhi
May 29, 1952

Dear Dr Stanley Jones,²

Thank you for your letter of May 20th and for sending me a copy of your article which I have read with interest.

Some parts of this letter are not strictly accurate. For instance you say that I have sent your letter in the diplomatic bag to Indian Embassies. I did not do so. I sent a quotation from your letter to some of the members of our Government.

But what has amazed me is your reference to corruption. I cannot imagine where you got your facts from about this. There is of course some corruption among officials and others in India. I imagine that in this respect India is far better than most countries in Europe or America. I should say that it compares very favourably indeed with the United States of America. Your statement that "ineffective and halting efforts are being made to erase it" is wholly unjustified. Your reference to the Home Minister is amazing and is completely without foundation.

As a matter of fact we have not only been proceeding very vigorously in putting down corruption and punished bribe takers, but we have actually created a new offence to deal with the situation. It was in connection with this new offence that the Home Minister said something that you have completely misunderstood. Any person taking the smallest bribe is convicted if his offence is proved. Difficulties however arose in getting proof of any such bribe-taking. Therefore a new Act was passed creating a new offence called Criminal Misconduct. This Act provided that where the accused possessed property much larger in extent than could be accounted for by his salary, etc., then unless he proved how he had come by that property, he was to be convicted of the offence of Criminal Misconduct. In other words, in such a case the ordinary rule of offence was to be reversed and the accused had in substance to prove his innocence. If he could not prove this he was presumed to be a habitual bribe-taker. It was in this sense that the words "habitual bribe-taker" were used and not in the sense in which you have referred to it.

I am surprised at the casual way people talk about corruption in India without verifying their facts. This is very unfair to our Government and to India.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. American missionary who came to India in 1907 and founded the Sat Tal Ashram in Naini Tal and the Nur Manzil Psychiatric Centre in Lucknow.

3. To Prafulla Chandra Bhanj Deo¹

New Delhi
June 3, 1952

Dear Kumar Sahib,²

Thank you for your letter of the 22nd May which I have read with interest. You raise many questions in this letter which I can hardly deal with in the course of a reply. We have to face very difficult problems and we have to see the whole picture and not get lost in some small part of it. Of course, there is nepotism and corruption in Government offices and other places and we should try to get rid of it. We should also try to get rid of red tape and the like. This is not a failing of India only, but unfortunately appears to be a concomitant of complicated and complex Government departments, whether they are in capitalist countries or in socialist. Undoubtedly, we should fight against all this.

The question is always of seeing the full picture and trying to find what is the best way of improving it.

I do not know what you mean by saying that Government treats all Opposition like leprosy. That has not been my attitude or for the matter of that the Government's attitude as a whole. Naturally, if the Opposition attacks Government policies, Government has to defend and sometimes, if necessary, to counter attack.

Constructive criticism can be made not merely in a speech, whether it is fifteen minutes or half an hour, but in many other ways. There seems to be a fallacy that work consists only in speaking in Parliament either for or against Government.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 32(195)/49-PMS.

2. (1909-1959); anthropologist and social activist in the Bastar tribal zone for many years; Member, Council of States, at this time.

4. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegram 13895 of 29 June. As you are aware this question was referred to and has been examined by our law officers. The Attorney General's opinion supported by others was that a notice should be served upon the company through your lawyers, an indication being given to the company at the same time without prejudice that we would be willing to negotiate a reasonable settlement. This opinion was considered by Ministers and decision was taken to act in accordance with it. In fact the draft of this notice is being prepared and will be sent to you soon by the Ministry of Defence together with the Attorney General's opinion. Comments on the proposal you have made will also be sent to you. Further negotiations should follow this notice. We shall be glad of course to arrive at a satisfactory settlement.

1. New Delhi, 1 July 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.

5. To N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar¹

New Delhi
July 12, 1952

My dear Gopalaswami,

You were good enough to write to me about the Potter-Cleminson affair after seeing Deshmukh's letter to me. When you wrote your second letter,² you had to write from memory. I shall be grateful to you if you could refresh your memory from the papers, so that whatever you write will be based on these papers. I am returning all the papers to you.³

1. C.D. Deshmukh Papers, NMML.
2. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar stated in his letter of 9 July 1952 that there was no proof to substantiate Potter's recent allegation that he had made payments by cheques to Cleminson in connection with the jeeps contract. In his earlier letter of 4 July 1952, Gopalaswami had concluded that the story that Potter paid Cleminson about £ 40,000, received from India Office, as bribe for securing the contract, was probably a myth for which Potter alone was responsible. He thought Potter was "a shady character and probably a crook."
3. In his reply of 13 July 1952, Gopalaswami maintained his opinion expressed in his letter of 9 July 1952.

I agree that nothing more is to be done about it. But I think that a proper record should be kept with us.

If your last letter requires no change, even after you have seen these papers again, then you need not write anything more. My own impression is that no case has been made out against Cleminson. There are undoubtedly unsatisfactory features in this whole business. Indeed no one seems to come out with particular credit.⁴ But so far as the particular charge against Cleminson is concerned, I do not think it is established at all.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Gopalaswami wrote on 4 July 1952 that the accusations against the High Commissioner emerging from an enquiry conducted in the jeeps case were: (1) that Potter was in contact with him when the enquiry was in progress; and (2) the High Commissioner was in a position to produce Potter before the enquiry committee, but did not do so.

6. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
July 13, 1952

My dear Krishna,

I received your letter from Bombay. In this you ask me about the report of the Cleminson enquiry. I read this report and then sent it on to Gopalaswami who went through it rather carefully. He wrote to me that while there were some lacunae in the investigation, he had come to the conclusion that:

- (1) Potter was certainly lying; and
- (2) he did not believe the story that Cleminson had received a bribe in connection with the jeep contract.

I have myself come to the conclusion, after going through all this evidence, that there is nothing to substantiate the charge against Cleminson.

About other matters, I shall write to you later.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION

IV. Defence

1. To Baldev Singh¹

New Delhi
May 6, 1952

My dear Baldev Singh,²

The other day when you saw me, I mentioned to you what I have said previously on many occasions that promotion to the higher grades in the Army should be on merit and not on seniority. I attach importance to this. There is always far too great a tendency to allow seniority to work by itself. I believe it is called fitness *plus* seniority. In the higher grades it is of extreme importance that merit should have first place and not mere fitness and certainly not seniority. Unless we follow this rule of merit, we shall be landed in a sea of mediocrity, called fitness. I made a suggestion sometime ago that all senior officers should be graded from the point of view of merit regardless of seniority. This would be helpful whenever the question of a promotion comes up.

Most armies have suffered from this bias towards seniority. The result has been that in every great war the senior Generals have had to be weeded out in the early stages. There is no reason why we should not profit by others' example. It is discouraging to those who are above the average to see that their particular merit is not commended and that some dead level of fitness is considered enough for promotion.

I should like you to draw the attention of the Commander-in-Chief³ as well as of the Board which considers promotions, etc., to this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Minister for Defence at this time.
3. K.M. Cariappa.

2. To N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar¹

New Delhi
June 23, 1952

My dear Gopalaswami,²

A few days ago, just before the meeting of the Defence Committee, Deshmukh sent me copy of a letter and a note which he had sent you on June 16th. This

1. JN Collection.
2. He became Minister for Defence on 13 May 1952.

related to economies in the Defence Services. Apart from details, I find myself in general agreement with the argument of that letter and the note. That is to say, that we must try to and succeed in reducing our Defence expenditure. I do not at all appreciate the purely military approach to this problem. That approach seems to me neither scientific nor in keeping with our finances. Generally speaking, I agree that our Air Force and Navy have to be enlarged. I also think that it is necessary for us to build up Defence industries with a view not only to make ourselves a little more self-sufficient, but also to save money ultimately. I would be prepared to stint myself in other directions with this object in view.

But I cannot understand why we should carry on with the large Army we have at present. What amazed me the other day was the tendency to go on asking for increasing the Army whenever any additional small commitment was referred to. Thus, because we might have to intervene if a crisis develops in Nepal, immediately General Cariappa wants an addition.

This is a completely wrong outlook and has to be countered. As a matter of fact, the internal situation in Nepal is about as bad as it could be and I do not know what the near future might bring. Nevertheless, even so, we cannot think of indefinitely increasing our Army to cover all risks. In an attempt to cover all risks we take the most serious risk of all, that is, weaken our financial position, suspend some of our development schemes and even delay the establishment of Defence factories.

After great effort we have been told that economies to the tune of a few crores can be made. That is good insofar as it goes, but it really makes no difference to the essential problem. I do not think that an approach by military officers will ever make a major difference. This has therefore to be approached from other points of view and by people who can see the picture as a whole.

It is clear that real economy can only take place by substantial reductions in the Army. We have often come to this conclusion, but something or other has happened to prevent us giving effect to it. I think we must tackle it with greater courage, more especially from the point of view of the Five Year Plan.

I am just indicating to you how my mind is working.

Apart from the Army, it shocks me how much we are spending on our Police forces all over the country. Between the Army and the Police a very large part of our national revenue is swallowed up. We can hardly make any real progress in this way.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION

V. Trade Unions

(i) Postal Strike of 1946

1. Fast by Jayaprakash Narayan¹

I am grieved to learn that Shri Jayaprakash Narayan has begun a twenty-one day fast.² As he has said that this fast is entirely a personal affair and not against anybody or anything outside himself, it is not proper for anyone to say anything about it. I can only express my great regret.

Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, in the course of the statement he has issued,³ has referred incidentally to certain negotiations regarding the payment of strike period wages for the postal strike that took place as long ago as 1946, before any change took place in the Central Government. Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai⁴ was Minister for Communications when some of these negotiations took place, but in this particular matter I was intimately concerned also, and indeed the entire Cabinet was repeatedly consulted. I remember discussing this with and writing to Shri Jayaprakash Narayan on several occasions. I am quite clear that at no time did we give any assurance about the payment of strike period wages and I informed Shri Jayaprakash Narayan of this.⁵

There might perhaps have been a misunderstanding. What we said then and what we have always said is that we are always prepared to consider legitimate grievances or proposals which are feasible but we should not be expected to take what we consider a wrong decision.

The staff of the Posts and Telegraph Services performs an essential duty to the community and performs it well. It deserves well of the community and Government are anxious to look after its welfare. But if it has claims, it has also obligations to the community.

1. Statement to the press, New Delhi, 25 June 1952.
2. He undertook a fast for three weeks from 22 June at the Nature Cure Clinic in Pune.
3. It was stated on behalf of Jayaprakash Narayan that the decision to undertake the personal and self-purificatory fast was taken about a year ago following unsuccessful negotiations with Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, the then Minister for Communications, regarding payment of wages to postmen and other lower grade staff for the period of the postmen's strike in 1946. Jayaprakash Narayan had written to Nehru on 18 May 1951 that he would undertake an indefinite fast if a definite undertaking was not given by the Government within a month's time to fulfil the assurance given to him by Kidwai regarding wages for the period of strike.
4. He was the Minister for Communications from 15 August 1947 to 2 August 1951.
5. V.G. Dalvi, Honorary General Secretary of the All-India Postmen and Lower Grade Staff Union, announced in Pune on 23 June 1952 that a general strike of postal employees throughout the country might have to be launched to enforce the fulfilment of a "broken promise" made on behalf of the Government. He said that during negotiations following the strike, Kidwai had given a verbal promise to Jayaprakash Narayan that the wages of the postal staff during the period of strike involving an amount of rupees 25 to 40 lakhs would be paid.

2. To Damodar Swarup Seth¹

New Delhi
July 8, 1952

My dear Damodar Swarup,²

I have your letter of July 5th.³

You are perfectly right in saying that I was not present on the occasion, but from day to day I was kept informed of these talks. I was informed then of the assurance given which was that everything should be done to try to find a way out, if possible by substituting payment for leave due at the time of the strike. Subsequently, after full investigation this was found difficult.

It is clear that there was some misunderstanding in the matter. There was no question of my challenging Jayaprakash Narayan's *bona fides*. I accept his word, but you will notice that the difference in the two versions is exceedingly slight and might well be due to some misunderstanding. As a matter of fact, soon after that I had some correspondence with Jayaprakash. Why should we not accept the simple fact that there was some misunderstanding when such misunderstanding could easily have taken place? What Rafi Ahmed said was that he would do his best to find a way out.

In any event, I have offered to consider any grievance *de novo*. In fact, I have repeated the assurance that Rafi Ahmed Kidwai gave some years ago. What more can one do? It is not good harping back on something that happened some years ago, about which there is some doubt in people's minds.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 26(63)/48-PMS.

2. Seth, a former Congressman from UP, wrote that since Nehru's knowledge about the words actually used at talks between Rafi Ahmed Kidwai and Jayaprakash Narayan was based on what Kidwai must have told him and considering that, unlike Jayaprakash Narayan, Kidwai did not believe in "means justifying ends", Nehru's statement in Parliament on 2 July 1952 regarding the nature of assurance given by Kidwai had done "a very cruel wrong" to Jayaprakash Narayan. Nehru had stated in the House of the People that it was completely wrong to say that at any time there was an assurance that there would be payment for the period of strike. The assurance only was that every avenue would be explored.

3. To Jayaprakash Narayan¹

New Delhi
8 July 1952

My dear Jayaprakash,

I have hesitated to write to you during the ordeal which you have imposed upon yourself. You have made us very anxious and my thoughts have been with you. Nevertheless I had a feeling of embarrassment in writing to you and did not quite know what to say.² You will, I am sure, understand.

I earnestly hope that you will pass through this ordeal successfully and that your health will not suffer, because of it, in future. It is some comfort that you have the best advice and the conditions are as favourable as they can be for such a supreme test. Your life is too precious for all of us and for India.³

With love,

Yours affly,
Jawaharlal

1. From Vijayalakshmi S. (ed.) *Sri Jayaprakash Narayan's Sixty-first Birthday Celebration: Commemoration Volume* (Madras, 1962-63), p. 162.
2. Asoka Mehta, General Secretary, Socialist Party, had written to Nehru on 7 July that whatever statements Nehru might have to make as Prime Minister, friendly solicitude on the personal level about Jayaprakash's health as a result of the fast would not have been out of place.
3. Jayaprakash replied on 10 July: "All these days I had been missing this word of love and cheer from you....You need have felt no embarrassment at all, because I am not fasting against you, your Government or any of your colleagues."

4. To V.G. Dalvi¹

The Prime Minister has received your letter of the 7th July, 1952. He understands that you are in correspondence with the Ministry of Communications who have informed you that they would be glad to discuss with you any issues raised by you.

As frequent reference has been made to the Prime Minister in regard to the alleged promise made by the then Minister of Communications for payment

1. Letter drafted by Nehru and sent by B.N. Kaul, Principal Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, on 10 July 1952. JN Collection.

for the strike period of 1946, the Prime Minister made a statement in Parliament.² He is surprised and distressed that after the full statement made in Parliament by the present Minister of Communications,³ as well as the previous Minister, any further argument should be carried on on this point. It is clear that what was said then was that the strike period pay could not possibly be given. This is a matter of principle with far-reaching consequences. An assurance was however given by Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai to the effect that he would make every effort to find an alternative method which would not involve payment of the strike pay. He gave an instance which had occurred in the UP in connection with another strike.⁴ He hoped to be able to find a way out. That was the extent of the assurance, and he reported this to the Prime Minister immediately after. A period of three months was fixed for this matter to be explored. At the end of that period, Shri Kidwai stated with regret that he had not been successful in finding a suitable way out. In these circumstances, it seems exceedingly unfair for any charge to be made against Shri Kidwai that he broke his promise.⁵ It is fully possible that there was some misunderstanding among his hearers, because the difference between the two types of assurances, the one given and the one now reported, is very slight. No one accuses the representatives of the postmen of *mala fides* in this matter. Misunderstandings may often take place. It serves little purpose to continue arguing about a misunderstanding which took place some years ago.

The Prime Minister did not give any assurance, as stated in your letter, that Government were prepared to examine the question of strike pay *de novo*. So far as the strike pay is concerned, as has been stated above, it is a basic matter of principle and there can be no reconsideration of this as such. But Government are always prepared to honour an assurance given by a Minister on their behalf. The assurance given by Shri Kidwai was, as stated above, that he would endeavour to find an alternative method of dealing with the situation that had arisen. Although this assurance was given a long time ago and it was examined at the time, and much has happened since, nevertheless, the Prime Minister is prepared, as he stated in Parliament, to explore this assurance afresh and how far it is possible to give effect to it.

Should your Union wish to assist Government in this matter, you should communicate with the Ministry of Communications.

2. See *ante*, p. 232.

3. Jagjivan Ram, Minister for Communications, said on 2 July 1952 that Kidwai's agreeing to count the period of strike for leave and pension itself was a great concession. Quoting from several letters of Kidwai to show that no assurance had ever been given about payment of wages for the strike period, he said that Jayaprakash Narayan had somehow formed the impression that Kidwai had promised to allow the payment.

4. The striking policemen in UP were treated as on leave and paid for the period of strike.

5. On 2 July 1952, Kidwai stated that all that he had promised was that an attempt would be made to find a solution, if possible.

5. To Jayaprakash Narayan¹

New Delhi
July 12, 1952

My dear Jayaprakash,

I was happy to get your note and happier still to find from your letter as well as from the newspapers that you have been progressing well. By the time this letter of mine reaches you, you will have completed your fast² and this successful conclusion of a terrible ordeal will lift a burden from innumerable people's minds. I hope that you will take full care of yourself for some time after the fast. There is always a risk of not taking this after-care and of trying to get back to normal life too soon. But Dinshaw Mehta³ will no doubt see to it that you are looked after properly during these subsequent days.

When you are well enough, I hope you will come here. Indeed you had promised to do so when I met you last. I would like you to come not just for a brief and rather hurried talk, but for something more.

Although you made your fast an entirely personal one and kept it quite apart from other matters, nevertheless inevitably it was connected in people's minds with the unfortunate controversy about the postal strike long ago and the strike period pay which had been demanded. I would beg of you not to pay attention to these past events which, I have no doubt, were due to misunderstandings. The earnest desire and hope of Rafi Ahmed Kidwai to find a way out, no doubt, gave the impression to you and others that it was practically an assurance. However, I have said that we are perfectly prepared to consider any feasible proposal *de novo*. I shall personally do it. I would have been glad to discuss this matter with you. But as you cannot come for some time, I am prepared to do it with anyone else. I would only suggest that this approach should be a friendly one.⁴

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. File No. 26(63)/48-PMS.

2. Jayaprakash Narayan broke his fast on 14 July 1952.

3. Mehta, a Gandhian and a naturopath, had started the Nature Cure Clinic in Pune in 1929.

4. On 18 July 1952, the Government agreed to pay emoluments to postal employees for the period of the strike.

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION

V. Trade Unions

(ii) Trade Union Movement

1. To Deven Sen¹

New Delhi
May 3, 1952

Dear Deven Sen,²

I have your letter of the 28th April. I have read it with care, as I am naturally interested in the development of the trade union movement.

As you know, I am not directly connected with the INTUC, nor am I fully acquainted with its internal problems. It would be improper for me, therefore, to give any advice in regard to a matter which does not directly concern me and with which I am not fully acquainted.

It has long been my view that the trade union movement in India should be independent of political organizations though it may have friendly relations with them. It is true that, in the developments that are inevitably taking place in India, some kind of unofficial political alignment might become inevitable.

I am afraid I cannot possibly sit in judgement over decisions of the Working Committee of the INTUC.

I am sending your letter to the President³ of the INTUC.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. (1899-1971); labour leader; took part in the noncooperation movement; left Congress and joined Kisan-Mazdoor Praja Party, 1951; founder-president, INTUC; chairman, Hind Mazdoor Sabha, West Bengal; represented India at the trade union conference, London, 1948; elected Member of Lok Sabha, 1967.

3. Khandubhai Desai.

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION

VI. The States

1. Development of Sikkim¹

During my brief stay at Gangtok² I had talks with the Maharajkumar³ and our Political Officer.⁴ Also a brief talk with the Dewan.⁵ The Maharaja⁶ was apparently not much interested in political or other affairs. With a great effort, I understand, he kept himself sober during my visit. His other interest appears to be painting and he is rather proud of his efforts in this direction. The Maharajkumar is, for all practical purposes, his representative and functions on his behalf.

2. Sikkim is a very attractive little country, and I confess that I came away with some feeling of regret and the hope that I might go there again.

3. I met many deputations from various organizations. Some of these pressed for an interim Government immediately or as soon as possible, that is, before the proposed elections are held.⁷ Many minor points were also raised. I need not go into them.

4. I doubt if it will be feasible or desirable to have an interim Government during the next few months. It is intended, I believe, to have elections in October. I hope that this date will be a firm date and will not be postponed. While an interim Cabinet or Government is not feasible, some effort, I think, should be made to give the people a feeling of greater association in Government. Exactly how this can be done, I cannot say immediately. But the Advisory Council can meet much more frequently and can discuss various matters. In fact, almost every important matter can be placed before them for discussion.

5. It is true, of course, that there is a great lack of competent persons in Sikkim and the people who demanded an interim Government did so chiefly with the idea of getting some posts and positions of authority for themselves. Nevertheless, it is these people, or persons like them, who are likely to be elected when the elections come and they will have to be given a considerable measure of responsibility then. If we have to face that contingency then, we might as well prepare the ground for it from now onwards.

1. Note to Secretary-General, MEA, and Foreign Secretary, Kalimpong, 29 April 1952. JN Collection.
2. From 27 to 29 April 1952.
3. Sherab Palden.
4. B.K. Kapoor. Sikkim was, at this time, a protectorate of India, enjoying autonomy in regard to its internal affairs.
5. J.S. Lall.
6. Tashipat Namgyal.
7. The first elections in Sikkim were held in May 1953.

6. The Maharajkumar struck me favourable. I cannot form any opinion about his executive capacity, but he is intelligent and has some enthusiasm for his work. Indeed, his chief complaint was that he had no work or very little work and that he was not trusted. He is rather sensitive. I think that it would be desirable to bring him a little more into the picture.

7. He told me that he and the Dewan were friends and got on well together (our Political Officer is a newcomer). But he referred repeatedly to lack of trust and hinted at his being bypassed or ignored by the Dewan. He mentioned that important decisions were taken without any reference to him. Even the Supplementary Budget was passed without reference to him or the Advisory Council. He said that some orders which ought to be signed by the Maharaja were not placed before the Maharaja or the Maharajkumar.

8. I think that he took a somewhat exaggerated view. But the fact that he has this view itself has some importance. The idea that he is not trusted should be removed from his mind and he should be consulted for every important matter. I impressed this both on the Political Officer and the Dewan. We must try to avoid the feeling growing in him or in the people generally that the Dewan is an imposition from outside. As a matter of fact, Sikkim has made substantial progress during the last two or three years, since the Dewan went there, and his work appears to be creditable. But it is desirable for him and for our Political Officer to seek the cooperation and consultation of the Maharajkumar as well as of the Advisory Council, even more than they have done.

9. The Maharajkumar and one or two deputations referred to the judicial system and were not satisfied with things as they are. Apparently, their chief objection was that appeals from the person who functions as some kind of a Sessions Judge now go up to the Dewan. They talked about the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive. I think that it would be desirable to have someone else deal with the appeals. The Maharajkumar suggested that some retired or ex-High Court Judge from India might visit Sikkim periodically, say, three or four times a year, to listen to these appeals. Apparently, there are not many appeals and they will not take up much time. A person with full judicial experience would be better than an executive officer for these appeals. The main objection was one of cost to the State, which is poor. I do not think that much expenditure need be incurred. It should be easy to get an ex-High Court Judge from Bengal. Gangtok is an attractive place with a fine climate and retired Judges should welcome a spell there. Practically speaking, all that need be paid is travelling expenses and board and lodging for two or three weeks at a time. Perhaps, something more might be paid. I spoke to Dr B.C. Roy about this and he said that it will not be difficult to get a suitable person.

10. Apart from political matters, the most important question is that of

Sikkim's development. The resources of this little State are small and we have therefore to be very careful that those small resources are used for important purposes only. Some two or three years ago a five year plan was drawn up for Sikkim. I have not seen this or, at any rate, I had not considered it. This was obviously before our own Planning Commission started working. It would be desirable for this plan to be examined afresh and revised, where necessary. The Planning Commission should give it consideration and every advice. I think that we should be prepared to help Sikkim financially. At present we pay them a subsidy of rupees three lakhs a year. We should not increase this subsidy, but we should be prepared to meet expenditure on some schemes or projects which we approve. The sum involved cannot be large.

11. I say this because Sikkim has obvious importance for us now. It is not only a border area, but this border has suddenly assumed great importance. In Sikkim I felt that I was in a different mental and cultural climate from the rest of India. The only other place I felt so was in Ladakh. Probably, Bhutan is even more different. In fact, in these places one enters, to some extent, the world of Tibet. While it is true that their economic and many other trade contacts are with India, their cultural and linguistic contacts are with Tibet. In the present circumstances, it becomes important for us, therefore, to play a more important role in Sikkim. The people of Sikkim desire it and would welcome it.

12. There has recently been a report that both coal and copper exist in northern or western Sikkim. This is important and further investigations should immediately be made. I suggest that competent geologists should be sent by us for this purpose to Sikkim. The exploitation of coal and copper would add to the wealth of the State and would be of great advantage, more particularly coal, to all the surrounding areas, such as Darjeeling. Though we do not lack coal in India, transport is a great difficulty, and we would overcome this difficulty for all this area. Copper, of course, would be more useful to us.

13. We cannot think, so far as I can see, of any major projects in Sikkim. Practically speaking, development would consist of:

- (1) Improvement of communications, some of which would have a certain strategic value also;
- (2) far more elementary schools;
- (3) simple health services;
- (4) utilization of forest produce; and
- (5) cottage and small scale industries.

14. I need not say much about the first three except that they would be greatly appreciated by the people and would be good in themselves. There

will be obvious indications of something being done. I might mention that Dr B.C. Roy is prepared to send a substantial quantity of quinine, to fight malaria, to Sikkim at a very reduced rate or even free if the Government of India so desires. He has a stock of quinine in Darjeeling and this could easily be sent over to Sikkim. He has suggested that one of his senior medical officers might visit Sikkim and then advise about various matters. I welcome this suggestion. He has also suggested that his Director of the Calcutta Botanical Gardens, Dr Biswas,⁸ might go to Sikkim to advise in regard to medicinal plants which probably abound in Sikkim.

15. Sikkim is rich in magnificent forests. I do not know how they are being used and what profit is made out of them. Of course, they should be preserved. I have mentioned forest produce above. I do not mean timber, but other forms of forest produce. Some little time ago, the Director⁹ of our National Chemical Laboratory in Poona pointed out to me that we were wasting or not utilizing many kinds of forest produce in India very much. He mentioned, I think, one or two instances which could help our industries in some ways. I referred this matter to the Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research. I think this should be pursued. I think it should be pursued generally for the whole of India. So far as Sikkim is concerned, it should have particular value.

16. I cannot suggest any particular cottage or small scale industries for Sikkim, but I feel sure that there must be scope for them. Sikkim forests abound in bamboos. Most of these are rather thin, but I am sure that they can be used in a variety of ways. The Japanese, I believe, so used them.

17. Sikkim used to manufacture carpets, blankets, etc. They have practically stopped doing this, chiefly because of lack of wool. There was this lack a year or two ago, but, as a matter of fact, large godowns are bursting with huge stocks of Tibetan wool at present. This wool comes via Sikkim to Kalimpong, and it is odd for Sikkim not to use this. Prices have come down also. I suggest that immediate steps should be taken to restart manufacture of carpets, blankets, and various other articles.

18. Some very good hand-made paper is still being made in Sikkim from what is called the daphne bark. I think that this could be encouraged and increased. I have suggested that the Poona Hand-made Paper Research Centre might be consulted.

19. In this connection I should like to suggest that the Government of India might progressively use more hand-made paper. Some of the specimens I have seen are very good and quite suitable for our use.

8. K.P. Biswas.

9. James William McBain.

20. The Maharajkumar spoke to me about their need for rice. Their demands are not very great and we might try to fulfil them in some measure. I pointed out to him our own difficulties and suggested that they might get used to other forms of food and, more especially, grow more vegetables.

21. A copy of this note is being sent to our Political Officer in Sikkim, Dr B.C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal (who accompanied me during my visit to Sikkim), HM Finance, HM Transport, Ministry of NR & SR and Planning Commission.

2. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi
July 12, 1952

My dear Sri Babu,

Reports reach me that the landless labour movement in Bihar is growing and is, to some extent, feeding the Communists. I think that we should make a special effort to keep in touch with this movement and try to remove its grievances insofar as we can. Essentially the movement is not communal and extends to both Hindus and Muslims. Among the Muslims there are the weavers or the Momins. Abdul Qayum Ansari² was a pillar of strength for you so far as the movements were concerned. I hope he has every opportunity of working among them.

I am writing to you because we are apt to forget big problems in our entanglement with our Party affairs.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. He was Minister for Public Works, Cottage Industry, and Relief and Rehabilitation, Government of Bihar, 1946-52.

3. To Morarji Desai¹

New Delhi
July 15, 1952

My dear Morarji Bhai,

The other day, when I spoke to you on the telephone, I enquired about the new taxes that you proposed to levy—the sales tax and some, I believe, land tax.² I did not know the details, but I had read about the increasing tempo of agitation against these taxes. I was troubled by this, because it did appear that there was a very large volume of public disapproval.

I realize that almost every fresh taxation is opposed by some group or other,³ which is affected, and we have to try our best to increase our resources. Nevertheless, something that hits a very large number of people has to be carefully examined. Personally, I do not like the sales tax. It is a bad form of indirect taxation. But I realize that it is inevitable in certain circumstances. But I confess however that I was a little taken aback by the number of times the sales tax has to be paid according to the proposals of the Bombay Government. Presumably this will mean a rise in prices of many of the normal necessities and thus affect a large number of people.

I have just received a letter from our Finance Minister which refers particularly to the levy of a sales tax at 1% of the turnover on the sale of cotton at the first stage after it leaves the farmer. Raw cotton, including ginned and unginned cotton or *kapas*, is one of the items included in the schedule attached to the Essential Goods Bill (No. 29 of 1952) now before Parliament. This Bill seeks to declare certain goods essential to the life of the community under Article 286 (3) of the Constitution. The effect of the Bill becoming law would be that the assent of the President would be necessary to any proposal of a State Government relating to the levy of sales tax, or increase in such levy where sales tax at present exists, in respect of the items included in the schedule. The purpose behind this is to secure some uniformity in respect of sales tax levied on essential articles. Before the Bill was placed before Parliament, the schedule was circulated amongst various States, and the Government of Bombay, while expressing the view that the matter should be postponed for some time, had agreed that if the Government of India still felt

1. JN Collection.
2. The State budget for Bombay for 1952-53 envisaged an increase in the sales tax to yield an additional revenue of rupees 10 to 11 crores. A surcharge on land revenue expected to fetch an additional rupees one crore was also proposed but subsequently given up.
3. There was strong opposition within the Congress Legislature Party to the proposal for additional taxes. S.K. Patil, President of the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee, led the opposition on the issue of sales tax.

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION

that there was urgency, then raw cotton should be included in the schedule. The Essential Goods Bill before Parliament is likely to become law in a few days' time. It is surprising that the Bombay Government should now proceed with a measure for the levy of sales tax on cotton when Parliament is going to change the law very soon. It is true that during these few days before Parliament converts this Bill into law, the Bombay Government are entitled to proceed with their proposals. But it does seem to me rather odd that this should be done at this particular moment.

Apart from this, the levy of sales tax on an industrial raw material does not appear to be desirable.

I hope you will consider these aspects of this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION
VII. Formation of Linguistic Provinces

1. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
May 26, 1952

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your note of the 23rd which I appreciate very much.

I am writing to you about linguistic provinces. I had a deputation yesterday from a large number of Karnataka Members who wanted a Karnataka province.² Their proposal was that some districts of Bombay, and perhaps some Kannada-speaking parts of Madras, might be attached to the present Mysore State. Their proposal was thus a relatively simple one. They tried to avoid controversial matters. They were very anxious that something, presumably the appointment of a committee to go into this, should be done.

I have been giving a good deal of thought to this matter and have come to the conclusion that we cannot postpone consideration of it much longer. I know very well the difficulties and risks involved in opening out this linguistic provinces issue. We may begin in a small way, but immediately all over India people will take it up.

At the same time I see no help for it, and we can no longer just keep sitting upon it. Therefore, it is better to take some step for a specific object than to allow events to go ahead of us.

The specific objects, as far as I can see, would be the Andhra province and the Kannada province. These two are the simplest, except for the city of Madras. Of course, the moment we think of a Kannada province, the Maharashtra province looms above the horizon and then we have to deal with the city of Bombay. Personally, I am quite clear about Madras and Bombay.

I am suggesting this course of action not because the Communists or anybody else is taking up the matter. I have arrived at this conclusion quite independently. I am told you have recently expressed yourself also in favour of the Andhra province.

May I have your advice?

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.

2. Led by B.N. Datar, fifteen Members of Parliament representing the Kannada-speaking areas of Madras, Bombay, Hyderabad and Mysore met Nehru on 24 May and proposed the formation of a new State comprising Mysore State, Coorg, and the Karnataka areas in Bombay and Madras, leaving out for the time being the Karnataka areas of Hyderabad. They also suggested the appointment of a boundary commission for settling the boundaries of the proposed State.

2. To Morarji Desai¹

New Delhi
May 26, 1952

My dear Morarji Bhai,

I had a deputation yesterday from a large number of Members of Parliament from the Karnataka area. They pressed me to take some steps towards the formation of a Karnataka province. They said that they did not wish to raise any controversial issue. Their proposal was to take the Karnataka districts from Bombay State and a small Karnataka part from Madras and join them on to Mysore. I asked them for more precise proposals. I told them, what I had said previously, that if there was general agreement among the people in the States concerned, we would have no objection.

I feel that we cannot delay indefinitely this question of linguistic provinces. As you know, I do not fancy it at all and once we start it, it will have far-reaching repercussions. At the same time I doubt if we can go on postponing it and some time or other we shall have to deal with it. It is better, therefore, to start dealing with it.

The two obvious proposals which presumably will have priority will be the Andhra and the Karnataka provinces.

Andhra involves the difficult question of Madras.² Karnataka will lead to Maharashtra becoming a province and that will lead to the question of Bombay. For my part, I am clear about Madras and Bombay.

Whatever our position is will have to be stated clearly and positively. A merely negative approach is no longer good enough. If our general approach is agreed to in any case, then the question arises about the constitution of some committee or commission. This is likely to take many months.

I am writing to you so that you might think about it and we might discuss it when you come here.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. While the people of Tamilnadu would not countenance the giving up of Madras city in favour of an Andhra province, the people of Rayalaseema were opposed to the formation of such a province unless Madras city was included in it. The Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee, while urging immediate formation of an Andhra province, wanted Madras city to be made a separate province.

3. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
May 28, 1952

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of May 27th about linguistic provinces.² I did not quite ignore the difficulties you point out. Nevertheless I do not see how we can go on postponing this issue indefinitely. If we think in terms of a new general election, then we must postpone this issue for another five years or so. I doubt very much if that is possible and if we try to do so the situation might well deteriorate in many ways and force our hands to some extent a little later. I imagine that that is just what the Communists would like. They would get a fine opportunity to function as the leaders of what might be called a national agitation in a somewhat narrow sense of the word.

Postponing the issue for a year or so would not get over the difficulty you point out.

I had laid down the criterion that we are prepared to consider the formation of a province if there is general agreement. I have repeated this often enough. If then such a general agreement is placed before me, how can I possibly go back on my word and what reason can I give for it? I can find no justification if, as is possible, the Karnataka people produce some such general assent. I cannot tell them that I do not like the possible consequences in Andhra or Kerala.

If the Andhra issue is raised before me I can put forward my general principle. That will involve an agreement about the city of Madras. If that is not forthcoming then we need not go ahead. If it is forthcoming then I have no excuse for delay.

In the case of an agreement either in Kannada or Andhra, the next normal step is for some kind of a committee to enquire into details. That would take some months. Of course, the question of a general agreement should not be taken for granted and should be clarified.

My point is that we cannot be passive or on the defensive in this matter. We have to take a positive view, however cautious it might be.

1. JN Collection.
2. Rajagopalachari felt that the creation of linguistic provinces should be postponed as it was the worst time for such a move and its protagonists were also not in a hurry. He thought separate Andhra and Kerala States might prove dangerous, while any step towards the formation of a separate Andhra would be seen in Karnataka against the Andhra communist background.

In the case of division of Madras we might be justified in asking for a fresh election. What the result of the election might be I do not know. We have to take the risk. In any event all this will take the major part of the year but something will be moving and the present deadlock would be broken up.

Some words of yours recently said about Andhra have led many people to think that you are agreeable to this question being taken up soon. Vinoba Bhave drew my attention to your words and said that now I should go ahead.

I propose to discuss this matter in the Congress Working Committee.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

4. To V.V. Giri¹

New Delhi
June 8, 1952

My dear Giri,²

Thank you for your letter of the 8th June about the Andhra State. Also the telegram.

I must say that Swami Sitaram has a peculiar way of doing the wrong thing and thereby exasperating people.³ He may be a very good man, but when I met him and had a talk with him, I was surprised at his lack of intelligence. I am quite sure that the Andhra State would have come into being but for Swami Sitaram's peculiar behaviour and if he had adopted other methods.

I stand by the assurance I have given. That is, if there is a general agreement, we shall immediately take steps to appoint a commission. In the absence of such an agreement on broad issues, it means a conflict which will divert all energy from development and other work. Ultimately the two

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister for Labour at this time.

3. Swami Sitaram, a prominent Congressman of Andhra Pradesh, began a fast on 25 May 1952 at Anandasram, Cuddapah district, demanding early formation of an Andhra province. He said that unless this was done, his disciples would take up fast one by one. He undertook a fast for thirty-six days in August-September 1951 also for the same reason.

problems that remain are the Madras city and Rayalaseema.⁴ I do not see how I can compel a major party against its will to accept a decision. Even reference to an arbitration means consent of parties. A forcible arbitration will be resisted and will create trouble.

I have given a great deal of thought to this matter and I am continuing to do so. If I see any light, I shall certainly place the matter before the Cabinet.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. The people of Rayalaseema, besides demanding the inclusion of Madras city in an Andhra province, wanted every region in the province to have equal representation in the Cabinet, the legislature, and the services.

5. To Lanka Sundaram¹

New Delhi
June 9, 1952

Dear Dr Lanka Sundaram,²

When you came to see me today, you told me that you had sent me a short notice question in regard to the formation of an Andhra State. As a matter of fact I had not received any notice of this question, formally or informally, till you mentioned it to me.

The newspaper accounts about Shri Rajagopalachari having written to me on this subject are not quite correct. In the course of our frequent correspondence this has been mentioned. As for the Governor of Madras having discussed this question with the President, I have no knowledge whatever.

These are, however, minor matters. Your real concern was about the state of health of Swami Sitaram who has undertaken a twenty-one day fast over this issue of the Andhra State. It is, I believe, the sixteenth day of his fast today and press reports about his condition are not satisfactory. Naturally, we are concerned about his health and any untoward development would be exceedingly unfortunate. You will agree with me, I hope, that this method of fasting to bring pressure for the solution of a complicated administrative problem is not desirable. This was pointed out on the previous occasion and I was glad

1. JN Collection.

2. Member, House of the People, at this time.

that Swami Sitaram then agreed to give up his fast.³ In fact, this kind of thing comes in the way of a solution. Any important question affecting large numbers of people should be discussed and decided in a calm atmosphere.

There are large numbers of us, and I count myself among them, who are anxious to solve this problem.

I would be happy to see an Andhra State established. If, for no other reason, than to satisfy the wishes of large numbers of Andhras. I have in fact, during the past two or three years, earnestly looked forward to this solution, but I have felt that there can be no proper solution unless it was by some general consent of the various interests and States concerned. The alternative to this general consent is compulsion and coercion, which itself leads to complications and ill will. That would be a bad beginning for a new State. Hence, I have repeatedly requested our friends in the Andhra Desh, and in Tamil Nad, as well as others concerned, to arrive at some general consent about the major issues involved. As a matter of fact, great progress was made in this direction. But we are stuck up on one or two points which are rather important.⁴ I feel sure that these points can also be settled if a right approach is made. But an attempt to coerce, whether by fast or otherwise, is hardly the right approach and it produces contrary reactions and thus actually delays the achievement of the desired objective.

I can assure you that I am anxious to find a solution in consonance with the wishes of the people and, as soon as one or two hurdles have been removed, we shall take action in the matter.

To appoint an arbitrator to solve the remaining issues, in regard to which there is a difference, cannot be done unless there is agreement about the arbitrator. I do not myself see how political issues of this type can be referred to an arbitrator. This applies to the appointment of a commission for this purpose also. A commission rightly comes in when these major points have been decided and it works out details.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 16 Part II, pp. 437-444.

4. A three-men committee comprising Nehru, Patel and Sitaramayya appointed by the Jaipur session of the Congress in 1948 recommended the formation of Andhra province, provided the Andhras renounced their claim to Madras city.

6. To N. Sanjiva Reddy¹

New Delhi
June 16, 1952

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,²

I have received a copy of the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the APCC, under your presidentship, on the 7th June.³ This relates to the formation of the Andhra province. In this resolution you refer to a past resolution, that is to say, you want the formation of this province on the basis of the three-men committee's report. This would mean the clear exclusion of Madras city from the new Andhra State.

If this was the attitude of others in Andhra, we would be very near the solution of this problem. I can assure you that I am exceedingly anxious to solve this problem. It will have to be solved somehow or other, and therefore the sooner we do it the better.

But how can I ignore the active and aggressive opposition of many leading figures in Andhra like Shri T. Prakasam and others? Only the other day they stated publicly that they will not consent to an Andhra province unless the city of Madras was included in it. You know well that any such proposal would raise a storm in Tamil Nad. We cannot possibly take any further step till this matter is settled by some kind of general agreement. I cannot form an Andhra province or any other at the point of a bayonet.

As a matter of fact, as you know, we came very near the full agreement in 1949-50. Ever since then some of the protagonists for an Andhra province have progressively made the situation more difficult. I receive telegrams now from Rayalaseema protesting against the formation of the Andhra province. Perhaps we can get over this difficulty but I cannot get over the difficulty about the city of Madras unless people come to an agreement.

I can assure you that as soon as there is this kind of general agreement, we shall take early steps.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. P-2/1952, AICC Papers, NMML.
2. Neelam Sanjiva Reddy (b. 1913); Member, Madras Legislative Assembly, 1946; Member, Constituent Assembly, 1947; Minister, Madras Government, 1949-51; President, Andhra PCC, 1951-52; Deputy Chief Minister, Andhra Pradesh, 1953-56, and Chief Minister, 1956-57 and 1962-64; President, Indian National Congress, 1960-62; Union Minister, 1964-65 and 1966-67; elected to Lok Sabha, 1967; Speaker, Lok Sabha, 1967-69; President of India, 1977-82.
3. The Andhra PCC resolved to request the Central Government to take immediate steps to form a new Andhra province as per their resolution of 1949.

7. To G.V. Hallikeri¹

New Delhi
June 22, 1952

Dear friend,²

Thank you for your letter of the 14th June. As I have repeatedly stated, we are perfectly prepared to take any action in the matter of the formation of a new province if there is general consent to that effect. I have said that about the proposed Andhra province. But there is bitter controversy about the future of Madras city. I cannot settle that by a decree from the Central Government. This applies to any other proposal like it too. In such and like cases a wrong step might well lead to conflict and bitterness apart from holding up all our plans for development.

I shall certainly consider the Karnataka case with all the sympathy but I should like to avoid any step which may have wrong consequences.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 7(98)/48-PMS.
2. General Secretary, Karnataka Pradesh Congress Committee.

8. The Demand for Linguistic Provinces¹

... I shall refer to some points that have been mentioned and some ideas which I have on the subject. Right from the beginning it was said—I think it was Dr Lanka Sundaram who said it—that we should keep away from passion and prejudice. I entirely agree with him. Dr Mookerjee said that this is not a matter which might be considered a party matter. I also entirely agree with him. And yet, may I say, that perhaps it would have been better if it was a party matter. I shall explain myself. Not that I want things to become party matters, but a party matter is something that cuts across provincial feelings. It may be good, or it may be bad. But anyhow it is not on a provincial basis that a party would consider it. Well, this particular question is in the nature of

1. 7 July 1952. *Parliamentary Debates: House of the People, Official Report, Volume III, Part II*, cols 3346-3361.

things a provincial question. Therefore, where division comes or where friction comes as between representatives of one province and another—which I think is worse than party divisions—perhaps it would have been better if it was a party matter, if it is considered on the basis of some principle, if you like. There are different ways of looking at it, but not on the basis of provincial differences or thinking.

Now, an honourable Member—one of the noted poets we have in this House—referred to the policy, the old British policy, of divide and rule.² He seemed to conclude, to hint, that in this matter of linguistic provinces, the policy of the present Government is a continuation of this divide and rule policy. Now I must confess that I have failed to understand that. It may be a flight of poetic fancy, perhaps. Whatever one's view on this question may be, how it is a policy of divide and rule, I do not understand.

Now, repeated references have been made to the Congress policy for a large number of years and one honourable Member said that sometime or other in the past I used to go about shouting from the house-tops or street corners about linguistic provinces.³ I am not aware of having done so at all. In fact, I have never been very anxious about linguistic provinces. I might say—and this is entirely, if I may say so, a confidential aside to the House—I have had peculiar views about our provinces and, coming as I do from the biggest of India's provinces, I think that provinces should be very small in this country, but not provinces as we have them today with all the paraphernalia of a Governor, a High Court and this and that. But my voice has been a lonely voice, even when the Constituent Assembly was considering it. We were so used to existing conditions that we followed more or less what we have been used to.

Now, talking about the Congress, everybody knows that thirty years ago or thereabouts the Congress stood for linguistic provinces.⁴ Then, skipping over the period, in 1945-46—seven years ago—the Congress in its election manifesto said:

It (the Congress) has also stood for the freedom of each group and territorial area within the nation to develop its own life and culture

2. Harindranath Chattopadhyaya said on 7 July 1952 that the Congress had always stood for linguistic provinces and had fought tooth and nail against the British policy of divide and rule, but curiously enough the same policy was still continuing.
3. P.T. Punnoose said on 7 July 1952 that during the freedom struggle Nehru shouted the slogan of linguistic provinces from "the housetops", whereas it was now being said that the unity of the country was to be taken into consideration.
4. In 1917, the Indian National Congress passed a resolution in support of the movement for a separate Andhra province, and at its Nagpur session in 1920 it decided to redistribute the Congress provinces on a linguistic basis.

within the larger framework and it is stated that for this purpose such territorial areas or provinces should be constituted, as far as possible, on a linguistic cultural basis.⁵

That was seven years ago. The latest position is as embodied in the election manifesto⁶ of the last general elections drawn up at Bangalore. May I read that out?

The demand for redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis has been persistently made in the South and West of India. The Congress expressed itself in favour of linguistic provinces many years ago. A decision on this question ultimately depends upon the wishes of the people concerned. While linguistic reasons have undoubtedly cultural and other importance, there are other factors also, such as, economic, administrative and financial, which have to be taken into consideration. Where such a demand represents the agreed views of the people concerned, the necessary steps prescribed by the Constitution, including the appointment of a boundary commission, should be taken.

That more or less represents the policy and the position of Government in this matter.

Now, in regard to the Andhra province, for instance, honourable Members have said: Go and take a vote or plebiscite; 95 or 97 per cent would vote for it. I entirely agree. But that does not get over my difficulties. I am all in favour of the Andhra province. But what will happen if you take the votes of the Andhras and the Tamilians and others in regard to the issue and conflict like Madras city? Then you will not get 90 per cent this way or that. It is quite clear that if you take the vote of the Andhras on the Andhra province on principle they will vote for it *en bloc*. And rightly so, if I may say so, just as if you take the votes of large numbers of our friends on the Karnataka question they will vote for the Karnataka province. I have no doubt about that. Or Maharashtrians. If they did not do so, or if they were not expected to do so, the question does not arise for our discussion. So we proceed on the basis, on the assumption, that considerable numbers of people in certain areas desire a province—more or less a linguistic province, you may call it, although it is too limited a phrase—but they want a province where more or less their language prevails.

But the other question is, where two such areas overlap, where they come into some friction with each other, how is one to decide about that overlapping and that friction?...⁷

5. See *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 14, p. 106.

6. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 16 Part II, pp. 3-13.

7. K.A. Nambiar suggested that a referendum could be held in such areas.

Possibly. That is a suggestion.

Therefore, the policy that Government stated previously, a year ago and more, was this that where a demand is made, which is by general consent of course, it was taken for granted that the people of that area as a whole more or less wanted it, but the consent meant of those who were concerned in regard to these overlapping and border areas. If that is obtained, then one can go ahead....⁸

No. Certainly not. Because the question was not a question which might be called a practical question which could be given effect to then. At that time, naturally, we gave expression to something which was fundamentally a sound matter of principle. But in giving effect to that, where there is conflict you have to resolve that conflict. How are you to resolve it? You may resolve it, as somebody suggested, on a straight vote in that particular area on that particular issue. But some questions cannot be decided by a straight vote of that type. You have to consider, you have to find ways and means of resolving that difficulty, and you have to prepare a suitable atmosphere for it.

Speaking for myself, I have been over-burdened by the thought that in these critical days or years we must give topmost priority to developing a sense of unity in India and that anything that might come in the way of that unity might perhaps be delayed a little, till we have laid that strong foundation. Because of that I have frankly—and I should be quite frank with this House—not taken any aggressive or positive step for my own part in regard to the formation of these linguistic provinces. Although I agreed with the demand in many cases I left it at that. And if there is general consent, well and good; we will do it and are prepared to do it. Two and a half years ago or a little more, that is, towards the end of 1949, we had practically come to the conclusion to have an Andhra province, because most matters had been settled, not by compulsion by us, but by other people concerned, the Tamil people, the Andhras and others. I think a Committee was formed and the Local Government had practically settled matters, when suddenly we found that two or three important matters, very vital matters, were not settled. Were we to give some kind of a decision to compel acceptance of that? This was just on the eve of the new Constitution of the Republic. The question was whether in this new Constitution we should not include Andhra as a separate province. We as a Government were perfectly prepared to do it. But we could not do it when at the last moment conflicts arose: so that for the last two and a half years or more we were on the verge of doing this, but something happened outside our own competence that delayed matters. I have no doubt at all in my mind, taking

8. S.S. More asked whether difficulties were not visualized in 1927 when the Congress resolved that "time has come for the creation of Andhra, Kamataka and Sind Provinces."

an individual case like the Andhra province, that there is a great deal of justification for it. It is bound to come, and I have no doubt that the Andhras want it. And in the final analysis that is the final justification for it.

But when we get into difficulties about the city of Madras or Rayalaseema—I am not putting this just trying to create difficulties. I hope the question of Rayalaseema would by mutual consent be settled. Whatever it is, when you get into these difficulties, what is the Government to do except that it can follow two courses: One is to allow a better atmosphere and to try to encourage a settlement by consent. The other is to come down with a heavy hand and overrule this party or that and give its own consent. The second can be done. Governments do it. But in a matter of this kind honourable Members will no doubt realize that strong feelings are roused, and if we make a new province by some kind of coercive method and leave a trace of intense bitterness behind between those two provinces, which used to be one and were divided up later, it would not be good for either to start with that trail of inheritance of ill will and bitterness against your neighbours, just at the time when you are starting from scratch, when you have to settle down and build yourself anew. Therefore it is infinitely better, even though it takes a little more time, to do it with the goodwill and consent of your neighbours and others.

That was our general approach and, I submit, that is the right approach because it will ultimately save you more time this way than to try to do something apparently quickly but in effect by a method which may entangle you into long arguments for years. After all, even the simplest of partitions bring problems and all kinds of difficulties, administrative, financial, this, that and the other. The Burma partition was very different, of course. Nevertheless, it was a complete partition with our goodwill. There was no conflict in it. Still it took ten years, I think, to work itself out gradually, while it has not quite worked out yet in some ways. And these other partitions, the unfortunate ones, which happened in this country, undoubtedly made many of us and many in the country become rather hesitant about changing the map of India too much. It is not in that way, of course, and I am not comparing it with that. But it does rather upset things. Of course, where it is necessary, let us change it. I am perfectly agreeable that it is necessary in some cases. But the resolution⁹ that has been put forward, as it is worded, seems to me not only completely unacceptable, but, if I may add, completely objectionable. It is all very well for our friends from Andhra or Maharashtra or Kerala or Karnataka to put forward a definite proposal which could be considered and then accepted or not. But a general proposition saying, let us take the map of India and, on

9. On 7 July 1952, Tushar Chatterjee moved that immediate steps should be taken to redistribute the States on a linguistic basis and that the boundaries of the existing States should be readjusted accordingly.

the basis of language, let us reshape and cut it up anew, is one which, I submit, no reasonable person can support. Because it means your cutting up everything that you have got, upsetting everything that you have got, and just at the moment, when you are more or less settling down in some way or other, upsetting everything. It will be dangerous at any time. More so at a time when the world hangs on the verge of a crisis—one does not know what tomorrow or the day after might bring—for us to unsettle and uproot the whole of India for a theoretical approach or a linguistic division seems to me an extraordinarily unwise thing.

Then again, in this matter, we have got a magnificent inheritance of India. We want, of course, to better that inheritance, to further it, to advance it. In doing so, if we think too much parochially or provincially, which is sometimes justified—I do not say that one should not think of his parish or his province; one should—if one applies that parochial way of looking at the whole of India, it is a dangerous thing. This resolution is for transferring the parochial or provincial outlook to the whole of India, and upsetting everything.

My honourable friend, Dr Syama Prasad Mookerjee, spoke eloquently about West Bengal. I have no doubt that every Member in this House realizes the tremendous burdens that West Bengal has had to shoulder and face. I have no doubt at all that of all the States in India, West Bengal has had to shoulder more burdens than any other as a result of the partition and the rest of it and other matters connected with that. I am sorry that he rather strayed away into other matters in regard to East Bengal; those are other questions. He advanced an argument that because of the heavy population of West Bengal, some adjoining areas may be added on to it.¹⁰ Now, I am not giving an opinion. Logically or theoretically speaking, that seems to be a valid argument. But you cannot always be logical in these matters. I am quite sure that Members from Bihar did not wholly approve of what Dr Mookerjee might have said, regardless of party or anything else. I am not going into whether they are right or he is right.

Let us take another thing. Dr Mookerjee talked about certain districts, etc. Two or three months ago, I was in the Darjeeling area of North Bengal, and there was a deputation from the Gurkha League demanding a Gurkha or Nepali province in North Bengal. Now, I am quite sure Dr Mookerjee does not approve of that. It means taking away something even from this restricted Bengal. I might inform the House my own reactions in that. But, instead of

10. Mookerjee, referring to the Congress session of 1911 which had recommended return to Bengal of the Bengali-speaking areas of Bihar, particularly the districts of Manbhum and Santhal Parganas and parts of Singhbhum and Purnea, pleaded on 7 July 1952 for implementing that recommendation to accommodate the large numbers of refugees coming from East Bengal.

using my own words, I shall read out an answer that Sardar Patel gave in this House, with which I entirely agree. When this question of Gurkha province or Uttarkhand came up, his answer was:

The Government of India consider this move of Uttarkhand in North Bengal as unreal, misconceived and harmful to national interests. The Government of India are determined not to give any quarter to any agitation for the formation of any such province and will not allow the solidarity of the country to be disturbed by such mischievous moves.

In this matter, Dr Mookerjee and I are in complete, hundred per cent, agreement. My point is this: If Dr Mookerjee starts the question of redistribution round about Bengal, all these questions arise, not only in the west, but in the north too. Everything comes up in the boiling cauldron of distribution all over India and one does not know what will emerge out of it ultimately.

It is all very well to say, as some honourable Members have said, as Dr Mookerjee has said, as Dr Khare¹¹ has said: Decide this question this way or that way; do not leave it undecided. Well, I confess I do not understand that. I can understand even a specific matter being decided. But a general question of redistribution in India being decided this way or that, I do not understand. In fact, such things, normally, are not decided this way or that way. You may lay down some general principles if you like. But principles come into clash. There is the principle of linguistic provinces. There is the principle of economic self-sufficiency or whatever it is. There are financial considerations—this, that and the other—there are so many considerations. You have to balance all these things and then come to a particular decision in a particular place. No single, general principle will apply. Normally speaking, you take what you have got. You have got the present structure of India, geographically. In fact, in the last three, four or five years, it has changed very greatly. First of all, by the partition which took away a part of India, and, secondly, by the merger of a large number of the old Indian states, the picture has changed greatly. But, nevertheless, roughly speaking, the old Provinces of India remain more or less the same. That does not mean that they should not change. Certainly they may change. You start with the basis that you do not upset it. You take one particular demand, and if it is reasonable, you consider it and give effect to it, if you like. But to say that you should give effect to the principle all over India, there is no particular meaning.

In great countries like India, like China, there is always this great difficulty about provincialism. They are huge countries and inevitably different parts of the country differ from other parts, sometimes in language, sometimes in ways of living and so many other things. In China they have some great advantages

11. N.B. Khare.

over us. They have, at any rate, one written language for the whole of China although the spoken language differs. But these great countries have had to contend against provincialism. I do not know enough about the past or the recent history of China as to how they have dealt with this question for me to go into details about it. But, generally speaking, they have tried to get over it by getting rid of the provinces themselves. I believe they have divided China into a number of what they call zones, five or six or seven or eight, whatever the number may be. Apart from two or three autonomous areas, which are Mongolia and Tibet, the rest are zones, which, presumably, cut across the old provincial boundaries. I cannot judge about China; I merely mention this because the problem is, in regard to size and provinces, much the same here. Maybe it is more difficult here or more different here. But our thinking too much in terms of anything that leads to an intensification of provincial feelings will, undoubtedly, weaken the conception of India as a whole. That is one aspect of it.

Another aspect, which is equally important, is that we have certain very important languages in India. A language by itself may be good or bad; but round that language clusters, ways of living, sometimes ways of thought and all kinds of ways have grown round it and it is but right that that particular aspect of cultural manifestation should have an opportunity for full growth.

So far as language is concerned, I think that we should encourage almost every hill dialect in India. I am not in favour of suppressing these languages, and certainly the major languages must go ahead. So, in order to encourage the growth of the people, the best way is through the language they speak, and every State should do that if it is multi-lingual; it should do it in the different languages, whatever it is. Why the political boundary should necessarily be a linguistic one, I do not see. If there are within the same boundary different languages, they can have pride of place and be given full opportunity. But I think that although the linguistic demand is mentioned so often, it is not really the question of language that counts in this. Here and there it does, but behind that there is something which is a little more difficult to deal with. It is a feeling of not having a square deal, if I may say so. That feeling comes in otherwise, probably, the language issue would not arise—a feeling that if they were separate and managed their own affairs, well, they will see to it that they get the square deal. If the feeling is there—and it is there—I cannot say whether there is much justification or not, but the mere fact of feeling, it should not be there. That is bad for us. That we should still function in this narrow, provincial way of showing favour to one group and distinguishing the other group from it—that certainly is a bad thing which means that we are still limited in our outlook, and however big our talk may be, we do not really think or function in a national way. We have to admit

that. Having admitted it, we have to try to get over it. If we get over it, we should not do something which encourages that rather limited outlook. So you come up against two things. One is that we should not encourage that limited and limiting outlook; secondly, we must encourage the growth of the people in every way through their own language—cultural and other growth. You can balance these things. As a matter of fact, roughly speaking, part of the South of India, certain parts of the South of India—there is more or less a linguistic division in India; it may overlap here and there, but it is there—in the South you have two great States, Bombay and Madras, which are multilingual. I should have thought that to live in a multilingual State gave greater opportunities of growth and for developing the wider outlook than to live in this, if I may say so, as somebody said, big leviathan of a State like Uttar Pradesh. Then you will find, because you will find in history and elsewhere, that countries, small States, are forced to think in large terms. The people living in small States are forced to think in large terms. They are forced to learn languages of other States. Because people live in huge States and countries, they become so content with the vast area that they do not think of the other areas or other people. They become self-complacent and all that. It is not a good thing, this business of size by itself. It never connoted either intelligence or anything else. I do not know why people are intent on greatness in size, geographically or otherwise. This idea of size, if I may say so, comes from olden days and is connected with land—a man owning more and more land, therefore getting more and more income; therefore, if he is a King, more and more people calling him Your Majesty or whatever it is. The size does not mean growth in any sense, but still we seem to think so. I am quite sure, for my part I am perfectly agreeable for Uttar Pradesh to be made into four provinces if you like; have three, four or as many as you like, but I doubt very much if many of my colleagues of Uttar Pradesh will relish that idea, and they probably would like another chunk from another province.

Some honourable Members referred to Hyderabad and the desirability or necessity for it to be cut up.¹² May I say that I think it would be undesirable and unfortunate and injurious for Hyderabad to be disintegrated. Some honourable Members may not agree with me. That is a different matter. I am not challenging their *bona fides* in this matter, and I am not speaking about ever and ever. I am speaking of the present and the near future, and I think any attempt at splitting up Hyderabad would upset the whole structure of South India. I am expressing my opinion. It would upset the whole structure

12. For example, Lanka Sundaram asserted on 7 July 1952 that four crores of Andhras as well as Maharashtrians, Kannadigas and Andhras from areas surrounding Hyderabad State unanimously desired the disintegration of the State and that the Hyderabad State Congress was also committed to the same. Shiva Murthi Swami moved an amendment that the Hyderabad State should be disintegrated into Kamataka, Andhra and Maharashtra.

of South India. For years you go about trying gradually to settle down. Here you have got a certain administrative and other continuity. As a matter of fact, we should have thought in terms of these provinces or States purely as administrative units and nothing more. Whatever is convenient we have; in regard to other matters we do not think in terms of the provinces necessarily....¹³

May I, first of all, suggest that the honourable Member's use of the word "monarchy" is not accurate or precise? There are no monarchs in India of any kind. There are certain persons who had a limited authority in their states under the British power in the old days, and even that limited authority has gone, and they have been given some kind of honoured place without the slightest power or authority. That is the present position....

I do not agree with the suggestion that this will have any large upsetting effect if that is done there. I do not see any upsetting effect in what happens to an individual here and there, however big he may be. It does not upset the country. What would happen to millions of people, that upsets the country. But, if any right move is taken in Kashmir, they may try to like the consequences of that in the rest of India. The position, therefore, of Government in this matter is this: that we feel that we realize that there is a strong demand by large numbers of people for certain linguistic provinces in India to be constituted. More or less this is so in South India—in other parts also as Dr Mookerjee has pointed out. Almost every province has some petty demand, but those are not important.

Now, in regard to these demands in South India which are old demands, which have great justification behind them, we are perfectly prepared to go ahead. We are not going to take up the question of India and shape it on a linguistic basis, but we are prepared to take up any particular matter, consider it and, I would repeat what we have said before, in regard to them nobody expects agreement by everybody, a hundred per cent agreement, but in regard to the major matters which are at the present moment dividing the States concerned, on that there should be a fair measure of agreement. If that is so, if I may give an example with regard to the Andhra claim, I believe it was Dr Lanka Sundaram who said that no Andhra will ever give up his claim to the city of Madras. I am quite sure the Members of this House here from the other parts—I am sure many Members from the Tamil areas would equally vehemently assert something to the contrary. But there it is. Let them come together and come to some kind of settlement. So far as I am concerned, or so far as we are concerned as a Government, I do not suggest that we should remain passive in this matter. I am prepared to do all I can to help in that settlement. I am certainly prepared to bring them together, but I just cannot

13. Khare asked on 7 July 1952 if the abolition of "monarchy" in Kashmir would not affect the entire structure of the whole of India.

see how I can go with a flaming sword to the Tamils or the Andhras and say: You must submit to the other's demand. That I find very difficult to do. If I do that, even so the result will be not good, because you leave this trail of bitter memories behind; then maybe they will have a feeling of recovering the lost territory later on from another province. But the difficulty is this: We talk about Vishala Andhra, Maha Gujarat, or Samyukt Maharashtra. If we see a map, we find that they all overlap.

If you look at the maps of Maha Gujarat, the Vishala Andhra or the Samyukt Maharashtra, you find that they overlap and come into conflict with each other. So long as you are discussing the theory of it, many people from the Maha Gujarat will vote for the Vishala Andhra and so on. But as soon as they see the maps, they will come, as the poet said, to brass tacks. It is not very poetical, if I may say so. As soon as they come to brass tacks, then you find conflict arising all over.

And we may be told, and ancient history may be invoked to say, that "in the year 1,000 AD or something like that, Maha Gujarat spread right up to there", or, "Look at history, at the time of the Rashtrakutas, the Maharashtra empire was upto here or there." It was there; very interesting history no doubt to say that the Andhra Empire at the time of Ashoka or later had spread up to.... We get back to these ancient historical memories, and try to claim that territory. Those ancient empires in their day were rather warring empires or imperial entities conquering other places. If the Andhras think of the ancient Andhra empire, and if the Maharashtras think of the old Maharashtra empire and so on....¹⁴

I am not accusing anybody. I merely say that this is something where no Member of this House thinks that way. But this talk of linguistic provinces and historical parallels of where they were leads quite inevitably to thinking that way and of spreading out in a sense, not a dominating one but still of being in a more important position vis-a-vis the neighbour. Obviously you cannot possibly produce all those things. You cannot divide and give the same territory to two provinces, because they overlap. So there are all these difficulties.

Why have an agitation to convince me? I am convinced. If you are in Andhra, go and talk to the Tamils or others who are concerned, and I will join the talks too if necessary—not that I want to keep out of it. It is no good trying to convince me because I am convinced about the same. I am not convinced about the same, as I said, if somebody talks to me about Uttarakhand. I am very much opposed to it. If somebody else talks of a Sikh province, I say: Nothing doing. I am not going to play about with my frontiers

14. N.B. Khare interrupting Nehru said that people did not think like that.

there. That is a different matter. But in regard to these major claims like Andhra or Karnataka or Kerala or Maharashtra....¹⁵

West Bengal and other places are not questions of new provinces. They are merely questions of frontier rectification, if you like to put it that way. I have no objection to that. I do not myself see why conditions should arise between the State of Bihar and the State of Bengal that people should feel unhappy in crossing over from this side or that, either refugees or others. I think it is all one country....¹⁶

I do not think that there is universal agreement in that matter. However, we shall consider that separately, but again that has to be considered in a spirit of goodwill, because the odd thing is that the more the one side agitates about it, the more the other side gets rigid because you are not dealing with....¹⁷

My intervention? Not intervention, but my help I am prepared to give, because I do, as everybody else here, want to solve these problems. But it must be realized that this kind of one-sided agitation really comes in the way of the solution of these problems, because the people of the other provinces get excited the other way....¹⁸

If the States concerned agree to the plebiscite let us have it, but imposing a plebiscite where it may be a decision, let us say, by 45 to 55 or something like that would not help; bitterness will remain. And you cannot dispose of all these things normally by plebiscite.

Professor Saha referred to the case of the Soviet Union.¹⁹ Well, I do not think it applies here. That is helpful, no doubt, but not very much so. First of all, the Soviet Union emerged as it is today after years of fire and civil war and slaughter. All kinds of things happened there. There was invasion from outside, and what not. Out of that it is in a sense easier to build up. Secondly, India has much more, if I may say so, of a unity than the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is no longer an empire as a whole, but it is a collection of a number of totally different countries, Russia plus other countries and Siberia. They have formed a political unit and are happy about it. That is very good. So they proceeded on a different basis, on the basis, in theory, of independent republics federating together. Now, India is completely different from that position. You cannot have that here, on the basis of independent republics federating together. We are a much more unified country. The question would

15. S.P. Mookerjee at this point said that West Bengal also had similar claims.

16. Syamanandan Sahaya said that there was no such difficulty.

17. S.P. Mookerjee said here that Nehru's intervention was required in the circumstances.

18. C. Venkata Rama Rao asked what objection there was to holding a plebiscite in all the disputed areas.

19. Meghnad Saha pointed out that the Soviet Union had satisfactorily solved its multi-lingual problems and the Union had been working for the last thirty years.

arise if you took Russia, that is, not the Soviet Union, but Russia which is more of a unified country, and compare that to India. That will be a better comparison than taking large tracts of Asia which belong to the Soviet Union, which have been added to it, and which follow a common policy, etc. Even so, as a matter of fact probably the theory there is somewhat different from the practice—I mean the theory of secession. I think it is perfectly clear that no part of it can secede at all, and, as it happens, there has been a progressive decentralization there. In spite of the theory of secession, the process of centralization has gone pretty far....²⁰

I welcome the honourable Member's declaration. I do not for a moment say that any responsible person has asked for it.

20. Hukam Singh said at this stage that it was wrong to presume that a Sikh State was demanded.

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION

VIII. Nationality Law

1. To K.N. Katju¹

New Delhi
July 1, 1952

My dear Kailas Nath,

Thank you for your letter of the 1st July about Janak.² This reminds me that we have yet no nationality law of our own. This matter has been pending for a long time. Could we not go ahead with it? The real difficulty was about having some clause in it which distinguished between British subjects and other foreigners. The UK law gives us and other Commonwealth people certain special privileges. We had in a sense given an assurance to them about three years ago that we would be willing to reciprocate; that is to say, that we do not treat Commonwealth citizens as on the same level as other foreigners. We are prepared to treat them on a basis of reciprocity. Thus, South Africa obviously will have no claim on us at all. Canada or Australia will be treated as they treat our nationals. The UK is the most generous in regard to treatment of Indian and Commonwealth nationals.

This matter was considered by Krishna Menon with External Affairs Ministry and I have an idea that some formula was evolved. I do not quite know where the papers are, with you or with External Affairs. The delay in having a nationality law comes in our way in many matters.

As regards Janak's case and like cases, I think we might give preference to the German and Italian rule.³ The tendency nowadays all over the world is to treat an individual as an individual. As a matter of fact we have treated some cases in this way previously. We might therefore decide in Janak's case. If the case comes up before the Supreme Court we can indicate our own view. I do not see why we should blankly wait for Supreme Court's decision.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. File No. 2(634)/52-PMS.

2. Katju wrote that the position regarding the nationality of Janak Kumari, daughter of Ladli Prasad Zutshi and wife of Asghar, a Pakistani national, was doubtful and thought that it would be better if she postponed her proposed visit to Pakistan till the Supreme Court decided on the wider question of citizenship.

3. Katju wrote that so far in India the rules of Private International Law, as recognized and enforced in England, had been applied but British precedents had lost their binding authority on Indian courts since 1950 following a decision of the Supreme Court. He added that as compared to the English rule, according to which a wife's domicile depended completely upon her husband's, the German and Italian laws were preferable whereby, upon the husband's going away to a foreign country, or his desertion of his wife, or in the case of a judicial separation, the wife could acquire a separate domicile of her own.

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION

IX. Miscellaneous

1. Office Notings and Procedures¹

It has long been generally recognized that the system of noting on files in the Government of India is unsatisfactory and wasteful of time and energy. Far too many notes are put up more or less repeating the same thing. The result is not only a waste of time of those who write the notes, but also of the officer who ultimately has to make a decision. Various proposals have been made from time to time to revise this procedure and lessen the number of these notes. It has been suggested that only one note should be made giving the full facts of the case. The next note should be of the officer who has to give some decision or make some recommendation. I have heard this complaint from State Governments also. In the case of West Bengal, the Chief Minister, Dr B.C. Roy, has informed me that he has decided to change this procedure very greatly in order to reduce this noting.

2. I suggest that the Home Ministry might consider this matter and issue instructions to the various Ministries, as well as advice on the subject to State Governments.

1. Note to Minister for Home Affairs, Kalimpong, 29 April 1952. File No. 2(293)/48-PMS.

2. To Amrit Kaur¹

New Delhi
May 6, 1952

My dear Amrit,

I am returning to you the letter from Dr Bhatt² that you sent to Mathai.³

I do not think it will be at all advisable to set up a special machinery for safeguarding the interests of minorities. We should safeguard them, of course, but the setting up of a machinery isolates them and puts up barriers between one another. In the final analysis they are harmed by it.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.
2. Emmanuel Charles Bhatt (1900-1966); a leader of the Indian Christian community; taught economics in Allahabad University; appointed one of the secretaries, National Christian Council, 1945; organized rescue operations and rehabilitation of refugees following partition.
3. M.O. Mathai, Private Secretary to Nehru.

3. The Demand for a Gurkha State¹

I met Mr Gurung, the President of the All India Gurkha League, at Kalimpong² in the presence of Dr B.C. Roy, so far as I can remember.

We had a brief talk. He gave me his memorandum. I told him quite categorically that no separate State could be formed as suggested. I might have said that mathematically we can cut up any part of India, but it is quite inconceivable to me to cut up that part and form a separate State for a large variety of reasons. I am sure I did not refer to the present political situation. What I did refer to was that that area being a border area had to be given special consideration by us.

I said then and elsewhere also that the Nepali language, like other regional languages, should be encouraged. I further may have said that the system of nominating members to district boards and municipalities was obviously not democratic and that I hoped it would be removed in the future.

So far as the separate State idea was concerned, I was quite clear and emphatic about it.

1. Note to Home Secretary, 20 May 1952. File No. 57/78/52-Poll., MHA.
2. Nehru visited Kalimpong on 29 April 1952.

4. The Human Approach to Governance¹

The governance of any country in the world today is no easy matter, and the governance of a great and varied country like India is perhaps as hard a task as any in the world today.

Any person who is associated with this governance must approach this great task with humility as well as with a measure of faith. Whether we are small men or big, we are engaged in great undertakings affecting the life and future of vast numbers of human beings. No man can say with certainty that success will come to him, but every man can determine to do his utmost to achieve success.

1. Speech while inaugurating the new secretariat building in Shillong, 17 June 1952. From the *National Herald*, 18 June 1952.

The governance of a country does not merely consist in issuing orders from some high office, but rather in reaching the minds and hearts of the masses of the people to bring about satisfactory human relations. Ultimately, almost every problem revolves around human relations.

We have to deal with human beings and humanity while working the government. We can only deal with them satisfactorily if we always keep in view the human aspect of every problem. We have to forget that we are living in our ivory towers of Government offices and dealing impersonally with files and papers. Behind those files and papers and the problems discussed in them lie human beings.

5. To C.D. Deshmukh¹

New Delhi

June 29, 1952

My dear Deshmukh,

Thank you for your letter of June 27th sending me a copy of your letter to Rajaji of June 20th and other papers.

I sent you an extract from Rajaji's letter to me—it was a personal letter dealing with a number of other matters also—because I always forward anything that comes to me to the Minister concerned. It is not a question of appeal to me against your decision. It is at most a request for reconsideration by you, because you are the best person to judge of the all-India position, just as Rajaji is probably the best person to judge of his own State's position. It is quite natural for any Chief Minister to press hard for greater assistance. Many of them have to face great difficulties from the political and other points of view. It is somewhat easier for us, living away from the scene of local operations, to take a detached view. It is not so easy for the person who has to face the music all the time. That is no reason why we should be swept away by fervent appeals and should do something which we consider wrong and unjust. But it is a reason for us to understand the stress and strain on the others. Rajaji of course stands in a class somewhat apart from other Chief Ministers. He can take an all-India view and knows our difficulties here. It is possible, however, that he might attach undue importance to his local difficulties.

1. C.D. Deshmukh Papers, NMML.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

You refer to political expediency. If "political expediency" is used in a sense of advancing the cause of a particular party, then it is not right and should not be encouraged.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

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You refer to political expediency. If "political expediency" is used in a sense of advancing the cause of a particular party, then it is not right and should not be encouraged by us from the point of view of financial considerations. But political expediency from a larger point of view of preventing something from happening which may be very harmful and very costly in the end, should be borne in mind and is an important factor. Indeed this type of political expediency can never be ignored. Normally it is the Minister who is best placed to judge of such a situation because of his wider outlook, political considerations, and the advice of his advisers and others in his Ministry, exceptions apart, are as a rule. It is not in their outlook to be able to judge of other considerations. This applies to every Ministry. Perhaps it applies to the Finance Ministry a little more than to others, because that Ministry has to deal with not only other Ministries, but a multitude of other matters which not only have a financial aspect but other aspects which are not strictly financial. I

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

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You refer to political expediency. If "political expediency" is used in a sense of advancing the cause of a particular party, then it is not right and should not be encouraged.

"Where we entrust our decisions to machines of metal, or to those machines of flesh and blood which are bureaus and vast laboratories and rooms and corporations, we shall never receive the right answers to our questions unless we ask the right questions."

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Charges of Partisan Functioning of Government¹

Sir, I indicated some time ago that it might not be necessary for me to take more than ten minutes or possibly fifteen minutes. If I exceed that time-limit, you will, I hope, show some indulgence because I have been listening to what has appeared to me fantastic stories, imaginings, and distorted perversions of thought on all kinds of things, and I have been wondering what the subject under dispute is. It has seemed to me that some honourable Members—I say so with all respect—suffering from some kind of frustration have brought out all those frustrations and, not getting hold of anything logical or reasonable to see, have simply given vent to their anger against the Congress and the Government. The honourable Member who spoke first in his usual way was rather heroic about it and, having performed this act heroically, marched out to rest outside.² I suppose the House will not expect me to take him seriously on this or any other occasion. Therefore, I shall proceed to deal with some other points. Other honourable Members have waxed eloquent about the fascism of this Government....³

One of the frustrated gentlemen there threw an interjection just now.⁴ I

1. Speech during the debate on an Appropriation Bill, 4 July 1952. *Parliamentary Debates: House of the People, Official Report*, Vol. III Part II, cols 3250–3266.
2. Comparing Congressmen with the "nabobs" of the East India Company, N.B. Khare said that to facilitate identification of the Government with the Congress, Nehru had "unceremoniously ousted" Purushottamdas Tandon from the presidency of the party.
3. Apprehending that the Bharat Sevak Samaj was going to be a Congress-sponsored body to carry on party propaganda supported by State resources, H.N. Mukerjee said that its proposed formation reminded one of bodies like the Storm Troopers. Meghnad Saha, an astro-physicist and Communist Member of Parliament, said that by excluding Members of the Opposition from having discussions with the Planning Commission, the Party in power was proceeding towards fascism.
4. Ramnarayan Singh, an erstwhile Congressman and Independent Member of Parliament, intervened to say that the charges about the Government being fascist were correct.

am very sorry that I have to deal with these interjections which have no thought or reason or logic or intelligence behind them.....⁵

I do not mind opposition, but I do expect, if I may say so, a modicum of intelligence in the Opposition....⁶

If the honourable Member insists on showing his lack of intelligence, what am I to do?

We started considering two or three important points. One was about the recent steps taken to identify the administration with the Congress Party, the Members of the Planning Commission being present at Congress Party meetings, and Working Committee meetings, and the constitution of a special committee of the Congress Parliamentary Party at which officials are present to take advice. There are two or three points in that. I come to the last point. The Congress Party has constituted group meetings for study and consultation on various subjects. I would advise, if I may say so, the Members of the Opposition to employ their time equally usefully instead of concentrating on just slogans and shouting. A little study does all of us good, and the Congress Party is therefore taking its business earnestly as Members of this legislature, and are seriously trying to study these various subjects and confer with us, and ask us. If any Members of the Opposition or any group forms such a study group on any particular subject, I shall gladly come to it if they want my advice in the matter. It has nothing to do with us. It is a private party functioning. I do not know why honourable Members on the opposite side dislike to see the Congress Party functioning actively, effectively and with intelligence, because they

5. At this point Ramnarayan Singh said that everything was there in the interjections; the Chair ordered him not to interfere like that.
6. Ramnarayan Singh again quipped, "which you lack." In a statement in the House on 11 July 1952, A.K. Gopalan submitted that Nehru's remark, "I do expect, if I may say so, a modicum of intelligence in the Opposition", was derogatory to the dignity of the House, the Prime Minister himself, the whole Opposition and the electorate and constituted a bad precedent. Nehru replied the same day that the Opposition in the House consisted of a very large number of independent Members and groups of different ways of thinking and anything that might be said about the Opposition could not possibly apply to everybody because they were so different from each other. He said that his remark was made in regard to a particular Member "whose looks belie his words very greatly and who has got a habit of interrupting in season and out of season, relevantly or irrelevantly. In the course of about a minute and a half he interrupted me three times and I confess that my mind could not grasp the logic or reason of his interruption. Therefore I ventured to say this in that context." Nehru added: "I do submit that what I said was completely not only parliamentary but also justified in the sense of language. I mean I am rather careful in the use of language. Occasionally it is possible, of course, that I may make a mistake....But I do submit that if it is a question of language it would be worthwhile to make a list of the epithets that have been hurled at this Government and at this side of the House by the Opposition in the course of the last few weeks. It would be a large vocabulary and not pleasant reading."

propose to function in that way. Therefore, to object to the effective functioning of the other party is the most extraordinary thing that I can think of. Apparently honourable Members of the Opposition think that—if I may quote a couplet from a famous French writer, La Fontaine:⁷

*Cet animal est très méchant,
Quand on l'attaque, il se défend.*

“The animal”—that is, the majority party—“is very wicked; when it is attacked, it seeks to defend itself.”

So it seems to be the privilege of the Members of the Opposition to say everything, relevant or irrelevant, truthful or untruthful, and to attack in any way, but the majority party which happens to represent the people of India more than the minority, which happens to have come through in elections recently with great success and which ultimately has formed the Government in this country, I say, has to be treated with respect by everybody in this country.

That honourable Members of the Opposition do not like the normal functioning of that party is a most extraordinary thing. Are we to take our orders and directions from honourable Members opposite? I do not see why. On the inner working of the party, when it is said that officers go there for advice, I really do not know where honourable Members get their facts from. It is the first time I have heard it. It has nothing to do with officers; the party functioning or a committee functioning has nothing to do with officers.

Now, so far as the Planning Commission is concerned, it is meeting members of the Congress Working Committee. It is true that they have met the Congress Working Committee as they met members of the Socialist Party the other day, as they met industrialists, trade unionists and others. Whoever has been interested in their work, whoever has sought to find out anything from them or who has been invited by them to come and help them, they have met and discussed. If any group of Members or any one or two or three Members of the Opposition want to discuss anything with the Planning Commission, the Planning Commission will gladly discuss with them. The only difference is that members of the Congress Working Committee are interested in achieving things, not merely in shouting and doing nothing. Therefore, they wrestle with these problems and in wrestling with these problems they ask the Planning Commission if they would like to discuss this matter with them. The Planning Commission has written to leaders of the Praja Party, leaders of other groups and many others. Many of those leaders are on their Advisory Board with whom they have consultations frequently enough. They are prepared to consult and confer with any group and, subject to time, with any individual, I would say, because they are in search of light.

7. Jean de La Fontaine (1621–1695); French poet known for his wit and charm; author of *Fables*.

They are not people wedded to any dogma; they are trying to solve these intricate and difficult and complicated problems of India and they seek light wherever they can find it; whether it is America or Russia or China or any other country, their minds are not closed to anything. And certainly they seek light from our own people, apart from outside light. As Chairman of the Planning Commission, I invite Members of the Opposition, and not only Members of this House, but others outside this House, to come and confer with us in regard to planning in general or in regard to our Five Year Plan. I invite them to come and discuss with the Planning Commission so that we may have the benefit of their advice. They may also realize some of the problems that face us and some of the difficulties that we have to contend against. So that there is no question of the Planning Commission becoming a sort of appendage of the Congress Working Committee or the Congress Working Committee being an appendage of the Planning Commission.

Now, to the larger question—to which a vague reference was made by some honourable Members—of the Congress Party in a sense of interfering with the administration. If reference is made to something that happens in the districts or locally, all I can say is this, that it has been our endeavour to prevent interference with the administration by any person, whether he is a Congressman or other. But, inevitably, we do not want the administration to be isolated from the people. We want to do work with them. We want cooperation. Interference is one thing, cooperation is another. We encourage that cooperation. If honourable Members go to their constituencies, their districts, naturally they are interested in conditions there. Naturally, if they wish to confer with the local authority, they should confer with them; they should hear what they have to say and so on and so forth. They must have a cooperative spirit. We do not want interference with local authority by members of any party. If reference is made to something that happens in Delhi—I do not know what it might be. I am speaking with all respect—I do not want honourable Members, whether of the Opposition or of the majority party, to interfere with the working of our Ministries. I do not like that at all. If they want any information, we have got methods to supply it as speedily as possible. Through the Ministries and through the various offices we can undertake to answer questions; apart from formal questions that are put here, we can have inquiries made and do everything. But it is a dangerous thing if honourable Members here belonging to any group or party interfere with the running of the administration, because then those who run it are greatly embarrassed. They cannot, of course, be disrespectful or they may not carry out sometimes the wishes of a Member; at the same time, it may be completely against their own judgment or the manner and method of the working of the Ministries, and all kinds of difficulties arise. Therefore, dealing with a Ministry or Government department should be with the head of the department. Any

honourable Member can make a suggestion or make a complaint; it will be inquired into. But one thing I should like this House to remember. It seems to be forgotten what is the nature of our Constitution. Reference was made by—I forget who—one of the honourable Members to the American Constitution, to all kinds of Committees and other developments under that Constitution.⁸ Well, the honourable Member should know that our Constitution is not modelled after the American Constitution; it is completely different from it, and, so far as I am concerned, I do not want to follow the American Constitution in these and many other matters. I think, with all respect to that great nation, it is an out-of-date Constitution. It was framed 150 years ago on the basis of something previous to it. The world has changed, but the American Constitution has not changed and while I am not speaking constitutionally, I am not an admirer of the American Constitution from the point of view of a Constitution, apart from everything else. I say deliberately, when we made our Constitution, it was not after the American model. It was, rightly or wrongly, largely after the British model, with some variations, of course, because the United Kingdom is a small, tight little island with a unitary Government while we are a huge country which necessarily has to be a federation, and differences creep up. But, generally speaking, this Parliament is modelled after the Parliament of the United Kingdom, more or less, and normally we follow its rules and conventions also, unless we want to change them. That has to be kept in mind. Let us not, therefore, get mixed up. We can have the American model if you like, we can have the Soviet model if you like, but let us not mix things up and criticize the working of this Parliament from the point of the American Congress.

When the honourable Member, Mr Anthony,⁹ was talking about great parliamentary traditions, about Standing Committees, etc., I asked him where those parliamentary traditions existed about these Standing Committees. He said: "In India". The fact of the matter is that they do not exist anywhere else. However, it would be better if I deal with these Standing Committees later. I was dealing rather with the charge that this administration is a kind of party machine and all that. Again, there seems to be some misconception. This Government is a party Government. It is not a non-party Government. I am the leader of the Party and I am the leader of this Government.

Honourable Members opposite want to eat the cake and have it too. They want to characterize this administration as fascist, as everything that can be bad, and all that, and they want to upset it. And yet they want to have a share in the administration. They want to learn the art of administration. I thought

8. Referring to the working of the Congressional and Senatorial Committees in the United States, Meghnad Saha had said that even an item like the development of atomic energy was considered in these Committees.

9. Frank Anthony.

that they had come to the conclusion that nothing can be learnt in this way and that all that they had to do was to subvert and to upset it and to start afresh and anew. Now, one cannot have it both ways. This is a party Government, and I say so with no apology, but with pride. I have been a Congressman for close upon forty years, and it has been my pride and privilege to function through the Congress. It has been the pride and privilege of vast numbers of people in this country to do so. And, if I may say so, some of the Members of the Opposition also gained some stature through this Congress organization.

There is one point. It is a party Government as Governments are in parliamentary democracies. That does not mean that the Government should function for the benefit of the party: that is, the administration, apart from the Ministers, etc., the permanent services, etc. should of course be completely apart from any party or any such thing. The Ministers are party men. The Ministers naturally should function for the country and not use their governmental position for their party purposes. That is an individual matter of behaviour. But it would be wrong for the House to consider them as non-party men simply because they have become Ministers.

Again, some instances were brought forward by honourable Members, and the Khadralla Youth Camp was mentioned.¹⁰ I do not know where honourable Members get their facts from. Of course, the Khadralla Youth Camp was a Congress camp. Nobody is ashamed of that. We have plenty of camps. We are workers. We are not talkers like some Members of the Opposition....

But the point is whether money was given to it. No money has been given to it by the Education Ministry. Where has the honourable Member got his facts from? Not a rupee has been given by the Education Ministry or any other Ministry here to the Khadralla Youth Camp.

In the same way, references have been made to the Bharat Sevak Samaj, as if governmental money was going to flow into it. No governmental money is going to flow into it. Undoubtedly, it was my honourable colleague, Mr Gulzari Lal Nanda's idea about a year and a half ago. It is not a recent development. An honourable Member referred to some circular which he had received a year ago.¹¹ This idea has been considered quite apart from the Congress, and quite apart from politics. It is an idea to get large numbers of voluntary people to work in villages and elsewhere—city people to go to the villages and generally work with the others, etc. There is nothing novel about

10. H.N. Mukerjee charged that the Ministry of Education had granted rupees 4,000/- for a youth camp sponsored recently by the AICC at Khadralla in Himachal Pradesh.

11. Asserting that he responded constructively to a memorandum from the Planning Commission asking for his views on the Sarvodaya work being done in his constituency, Lanka Sundaram said that cooperation of everyone including people belonging to parties other than the Congress should be sincerely sought in the work of the Bharat Sevak Samaj, but this was not being done.

this idea. But, anyhow, we discussed it with members of all kinds of organizations and parties in India. It is rather odd, but probably I think I am right when I say that Mr Gulzari Lal Nanda has discussed this matter more with non-Congressmen than with Congressmen.

It is only lately that the matter has come up before the Congress. It is true that their idea has appealed to us—the essential idea of allowing opportunities for work, and the other idea that this should be kept apart from the political level. We do not want to get entangled with the Congress organization as such. Undoubtedly, we want Congressmen to help it in the sense of work. There are no prizes in it. There are no office-bearers in it. But anybody who wants to work can work. Anybody who wants to take up a spade and dig can take up a spade and dig. That is all. Politics does not come in. In fact, I may tell the House that some political parties wanted to take part in it as political parties. We pointed out to them that that would not be right. They take part as individuals. If I take part in the Bharat Sevak Samaj, I take part as an individual. I do not go there commissioned by the Congress to take part in it. So also others can take part in it too, not to exploit it for political purposes. Whether it is the Congress or whether it is any other party, they can come, but we do want to keep it outside the arena of controversial politics. Whether we succeed or not I do not know. I cannot say. It is true, as I think Mr Deshpande pointed out,¹² that in some rule or regulation, or whatever it is, it is said that people who believe in violence or who want to function on the violent plane or on the communal plane are not encouraged in it. Well, naturally, as I pointed out, as an individual everybody is welcome. But where an organization, which is wedded to either violent methods or definitely communal methods, comes into it, difficulties are created all over the place; not only in that work, but in all work, difficulties are created, and the result might well be that instead of our carrying on that particular work, we would have controversies and conflicts instead of cooperative endeavour, and maybe exploitation of that work for other purposes. I need not advance any argument before this House in regard to violence, but may I remind this House—many honourable Members may not remember—that this Parliament or rather the predecessor of this Parliament, officially by resolution, condemned communalism and has directed Government not to have anything to do with communal organizations. Of course, they can have the freedom that the law gives, but the Government is not going to give the slightest encouragement to any communal organization, whether it is Hindu or Muslim or Sikh or Parsi or any other. That is the official policy of Government which we intend pursuing. But so far as the Bharat Sevak Samaj is concerned, it is not concerned

12. V.G. Deshpande of the Hindu Mahasabha feared that members belonging to parties like the Hindu Mahasabha, the RSS and the CPI would not be encouraged to join the Bharat Sevak Samaj.

with these policies of Government: it is concerned with carrying on its voluntary work quietly, without argument. It does not want to introduce the element of argument and conflict into its work. That is the sole purpose behind any rules that have been made. I do not know whether the rules have been finalized or not.

Now, the other point is and I must point out—I will not say I protest—but I must express my surprise at the loose way honourable Members who ought to know better use words. Dr Saha, an eminent scientist, threw about the word 'fascist' in a way which only leads me to think that the honourable Member does not know the meaning of the word 'fascist'. I may call him a 'fascist' too as a term of abuse, but surely these are words of meaning and cannot be used by scientists unless they have forgotten science and lost touch with their science. They cannot use loose words and vague words. It is a degradation of science, if I may say so. He talked about 'fascism' in this House. Why? What is 'fascism' here? Because we have not got Standing Committees of the Legislature? Now, is this logic? Is this reasoning? Is this even intelligence? I just do not understand. I do put it to this House with all respect and in all earnestness that the way this House functions, the way this Government functions in this country, the way many of our honourable Members opposite function here and outside is allowed by this Government only. I should like to know in how many countries or in which country in this wide world this freedom is allowed. As a matter of fact our attitude here in regard to the Opposition ought to be appreciated not only with respect to organizations which openly have the policy of conducting activities which can only be called subversive activities but with every kind of opposition. I should like to know in what country in Asia, America or Europe or Africa, Opposition of this type has greater freedom? Then I should like to discuss 'fascism' and 'authoritarianism' and the rest of it....¹³

I am not interested in Dr Meghnad Saha's experiences in Italy twenty years or thirty years ago. We are talking of the present day and I am challenging his statement in the present day....¹⁴

13. Meghnad Saha began to say that what he meant by fascism was what had been seen by him in Italy in 1927, when he was ordered by the Chair not to interrupt as he had already got his chance to speak.
14. At this stage several Members voicing their protest said that Saha should be allowed to speak. A.K. Gopalan said that in view of serious allegations made by the Prime Minister against the Opposition, including the allegation about its lack of intelligence, Members of the Opposition should be given an opportunity to explain matters. Asking the Opposition Members not to side-track the discussion, the Speaker said he was sure the Prime Minister would be glad to give a hearing to what they had to say, if not in the House then somewhere else also. He added that if the Members convinced the Prime Minister that any statements of his were wrong, he would be the first to admit his mistake and thought that the Prime Minister would not stand on any consideration of false prestige.

I entirely agree, Sir, with what you have been good enough to say. I shall be very happy indeed to have any information, refutation, correction or however else it may be called, for anything that I have said. It is of course a little difficult to measure by a yard or weigh in a balance people's intelligence. But if there is proof of that too, I am prepared to look into that. The discussion on this subject has been going on for some time this morning and thus far, and before I spoke, Sir, no one from our side spoke. I am the first speaker on this side and we allowed Members of the Opposition to speak one after the other, and so far as I can remember there was relative peace in this Chamber although all kinds of allegations were made amounting to saying that we were stooges of America, the Mutual Security Act was read out, and it was said that we were subservient to Governments abroad, and all that.¹⁵ I did not say a word. The Opposition was having a field day. And then when I get up and in my very moderate and temperate language point out certain deficiencies in the arguments that had been put across from the other side and also my desire, if I may say so with all respect, to improve the Opposition Members and point out certain proper methods of having this improvement, unfortunately honourable Members on the other side do not approve—I suppose I am right in thinking that they do not approve—of something that I said. It was pointed out that there was a deep intrigue in our not having Standing Committees. One honourable Member thought that it must be connected with the American aid.¹⁶ This remarkable flight of imagination really surprised me because thus far I have not heard this kind of a thing whispered even. These Standing Committees were formed in 1922 or thereabouts, I think, under very special circumstances which obviously no longer exist.¹⁷ I am not aware of any

15. H.N. Mukerjee said that promotion of US foreign policy being the underlying object of American assistance to foreign countries, the Government was pursuing policies subservient to foreign interests in order to be eligible for US aid. He said that Section 511(b) of the Mutual Security Act laid down that "No economic or technical assistance shall be supplied to any other nation unless the President finds that the supplying of such assistance will strengthen the security of the United States and promote world peace," and the recipient country should agree "to take such action as may be mutually agreed upon to eliminate causes of international tension."
16. H.N. Mukerjee said the Government feared that aid from the United States might not be forthcoming as serious notice would be taken by the US Government of the access to the Opposition to the inside functioning of the administration, and the Standing Committees were therefore being abolished to exclude the Members of the Opposition from this inside knowledge.
17. Standing Committees of the Central Legislature attached to the Departments of Home, Industry and Labour, Commerce, Education and Health and Lands were set up in 1922 in pursuance of the recommendations of the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, 1919. The Joint Committee had said that the Standing Committees would greatly assist the political education of the non-official Indian members of the Legislature by giving them an opportunity to be closely associated with the details of administration.

country having parliamentary institutions, having Standing Committees of that type. That does not mean, of course, that we should not have them or something like them. But if honourable Members think that these Standing Committees took part in the day-to-day administration of the various Ministries, as some Members said, they are mistaken—they do nothing of the kind. They met, roughly—except for the Standing Finance Committee which met more frequently—two or three times a year and they met to consider certain projects which they recommended or passed to the Finance Committee or whatever it was. There was hardly any real insight into the administration, any opportunity for that. It was a formality and a certain check, if you like, on the previous Government that we used to have. Now, as we function today, that particular type of Standing Committee has no meaning. It was an advisory committee; now it has no meaning whatsoever.

The House will remember that on a previous occasion I said that I would welcome as much cooperation as possible from Members opposite, in fact, from the whole House.¹⁸ It is very difficult to find out a method or to organize a method for that cooperation. There are in the majority party a large number of Members, I think 350 or more. It is difficult for large numbers of Members to be associated with our work. But I should like them to be associated in many ways. As a private matter, party matter, we ask them to form committees to study administration. They had nothing to do with Government; it was a pure party matter. And I mentioned to the Members of the Opposition that I would like to confer with them on any important matter that arises and a few days ago we had such an informal conference about foreign affairs. Now, I suggest that that kind of a thing we are perfectly prepared to have in regard to any subject at any time, and I would go further and say that I should like suggestions from honourable Members opposite or honourable Members on this side of the House as to how we can have more cooperation in the working of Government—I am not talking of cooperation in this House but actual consultations, etc., in regard to important matters. I am perfectly prepared to consider any proposal. But I do think that this old system of Standing Committees as they were is completely out of place. It does not give that real cooperation, give those real opportunities, and it was a relic of the old British days which has no place today. Therefore, we decided to do away with it, but not to do away with the possibility of consultation or cooperation. Let us investigate that and I am prepared to go as far as possible. But the House should remember that cooperation is only fruitful when one approaches it in a spirit of cooperation. If, on the other hand, it is just to oppose and upset then nothing comes out of it. After all, a great part of the business of administration is not what might be called a thing in which there

18. See *ante*, p. 174.

need be opposition. In administration there are many things in common which any political party would have to do anyhow. Well, we do wish to have the views of honourable Members who may be experts or who may know something in regard to those matters and as I had said, I repeat, I shall welcome any suggestions or any ways of meeting them. For my part I have some ideas which I should like to pursue but I would welcome other ways too.

About our subservience to Governments abroad, well, I do submit that in this matter I should have preferred the honourable Member to point out something that we have done which appears to him to have been dictated or governed by some other Government's advice or direction. Surely that is the test. I agree with him that that part of the Mutual Security Act which he read out represents the wishes of the American administration in the matter. I agree. And no doubt they want such help or such support from other Governments. The point is what we do about it, not what the wishes of the American Congress when they passed that Act were. The question is whether we give up our policy, in any matter, divert from our policy because either of pressure from a foreign country or, if you like to put it so, of a desire to get money from abroad. At every stage and at every step we have made it clear to every country we have dealt with that we are not going to change our domestic or our foreign policy and this has been accepted. And if at any time it is not accepted, well, there the matter ends; we part company from the aid and from that country, if necessary. So that the way to look upon it is this: Have we done anything? If we have done anything, let us examine it, let us get it, and let us withdraw. But merely to say that other countries want us to do something does not carry the argument much further. To take this a few steps further and to say that we have put an end to or intend to put an end to all the Standing Committees because we are afraid that people may have a peep into the inner workings of the Government is a most extraordinary charge. Honourable Members get somewhat excited and irritated when I in my, as I said, moderate and temperate language point out to them some facts. But do honourable Members realize that they accuse us of secret deals with foreign powers behind the back not only of the Opposition but behind the back of Parliament, of the Indian public? We dare not show them these secret deals! That is what is said, not implied almost, said openly. That is a very serious charge. I deny it absolutely. There is nothing secret, nothing underground, nothing hidden from public view, in our relations with any country. We may be right or we may be wrong in any particular action that we may take. But speaking for my Government, speaking for myself, I have never functioned—and I say so with all respect—in politics in an underground way. I am not for a moment accusing people who function in an underground way—not that. But the whole habit of a life-time pursues me. Even if I want to do it, I could not do it. Again, if I may strike a personal note, such influence, or affection that I have received

from the Indian people is because I take them into my confidence about my innermost thoughts. We cannot carry on this Government by way of deals with foreign powers. This Government would deserve to be washed off and smashed up if it did that behind the back of the Indian people or this Parliament....¹⁸

The honourable Member opposite displays the attitude which I said previously about some honourable Members opposite. It is rather extraordinary how truth will out in spite of every effort to suppress it.

This has nothing to do with Standing Committees. Let us discuss our foreign policy, or aid programme as you like. Standing Committees, even if they exist, it is equally easy for Government to see that nothing secret is sent up to the Committee. In fact the Standing Committees got to know nothing secret. They got to know obvious things which everybody knows....¹⁹

That is, if I may say so, a question of your own strength and ultimately it is your own strength that counts....

The question is not what the United States may have said we must do, but what we have agreed to. The preamble to this agreement runs as follows:

Recognizing that individual liberty, free institutions, and independence, on the one hand and sound economic conditions and stable international economic relationships on the other hand, are mutually interdependent; Desiring to cooperate in promoting and accelerating the integrated economic development of India;

Agreeing that increase in the interchange between the two countries of technical knowledge, skills and techniques in the field of economic development is mutually advantageous; and

Considering that the Government of the United States of America and the Government of India agree to join in promoting international understanding and goodwill and in maintaining world peace, and to undertake such action as they may mutually agree upon to eliminate causes for international tension;

Have agreed to carry out the Technical Cooperation programme and its separate projects as follows:...

This is not the occasion for me to discuss foreign policy. I have endeavoured to discuss it previously and I hope to discuss it again in this House and elsewhere because it is important that honourable Members opposite should understand it. The people of India, even the average villager understands it more or less. But the intelligent person who has allowed his intelligence to

19. At this stage, K.A. Nambiar of the CPI interrupted to say, "That is going to happen."

20. H.N. Mukerjee asked what should be deduced from a process of acceptance of foreign aid from a particular country which very specifically laid down conditions regarding the acceptance of that aid.

be warped and twisted in one direction finds it very difficult to understand simple problems.

In regard to the Planning Commission, nothing has happened which would have really enabled honourable Members opposite to raise this point. The Planning Commission is functioning quite apart from the Congress, though it is true perhaps that prominent Congressmen are connected with it, as they are connected with this Government as indeed it is a fact that they run the Government. One cannot forget that fact. But they run the Planning Commission, they deal with the Planning Commission, in a completely non-partisan way, not even as Ministers. A Minister has greater latitude in this matter than a member of the Planning Commission. Unless he happens to be a Minister, he is in a sense an official who is not connected with any party. He is functioning as an expert in that particular work.

In regard to the Standing Committees, in my opinion, these Committees were completely out of place. They did no useful work. They might have produced an impression in some Members that they were doing some work. They were too much connected with the old British set-up for us to continue them. If there are other methods of consultation in regard to administration, I am perfectly prepared to consider them.²⁰

21. Meghnad Saha, while asserting that he was still in close touch with the world of science, stated in the House on 11 July 1952 that on 4 July 1952 he had not said that the Government had become fascist, but simply said that it was drifting towards fascism. He also said that during his visit to Italy in 1927 in connection with a scientific conference, he had the opportunity of studying fascism at close range when he was invited along with other delegates to a party at Mussolini's residence. Saha added that "intoxication of power which does not allow one to see the other man's point of view, gathering round one large bands of yes-men, is fascism." Nehru replied the same day that because of the very eminence in science of Meghnad Saha "one expects the scientific temper to be brought into the domain of politics also." The temper, the approach and the mental climate of science could not be left far behind, "when we come into a political chamber." He said it seemed to him that the use of the word fascism in connection with the abolishing of Standing Committees had absolutely no logic or relevance and "expecting as I did a degree or precision from an eminent scientist I was a little surprised at the loose way he used that word." Nehru added: "Dr Saha told us how he gathered his knowledge of fascism by attending a party given by Signor Mussolini. My own knowledge of fascism was derived by keeping away from Signor Mussolini. Indeed, on one occasion when I was in Rome, in spite of Signor Mussolini's repeated invitations I found myself unable to accept them. But that is a minor matter. Dr Saha, no doubt, reacts strongly against what is considered fascism and I hope that most, if not all, Members of this House react just as strongly as he does against what is considered fascism. What I submit is that these words are used more in a denunciatory sense than as if they had any particular meaning. I find that happening very often in the newspapers. But for our part, we should be precise."

7. To K.N. Katju¹

New Delhi

July 15, 1952

My dear Kailas Nath,

... I do not quite know what it means to collect information about a party as such.² The Communist Party and like organizations, like the RSP, etc., I can understand because basically their programme is subversive. But I do not think it generally desirable to track other parties, even though they might be opposed to the Congress. The question therefore of our collecting special information about the Socialist Party or the Congress Party as such does not arise. It may arise on special occasions because some parties attempt to overlap and form alliances and the like and we should have general information about such internal political developments. But it would not be desirable for us to make normally working opposition parties feel that we are tracking them or pursuing them with secret agents. Kripalani³ complained of this on special occasions.

So far as the Congress Party is concerned, exactly the same principles should apply except that the Party functions in the open.

Apart from the Communist Party and the like, it is really individuals about whom we should have information. It does not matter if the individual is socialist or Congress; if we have reason to suspect him of evil designs or if we receive any more or less reliable information, we should certainly pursue that enquiry. No exception should be made in this regard whatever the status or Party of the person concerned might be.

Without having gone into these papers carefully, *prima facie* it seems to me that the case relating to galvanized pipes, which has been referred by the Commerce Ministry,⁴ is deserving of fuller enquiry.

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. In his note of 7 July 1952, H.V.R. Iengar, the Union Home Secretary, had referred to Vallabhbhai Patel asking the Intelligence Bureau to collect information not only about the Communist Party but also the Socialist Party and the Congress. He stated that the Enforcement Branch, however, were extremely reluctant to make enquiries and investigations concerning Congress ministries and ministers.

3. J.B. Kripalani.

4. Katju informed Nehru on 15 July that following complaints made by several merchants' associations of Madras and Calcutta an enquiry had been ordered into the grant of a licence for import of 10,000 tons of galvanized iron pipes valued at nearly two crores of rupees on the plea that these pipes were not indigenously available. It had been alleged that licence for the deal likely to yield very high profits had been procured by the Chettiers of Madras in collusion with some senior officials of the Union Ministry of Commerce.

After I have read these papers, I propose to write to the Chief Minister⁵ of Orissa. I shall of course let you have my reactions.

I understand that Mahtab⁶ sent you some copies of letters which indicated that a Member of Parliament from Orissa was greatly interested in all these enquiries. An allegation is made that he was the person who supplied the original information about licences. A good part of this information turned out to be untrue; part of it was true. It also appeared that a police officer in Orissa was rather intimately connected with the Opposition there and had perhaps utilized his position unfairly. It was these matters which put me on enquiry and disturbed me somewhat.

There should be a clear distinction between two types of enquiries. One is an enquiry into a definite allegation. Such an enquiry must be carried through if there is any substance at all in the allegation. This will relate to an individual or a group. The other type of enquiry might be termed as shadowing individuals who are suspected not for an offence but for some other reason. It is this latter type of enquiry that has to be undertaken with care. It might well become an inquisition on innocent people.

During the British period, such shadowing took place on students, especially in foreign countries. I remember very well how angry I used to get at this type of shadowing on Indian students when I was myself a student in England. It was because of this that I took strong exception to any shadowing or watching of Indian students abroad. The only exception should be when there is some positive information about a particular individual.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

5. Nabakrushna Chaudhuri.

6. Harekrushna Mahtab, a former Chief Minister of Orissa, was a Member of Parliament at this time.

THE CONGRESS ORGANIZATION

I. General

1. The Need for a Moral Foundation¹

The *Congress Sandesh*² was a child of the General Election. It is trying to grow up now and to fulfil a somewhat different role. During election time, all of us are apt to shout rather loudly and even newspapers are affected by the general ferment.

Sometimes perhaps a message has to be shouted so that even the deaf might hear. But shouting, whether by voice or in cold print, is hardly conducive to thought or to the action that follows clear thinking.

The *Congress Sandesh* by its very name carries a message. What is that message? Is it a mere repetition of what the Congress said in its crusading days of struggle or is it something different or something more? What was it that lighted the fire in us in those days that are gone by, and not only in us but, to a certain extent, in the millions of India? Anything that rouses vast masses of people to action and sacrifice has something of solid value in it which cannot be merely temporary and so if the Congress had a message of that worth then, it could not have been a passing message of the moment but must have had a deeper and a more lasting significance. At the same time no message can remain unchanged in changing circumstances and, while the core of it remains, it may be varied to suit these new circumstances and the demands of the time. In a dynamic world, the message should also have something of that dynamic quality.

Every great message that appeals to the heart of the people has always certain moral quality in it. Bereft of it, it becomes opportunistic and momentary and however bright it may be, it fades away. There was this high moral quality in the message of Gandhiji which the Congress tried to make its own. Because of that our people and our public life gained strength and rose in the estimation of others.

It is well to remember this. We may discuss problems of politics or economics, and they are important, but without that moral foundation we shall build on sand. The essence of that moral approach was integrity of mind and action and fearlessness in pursuing our objective. Gandhiji was never tired of saying that means are important and govern ends.

Perhaps there is hardly a country where the ideals are so high as in India; perhaps there is hardly any other country where the gap between ideals and practice is so big as in India. In the measure that we bridge that gap, we succeed. In the old days we talked certainly, but action was considered more

1. Message written on 5 May 1952 and printed in the *Congress Sandesh*, 11 May 1952.
2. The *Congress Sandesh* was a weekly published by the Congress Central Publicity Board. Its first issue came out in October 1951.

important than talk. We shall have to revert to this and think more of action than of long discussion.

The world today presents a curious and self-contradictory picture. There are the obvious forces of progress and human advance; there are also obvious forces of disintegration at work. Whether we are optimistic or pessimistic depends as to which side of this picture impresses us most. Pessimism ultimately means incapacity to function. That is a sign of decadence unworthy of a people; a facile optimism, divorced from reality, may be helpful occasionally but does not carry us far. We have to look at life squarely without too much optimism or pessimism but with a certain faith in ourselves and in the cause we work for.

What is this cause? In the international sphere, the maintenance of peace and the extension of freedom; in the national sphere, the consolidation of the freedom and unity of India and the progressive removal of all barriers which come in the way of unity, or which create inequality. The objective of the Congress is clear enough and we can never forget it. We may call it a cooperative commonwealth but it means the building up of a new society where every person has full and equal opportunity and cooperates for the good of the community. It may be called socialism, or by any other name.

Whatever path we pursue to this end, it means hard work for us. There is no easy way to progress or to the liquidation of poverty and degradation that surrounds us. But it can be done and done perhaps sooner than many imagine if only we are earnest about it.

We have therefore to develop that spirit which scorns at difficulties, that ethos of a people which surmounts all obstacles triumphantly. And the best way to develop this is through work, productive work. It was the message of work that Gandhiji gave us, work and sacrifice. That basic message must still inspire us and govern our activities. We must not lose ourselves in long argument and dispute. We must not consider others who may be opposed to us as our enemies. We have to convert them but before we convert them we have to convert ourselves.

2. To Bejoy Mohan Banerjea¹

New Delhi
June 22, 1952

Dear Mr Banerjea,

I received your letter some time ago. It is difficult for me to advise you.

1. JN Collection.

THE CONGRESS ORGANIZATION

Whatever the faults of the Congress organization might be, I still think that this organization is necessary and serving a historic purpose. I serve it, therefore, and through it, the country, even though I may not like some developments in it.

There are plenty of ways of serving the country and I am sure that a person who is anxious to do so will find a way. I know nothing about your particular case, but I suppose it may be possible to reconsider decisions by the PCC, if a person really wants to work for the Congress.²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Forwarding to Atulya Ghosh, President, West Bengal PCC, on 22 June the letter of Banerjea alongwith a copy of his reply to him, Nehru observed: "If a person is good, we should make it easy for him to come back to the Congress."

THE CONGRESS ORGANIZATION

II. State Congress Affairs

(i) Bihar

1. To Prajapati Mishra¹

New Delhi
May 9, 1952

My dear Prajapatiji,²

I was surprised to see in a newspaper some comment about your non-inclusion in the Bihar Cabinet.³ It was stated there that you had not been included because we disapproved of you for various reasons and did not think you suitable for inclusion. It has always surprised me that it should be thought that it is a matter of discredit for a person not to be included in the Cabinet if he has already been there or if his name is proposed for it. The fact of non-inclusion in a Cabinet need bear no relation to any such thing. Members of the Cabinet are chosen on a balance of considerations. Quite good people are not taken sometimes.

So far as I am concerned, I have laid considerable stress both in the Congress organization and in regard to governments that we should have fresh blood. I do not think it is a good thing for the same lot of persons to continue for too long in our Cabinets. New people do not get a chance and a certain amount of staleness comes in, however good a person might be. I feel this about myself and I wish I could be relieved of my present office. I would have plenty of public work to do even then.

People forget that our work is something much more than running government. We have to work with the people through the Congress organization. We have to do constructive work. If everyone thinks only of joining Government, it would be a bad day for the Congress and indeed for public life generally.

In Bihar recently, there was a case in point. Shri Jaglal Chowdhuri⁴ was not included in the Cabinet and many people have expressed their regret at this fact. As a matter of fact all of us hold Shri Jaglal in high esteem for his record of sacrifice and his integrity. There could be no objection at all to his inclusion in the Cabinet. It was not a question of objection at all but rather of having some new member. Our elder statesmen have always a place in our work in many ways and it is desirable to give new people a chance.

1. JN Collection.

2. (1898-1953); participated in the national movement; President, Bihar Provincial Congress Committee, 1948-52; Member, Bihar Legislative Assembly, 1946-53.

3. *The Searchlight* reported on 26 April 1952 that Prajapati Mishra "had gone to New Delhi to press his claim, but his inclusion was opposed by the Congress high command."

4. A constructive worker; participated in the noncooperation and salt satyagraha movements; became a minister in the Government of Bihar, 1937 and 1946; arrested and imprisoned during the Quit India movement; wrote *A Plan to Reconstruct Bharat*.

When your name was suggested for the Bihar Cabinet, I said that in the balance it would be a good thing if you applied yourself to Congress constructive work and someone else was included in the Cabinet. I suggested that if you were told of this you yourself would no doubt agree to the suggestion.

I hope that you will now throw your energies in constructive work and in strengthening the Congress organization.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi
May 28, 1952

My dear Sri Babu,

As you know, we are having a meeting of the Congress Working Committee on the 31st May and 1st June. This may possibly extend to the 2nd June. In fact Morarji Desai can only come on the 2nd June as his election is taking place on the 1st June.

To this meeting we have invited both you and Anugraha Babu.² Now I have learnt that you are having a meeting of your PCC on the 31st for the election of the President and office-bearers. This means that you will find it difficult to come here on the 31st. The PCC meeting is no doubt an important one and your presence and the presence of Anugraha Babu will be desirable there. I suggest therefore that both of you might come here after the PCC meeting is over, that is, on the 1st June if that is convenient.³

I should like you both to take part in the PCC meeting so that the proceedings there should be harmonious and should result in decisions which are generally accepted with goodwill and grace. I am told, and I am glad to hear it, that on the whole your Government and Cabinet are working harmoniously. Another aspect of this matter is that the Congress organization should also work harmoniously within itself and in cooperation with the Government. That is to say, the idea of rival groups fighting for mastery should be put an end to.

1. File No. G-1/1952, AICC Papers, NMML.
2. He was the Finance Minister, Government of Bihar, at this time.
3. Sri Krishna Sinha and A.N. Sinha attended the meeting of the Congress Working Committee on 2 June 1952.

It is from this point of view that I hope you will approach this question of the PCC elections and more particularly the election of the President of the PCC. The person elected should command general confidence and should not appear to come as the head of the group who is opposed by a rival group. It is not very material who comes in as President provided this general consideration is borne in mind and group voting is avoided. The burden of this falls specially upon you as not only the Leader of the Party and of the province but also one who has to get things done in future in Government and in the Congress. I should like you to function therefore as the Leader of the whole organization and not merely the Leader of the group. In doing so you put yourself on a higher level and seek the cooperation of all. Therefore it will be desirable for you to consult Anugraha Babu about the presidentship of the PCC and try to find out some method of having these elections with general consent and goodwill. I do hope that this will be done.⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. While Sri Krishna Sinha's appeal at the meeting of the PCC on 31 May 1952 for postponement of the election of the President by a week to help find a consensus candidate went unheeded, Prajapati Mishra was elected President, defeating Binodanand Jha by 143 to 124 votes.

THE CONGRESS ORGANIZATION

II. State Congress Affairs

(ii) Hyderabad

1. To D.G. Bindu¹

New Delhi

April 8, 1952

My dear Binduji,²

Thank you for your letter of the 4th April.

I have been watching with anxious interest the developments in Hyderabad. I have been distressed at the continuance of the groups there and only a few days ago I wrote about it to Ramakrishna Rao and Swamiji. It is quite clear to me that if these groups continue, and if one tries to suppress the other, both will be suppressed. If there is not enough wisdom in the Hyderabad Congress, I think I cannot impart wisdom to it. All I can do is to advise and I shall certainly continue to do so. Each one of you, of course, can help greatly and I am sure that you will do so.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. P-25/1952, AICC Papers, NMML.
2. D.G. Bindu was President, Hyderabad State Congress, and Home Minister of Hyderabad at this time.

2. To B. Ramakrishna Rao¹

New Delhi

April 14, 1952

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,

As you know I have had many talks with you and others from Hyderabad. I have also received a number of reports from various people. I think I have a fairly clear picture before me of the state of affairs there. That picture is not at all satisfactory. I can well understand difficulties and troubles cropping up at the beginning, but I think that recent developments there have been something much worse than normal difficulties and they indicate a dangerous trend.

It is quite clear to me that unless this trend is stopped and in fact reversed, both the Ministry and the Congress will gradually collapse. Both go together.

1. File No. P-25/1952, AICC Papers, NMML.

The Ministry cannot survive by itself for long unless it has full Congress support and unless the Congress functions actively in Hyderabad. Since the elections, the Congress has not functioned at all or very little. This is a dangerous gap and any continuation of it will be disastrous. It is important that the Congress should function and keep in touch with the people by service. It is not good enough for some top-ranking people to continue to have an argument about it and for all work to be stopped on account of this argument.

Under our rules a Minister should not be President of the Pradesh Congress Committee, much less can a Home Minister function in that way. That would surely mean that the Congress is to be completely in the shadow and has no identity left. Therefore it is necessary, as soon as possible, for a new President to be appointed. As the Hyderabad Congress Committee is an ad hoc body appointed by the President of the Congress, I can take steps to appoint a new President there or a new Committee. There will be elections in Hyderabad some time or other, but I fear they cannot take place for another five or six months. We cannot wait till then.

The change-over should be made as gracefully and effectively as possible. I do not wish to impose any one from here. Therefore the proper course is for the present Congress Committee to write to me that, in accordance with the rules, a new President should be appointed and asking me to do that. They should, preferably, with unanimity, suggest a name. As far as I can see the only possible name for this at present is Swami Ramanand Tirtha.

The next step should be, as you told me, for a larger Congress Committee to be appointed for this intervening period till the elections. Probably the best way to do this would be for a small committee consisting of you, Swami Ramanand Tirtha and Binduji to select people from the various districts, in consultation with friends, and send the list to me. I do not wish to fix the exact number but I should say that it should approximate to about 100. On receipt of this recommendation, I could nominate that committee for the period preceding the elections.

After that committee is nominated, a small executive, not exceeding fifteen or so, should be selected.

This is the procedure I recommend and I think it should be given effect to as soon as possible. Delay will not improve matters. It will lead to stagnation and frustration.

That is so far as the Congress is concerned. I now refer to the Government and the Ministry. I think it was unfortunate that the Ministry was such a large one. However there it is and I do not know if it is easily possible to reshape it or reduce its numbers. A large Ministry tends to lose its homogeneous character, which is absolutely essential for joint working. I have suggested to you that you should have an informal meeting of all the Ministers daily if

possible just to discuss common programmes. Nothing is worse for a Ministry than for it to function in separate groups. Naturally, members of a Cabinet differ somewhat in their views. They need not all think alike. But it is essential that they should function together. Therefore group functioning within the Cabinet must be avoided. That is worse than group functioning in a party which also should be avoided.

The recent election of the Deputy Speaker, resulting in a number of members of the Congress Party voting against the Congress nominee, was a very serious affair. Whatever the alleged provocation might have been, any Congress member voting against his Party on such an occasion itself is a serious breach of discipline and normally he should no longer continue in the Party. At any rate he should not continue in any responsible position like the Ministry or the executive of the Party. I do not wish to give you a final direction in this matter and I would rather leave it to your discretion, but I do wish to make it clear that I attach the greatest importance to this matter and it has upset me very much. It shows an utter lack of responsibility and indeed of every quality that a member of an organized party should possess. No party can function if its members are so utterly irresponsible and are drawn hither and thither by group attractions.

I am informed that some of those who voted against the Congress nominee were Harijan or Lingayat members of our Party. If you can trace them, you should tell them not only on your behalf but on my own that this kind of thing cannot possibly be tolerated. Even from the narrowest point of view, it brings discredit to the person who indulges in it and shows that he is not capable of holding any responsible position.

I am further told that there is a tendency to form a Harijan or like group, consisting of some members of the Congress Party and some others. This also cannot be tolerated and I would rather that our Ministry ceased to function than that we put up with this business.

As leader of the Party and Chief Minister you have a very great responsibility. You have to function as the leader of the whole Party and not merely of some members of it. What is more, you have to produce a sense of harmonious working. So far as I am concerned, I should like to help you in this to the best of my ability. But ultimately the burden falls on you.

I have spoken on these lines to Swami Ramanand Tirtha, Binduji and Dr Malkote.² I am sure that all of you can pull together, even though there might be differences in approach, if the attempt is made on all sides. I hope

2. G.S. Malkote (1901-1982); medical practitioner; Vice-President, Indian Medical Association, 1949-52; Minister, Hyderabad Government, 1952-57; Member, Andhra Pradesh Assembly, 1956-57; Member, Lok Sabha, 1957-62; Member, All India Institute of Medical Sciences, 1959-62; leader, INTUC delegation to several western countries and the Soviet Union, 1965.

that the attempt will be made. We play for high stakes, higher than our personal selves, or our personal predilections.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To Ramanand Tirtha¹

New Delhi
May 9, 1952

My dear Swamiji,

We have already conveyed our approval of your election to presidentship of the Hyderabad State Congress.² I hope that now things will get moving and the Congress will function effectively. I have already, in consultation with you, Ramakrishna Rao and Bindu, suggested the next organizational step, that is to say, that you should select a number of people from all the districts to form some kind of a council for the State Congress. This was to be done by consultation between you, Ramakrishna Rao and Bindu. Of course, others can be consulted also. I hope you will go ahead with this now.

But I am not so much interested in organizational development, important as that is. I am interested in field work. Unfortunately, the Hyderabad Congress has been far too passive and idle about such matters. It should go ahead now all over the State, and more especially in Nalgonda, Warrangal, etc.

You have become President at a difficult and delicate time. But I am sure that you will carry this burden worthily. Above all, it is necessary to carry others with us, even though they might not agree fully. We must try to put an end to group functioning in Hyderabad, as elsewhere. Much, therefore, depends on the lead you give and the way you inspire others, not only those who ordinarily look up to you, but others in the Congress who have not done so. All these must feel that you want their cooperation and help and I hope you will try your utmost to get them. If such an atmosphere is created, work prospers and goes ahead. Otherwise, all our time is spent in wasteful argument and no work.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. P-25/1952, AICC Papers, NMML.

2. On 2 May, the ad hoc committee of the Hyderabad State Congress had unanimously recommended the nomination of Ramanand Tirtha for the presidentship of the State Congress.

THE CONGRESS ORGANIZATION

II. State Congress Affairs

(iii) Punjab

1. To Pratap Singh Kairon¹

New Delhi
June 17, 1952

My dear Pratap Singh,

I am rather distressed at the gradual trends in Punjab politics. You have not discussed these with me for a considerable time and I do not know exactly what the facts are. But I see developments taking place in Punjab which are strongly reminiscent of past trends. After the success of the Congress in the elections, we hoped that we had turned a new chapter there and the Congress at least would hold together². Also that the Akali and communal groups would be kept in check and not allowed to grow in strength. It was clear from the lesson of the elections that if Congressmen as a whole hold together and cooperate with each other, they can meet the challenge of the communal elements.

The problem, therefore, was for Congressmen to hold together and not tend to fall into groups working against each other. As you know, the Working Committee has been constantly condemning group functions within the Congress. As I see it, the same evil, which has been the bane of Punjab politics, is growing again there. I do not mind very much what the opponents of the Congress do or do not do. But I do mind greatly how Congressmen function, how the Congress Ministry in the Punjab functions, and how the Punjab Congress functions.

We started in the Punjab with a fairly clean slate this time and, to begin with, all was well. Now I understand that there is more and more cleavage between what is called your group and Sachar.³ I am told that separate group meetings take place. Indeed this is becoming a subject of common talk. Naturally the Akalis and the opponents of the Congress are very happy over

1. JN Collection.

2. In the elections to the Punjab Assembly held in February 1952, the Congress won an absolute majority but it was a house divided. Pratap Singh Kairon enjoyed the majority support but a contest for the leadership of the legislature party was avoided for the sake of unity and, at the instance of Nehru, Bhimsen Sachar was made the Chief Minister.

3. C.M. Trivedi, Governor of Punjab, wrote to Nehru on 16 June that the Congress Party in Punjab seemed to be divided into two groups: (1) the Sachar group; and (2) the Pratap Singh Kairon-Jagat Narain group; besides there were about ten members belonging to the Gopichand Bhargava group, many of whom were opposed to Sachar. Trivedi felt that the Kairon-Narain group wanted Sachar to give way on almost every point, their object being "to show to you and the High Command that Sachar has little following, and cannot carry a team together."

it. I have no doubt that the little group that used to look to Dr Gopichand⁴ is also happy and is pulling strings to create more trouble.

If this is so, then it is not at all a misfortune, but it will be a terrible blow to Punjab politics. It will show that the leaders of the Congress in the Punjab cannot learn from history or experience and are men of narrow vision who can only think in terms of personal preferences and personal animosities. I would despair of the Punjab Congress and its leaders then. I have relied upon you and spoke to you about these matters repeatedly. Is my faith to be completely shattered?

Then there is the question of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee.⁵ It is patent to anyone that a victory of Master Tara Singh there would be bad. It is also patent that in order to avoid this, you and Udham Singh Nagoke must pull together. Again, your dislike of Nagoke prevents any cooperation with him. Meanwhile things go from bad to worse. Recent developments clearly show that Tara Singh's nominees are gaining strength and Nagoke's men are being pushed out. The obvious course was for you and Nagoke to come to an understanding and stand by it.⁶ I am not interested in any individual. But I am interested in larger forces and in communalism not being allowed to gain the upper hand.

I can write to you at great length about these matters, because my mind is full of them. I would have written earlier if I did not feel that you did not care too much for my advice and in fact rather avoided it. I have no desire to thrust my advice on people who do not welcome it. But this is not a personal matter for me. It is a question of high consequence and I feel it my duty to write to you quite frankly. Indeed I have waited too long already. It is for you and your colleagues to decide whether you can show the world that you are governed by vision and high responsibility or whether you can only think in narrow terms and forget the larger issues.

4. Gopichand Bhargava had to resign from the chief ministership of the State on 16 June 1951 after the Congress Central Parliamentary Board sought his resignation in order to prevent internal conflict in the Party before the general elections. He eventually resigned from the Congress also on 14 November 1951.
5. Elections for the presidentship of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) were scheduled for 29 June 1952.
6. Following reports that the Nagoke group was considering putting up Ishar Singh Majhail as a candidate for the presidentship of the SGPC, Nehru wrote to Nagoke, former President, SGPC, on 19 June 1952, "...I should like to point out that the nomination of Sardar Ishar Singh Majhail is likely to meet with considerable opposition. Whether that opposition is justified or not, is another matter. You will remember the difficulty we had in selecting him as a candidate during the last elections. I hope, therefore, the candidate put forward would be one who could claim the confidence and goodwill of as large a section of the Sikhs as possible and that more particularly you and Sardar Pratap Singh will agree about it."

THE CONGRESS ORGANIZATION

I am surprised at the rapidity with which crises are coming to the Punjab after such a great victory that it had. All I can say is that we shall deserve every fate that may befall us if we are men of small stature.

The Working Committee is meeting here on the 28th of this month. I understand that on the 29th the SGPC is meeting to elect its President. I do not know if you would be able to come to the Working Committee, because it is important that you should devote yourself to the SGPC matter. My information is that Nahar Singh, who was elected temporarily as President of the SGPC, has completely allied himself with the Akali group or, at any rate, is opposing the Nagoke group.⁷ This can only result in the Akalis gaining control.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. Nahar Singh, acting President of the SGPC and regarded as a nominee of the Nagoke group, was elected President of the SGPC on 29 June, defeating Achhar Singh, a nominee of the Tara Singh group, by 75 to 72 votes.

THE CONGRESS ORGANIZATION

II. State Congress Affairs

(iv) Other States

1. To B.S. Hiray¹

New Delhi
May 8, 1952

My dear Hiray,²

Your letter of the 7th May. I can well understand the desire of your Pradesh Congress Committee to elect you as President. Nevertheless I confess that I am greatly worried by these re-elections of Presidents in various places like Bombay, Maharashtra and Andhra. You will remember my laying great stress on new persons being elected. Indeed I suggested a rule to be made that no President should serve for two successive terms.

I have no authority to set aside any such election. All I can say is that I feel that in our larger interests this is undesirable.

Also it goes against our rule for a Minister to be a President of the PCC. I cannot set aside that rule by my own authority. As at present, your election therefore is not in conformity with our rules because you are a Minister.

I can quite appreciate the desire of your Committee to have harmonious working between the PCC and the Ministers. That is very necessary. But your real position in the Maharashtra PCC cannot be affected much by the fact that you are a President or not. Each Committee has some elder statesmen in it whose guidance is sought and who play a full part in its work without actually occupying an office. In the UP I was rarely the President but I was always a member of their Executive and I played an important part there.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. P-13/1952, AICC Papers, NMML.
2. Hiray was a Minister in the Government of Bombay.

2. To C. Narayana Pillai¹

New Delhi
2nd June 1952

Dear Narayana Pillai,²

I have just received your letter of the 28th May.

You know more about conditions in Travancore-Cochin than I do and I cannot, therefore, discuss those conditions with you. I agree with you that the two reasons for the failure of the Congress in some parts of the country are the development of small cliques and ruling groups and the lack of contact with the people. The question you have raised, however, is about the alliance between the Congress Party in Travancore-Cochin and the Tamil Congress Party. I do not know the individuals concerned. But I see no objection in principle to such an alliance between the Congress and some other party which is not opposed to it in any matter of principle. So far as I know, the Tamil Congress Party in Travancore-Cochin consisted of Congressmen and their chief difference was that they wanted that area to be transferred to Madras on linguistic grounds. I was asked to give some kind of assurance about this and I was wholly unable to do so. Ultimately they decided to join, as things were. I confess I do not see any objection in principle to this, apart from the individuals concerned or some past history that I do not know and which you may know.

You must appreciate that we have to deal with these matters in broad aspects and cannot consider them from a knowledge of intimate local details which you may possess.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. (b. 1902); journalist, lawyer and a prominent Congressman from Kerala; gave up legal practice, 1938, and participated in the freedom struggle; took keen interest in Harijan uplift and the Khadi movement; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1952-57; left Congress, 1956.

THE COMMUNISTS AND THE SOCIALISTS

I. The Communist Movement

1. To Chief Ministers¹

New Delhi
15 April, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

In the fortnightly letter that I am sending you today² I have referred to the question of the detenus.³ I should like to say something more about this, because action should be taken as soon as possible.

2. When I was in Calcutta last month, I received a deputation urging upon me the release of all detenus.⁴ This deputation consisted of one Communist Party member and representatives of a number of other organizations and also some fairly well-known individuals. There is no doubt that there is a great deal of feeling among normal liberal circles against indefinite detention of persons. That is a feeling which we have ourselves nurtured in the past and is understandable.

3. I pointed out to this deputation that the Detention Act⁵ had not been used merely for Communists, but also for black-marketeers, foreign spies, and, as in Saurashtra, some members of the princely and *jagirdari* order.⁶ I asked them if they would like us to release these people. They said emphatically no. Then I pointed out that their general proposition about release was not sound and that some such legislation was necessary in special cases. It may be said that the legislation had not been properly used and, if so, we could enter into each individual case.

1. This letter has also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-64*, Vol. 2 (New Delhi, 1986), pp. 591-594.

2. See *post*, pp. 591-598.

3. According to official figures, on 1 January 1952, there were 1,865 detenus in the whole of India of whom 1,170 were Communists; 683 of the Communist detenus were released by 1 May 1952 following review of their cases by State Governments.

4. A deputation led by Meghnad Saha, which met Nehru at Calcutta on 23 March, demanded the release of about 200 persons detained without trial on the ground that their detention was wholly unjustified. It also pleaded for the withdrawal of warrants pending against some political workers.

5. The Preventive Detention Act passed by Parliament in February 1950 empowered the Government to detain for one year any person in order to prevent him from acting in any manner prejudicial to the defence and security of India, the relations of India with other countries, and maintenance of public order and essential supplies and services.

6. A former ruler, a taluqdar and two princes were detained in Saurashtra for spreading disaffection among the villagers, especially the cultivators, and terrorizing the people during the general elections. There had been violent agitations against land reforms in the State and criminals such as Bhupat and Kaly Wank, in league with some former rulers, had allegedly killed about 200 persons.

4. Then I told them that so far as the Communists and the like were concerned, our policy was based on two considerations: (1) That no one should be detained for holding or expressing any opinion peacefully. It is only when violence was advocated or indulged in that we wished to take action; (2) That in the changed circumstances of today, we were of opinion that we should review the whole position with a view to releasing as large a number of detenus as possible. Indeed, we would like to release the whole lot because it was no pleasure to us to keep them detained and it was a financial burden on the State. But we had to keep in view the security of the State and, therefore, we could not give up this right. All we could say was that this right would be exercised as infrequently as possible and only in cases involving, in some way, violence.

5. The position is undoubtedly different today than it was a year or more ago. That does not mean that the Communist Party has abjured violence, or its other methods of coercive action. Whatever individual Communists might say, their basic policy remains and, given the chance, will be acted upon. We have, therefore, to be wary and careful.

6. Nevertheless, it is true that, owing to recent developments, the present policy of the Communist Party in India has undergone a change for the time being at least.⁷ On the whole, it might be said that there is at present no violence. There has been practically none for many months. The partial success of the Communists in the legislatures⁸ had diverted their thinking to other channels.

7. It is also true that, in fact, a very large number of Communists and others, who had been detained, have been released, and a relatively small number still remain in detention. Thus, the Communists are in a position to carry on their work, whatever that might be, without any great impediment. The fact that some of them are still in prison or in detention does not make any great difference to the quantum or quality of their activity. The fact that some are in detention, however, gives them a handle for continuing the agitation which affects many people who are not Communists. They gain general sympathy, and, under cover of that sympathy, they strengthen their position with the public. Hence the fact of some people being kept in detention does not come in their way at all. It rather helps them than otherwise.

8. In some places I have found that people have been detained for two or three years or even more. Broadly speaking, this does seem to me to be

7. The Communist Party of India had called off the armed struggle in Telengana and contested the general elections.

8. The Communists and their allies secured 27 of the 70 seats they contested for the House of the People, forming the largest Opposition group in the House. The Communists also won 126 out of the 1,793 seats they contested for State Assemblies.

wrong. Probably, if they had been convicted for the kind of offence charged, their sentences might have run out. We can hardly justify this long continued detention for something that happened or was likely to happen two or three years ago. Conditions have changed. There are some kind of revising authorities, normally consisting of a High Court judge. That revising authority can only consider the facts or the data placed before it at the time of original detention. It can hardly take into consideration subsequent happenings because, in relation to that individual, nothing much could have happened since his detention. It does not help, therefore, to put these same old facts before that revising authority. If the matter has to be considered afresh, this must be done in view of the new situation that has arisen and only the Government can consider that.

9. The result of this line of thought is that it is no longer desirable or advantageous from any point of view to keep persons in detention, except in very special and obvious cases. Generally speaking, this continuation of detention serves the very cause for which the persons detained stand for. The risk involved in releasing them is less than the other risks involved in keeping them. Therefore, it is desirable to take early steps to release them.

10. Your Government has to shoulder the responsibility of law and order and therefore it is for you to consider this matter thoroughly. We do not wish to force your hands in any way. But it is our considered opinion that the time has come to review this whole matter most liberally. If we do so now, it would be easier for us to take any action later, if that becomes necessary. If, on the other hand, we continue the present detentions, then we have to face a continuous agitation and outcry and public opinion grows against us. I have no doubt that in the State Assemblies, as well as in the Central Parliament, these questions will be brought up repeatedly and instead of submitting to pressure then, it is better for us to take action previously.

11. There is also the question of banning the Communist Party. Our courts have already declared against this. It is desirable, therefore, to remove these bans before we are compelled to do so by some decision of the local High Court.

12. I would like your immediate attention to these matters. As I have said above, the responsibility being yours, you must exercise your own discretion. I have indicated our general approach to these problems. Indeed I have made this general approach public in the statement I made before the All India Congress Committee in Calcutta.⁹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 17, pp. 169-170.

2. Differentiation between Communists and Terrorists¹

....9. I have previously pointed out that we must, even in our own documents, avoid using words which have a particular meaning.² The objectiveness of a report is greatly affected by the use of such particular words. Communism is one such word. It is an economic policy, a technique of action in international and national affairs, which varies in different countries. It is also a word to cover up many things which have no relation to communism. Robbers and dacoits call themselves Communists in order to give some favourable colour to their misdeeds. Others call everything they dislike as communism.

10. Our policy, as stated, is that we give full opportunity for peaceful expression of views whatever they might be. But we do not permit violence and terrorism. Therefore, we are against violence and terrorism or any like activity against the State. We are not against any set of opinions, whether we agree with them or disagree with them. Policemen, army men, and civil officials should, therefore, not talk of communism at all, but should talk of violence and terrorism which no Government can tolerate and which we do not intend tolerating. It may be that some Communists indulge in these violent activities. We punish them for these activities, not for their views. In Assam, it is well-known that violent and terroristic activities were carried on by what is known as the Revolutionary Communist Party, or some such name, which is not communist in the technical sense, but is just a band of terrorists. We should, therefore, clearly say that we are acting against terrorists. By saying that we are acting against Communists, we confuse the issue and do not drive home the real fact that it is terrorism that we are contending against. Many people sympathize with some aspects of communism. Hardly any are prepared to sympathize with terrorism....

14. Generally speaking, words and phrases, which have acquired a particular political significance, should not be used, such as the "Iron Curtain." The very use of these words makes a report lack objectivity and indicates a certain pre-conceived opinion, just as the use of some communist slogans and phrases denotes that the mind is made up.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 27 April 1952. File No. 7/24/52-Poll, MHA. Extracts. A copy of this note was sent to K.N. Katju.
2. In an article in the *Saturday Evening Post* of 8 March 1952, Werner Knop had quoted a Superintendent of Police in the Naga Hills as having told him that the police operations in Assam were a part of the major fight against communism.

3. To Meghnad Saha¹

Camp: Gangtok

April 28, 1952

My dear Saha,

I have received your telegram about detenus. It is not possible for me to find out all the facts from here and I would refer you to the West Bengal Government. So far as I know, a very large number of detenus have been progressively released.² Every case has been thoroughly examined and the principles I mentioned in Calcutta³ have been followed. Among those who are detained today are two classes chiefly: (1) non-politicals, and (2) persons who are going to be tried. If there are any others, their cases will, no doubt, be examined.

You refer to warrants out against some persons. I presume you refer to people who are "underground". It seems to me that the proper course for them is to present themselves. No doubt their cases will be examined in exactly the same way as those of others. Not to present themselves when warrants are out seems to me a wrong procedure.

You refer to people on parole for six months. I am not aware of anybody being on parole in the real sense of the word. What has happened is that some people who have been released have been asked to send their addresses from time to time. This does not restrict their movements in any way or any other activity.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Meghnad Saha Papers, NMML.
2. For example, on 13 February 1952, the Government of Madras released 106 Communist detenus on parole. On 15 February 1952, the West Bengal Government announced the release of 46 out of the 271 political detenus in the State.
3. See *ante*, pp. 329-330.

4. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi

May 2, 1952

My dear Bidhan,

Thank you for your letter of the 1st May about detenus. As you have carefully examined all the cases of the 78 remaining detenus, the matter might

1. JN Collection.

rest there for the present. I hope, however, that the reason for further detention is not some suspicion which existed a considerable time back. Also that the period of detention for these persons is not a year or more.

We shall have to deal with this matter fully in Parliament here and it would be desirable for our Home Ministry to have full details and reasons for any further detention.

As for the absconders, it is quite clear that in regard to persons charged with a specific offence, as mentioned in your letter, there should be no withdrawal of the warrant. The other cases should be examined from the same point of view as you have examined those of the detenus. That is, if the warrants were issued for reasons which, under existing conditions, are not considered adequate for detention, then the warrants can be withdrawn. I might mention that in Madras Rajaji had issued 83 such warrants. After examination, he has withdrawn 80 and left only three pending. I am passing on your letter and mine to the Home Minister here who will have to deal with this question in Parliament.

Yours,
Jawahar

5. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

New Delhi
May 5, 1952

My dear Sachar,

....In paragraph 14 of your letter, you refer to Communist detenus as well as to those against whom there are warrants. I have already written to you and to all Chief Ministers on this subject.² Generally speaking we should release all detenus unless there are very special reasons connected with violence in regard to any. This rule should also apply to those against whom warrants have been issued. There are so many of these people out that it makes little difference if a few are still detained. Ultimately, however, the discretion must rest with you. If any person who is let out indulges in any violence, action should certainly be taken....

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. See *ante*, pp. 329-331.

6. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi
May 23, 1952

My dear Bidhan,

I received a deputation today from the Communist group in Parliament. The deputation consisted of Hiren Mukerjee,² Renu Chakravarty³ and Bhupesh Gupta.⁴ They spoke to me about the political detenus in West Bengal and gave me a list of fifteen such persons who are Communists. They also mentioned that there were 43 RCPI and other political detenus.

They did not say much about the RCPI and others except that they would like them to be released and they did not expect them to indulge in any undesirable activities. But they were not in a position to give any assurance on their behalf. All they could say was that they felt fairly sure that in the circumstances these RCPI people would behave.

In regard to the fifteen Communist detenus, they pressed for their release and said that they could speak with assurance about them in their future behaviour. Some of them, they said, had been detained, then released, and then rearrested, although they had done nothing new. This referred specially to the case of Promode Das Gupta.⁵ In regard to Rabi Mitra, Kamakshya

1. JN Collection.

2. Hirendra Nath Mukerjee (b. 1907); member, AICC, 1938-39; founder-member, Friends of the Soviet Union, and joint secretary, 1944-52; member, Bengal Provincial Committee of CPI, 1947-49; vice-president, Bengal Provincial Trade Union Congress, 1948-49; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-70; member, National Council, CPI, since 1958; leader, Communist group in Lok Sabha, 1964-67; wrote, among others, *Gandhiji: A study, Himself a True Poem - A study of Rabindranath Tagore* and *The Gentle Colossus: A study of Jawaharlal Nehru*; trustee, Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, since 1964.

3. (1917-1994); actively involved in anti-fascist students movement in Europe; founded the Mahila Atma Raksha Samiti in Bengal during World War II; remained underground, 1948-51; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-67; member, National Council, CPI, 1958-78; became minister in Government of West Bengal, 1969; member, All India Women's Conference and the National Federation of Indian Women, for several years.

4. (1914-1981); joined Anushilan, a revolutionary group, and arrested in 1930 and 1931; detained from 1933 to 1937; studied law in England; joined CPI, 1941; remained underground, 1948-51; arrested in 1951 and detained till April 1952; Member, Rajya Sabha, from 1952 till his death; secretary, National Council, CPI, at the time of his death; editor, *New Age*, 1954-57 and 1966-81.

5. (1910-1982); joined the revolutionary movement, 1924; went underground in 1929; arrested in 1931 and released in 1937; joined CPI, 1938; imprisoned in Hijli jail, 1941-42; became an organizer of Bengal Provincial Committee of CPI, 1943; went underground in 1949 and arrested in 1950; appointed member, National Council, CPI, 1961; joined CPI (Marxist), 1964, chairman of the Left Front committee which formulated the policy framework of the West Bengal Government, 1977-82.

Ghose, Kalipada Dey and Mohd Elias,⁶ they were discharged, then again rearrested. Rabi Mitra, they told me, was very ill.

They pointed out that most of the leading figures of the Communist Party and the rank and file were out of prison or detention and it seemed rather odd that some second-rank or younger people should continue to be kept in detention. If the Communist Party wanted to give trouble, the fact of a few persons being in detention would not come in their way. But they have decided to follow a different policy and those who were in detention would necessarily also follow this new policy.

They referred to the warrants out against some persons also.

I told them that, as I had stated previously, it was our policy not to keep any person in detention, unless there were strong reasons against any particular individual. We would like indeed to release everybody. Ultimately the decision in regard to individual cases must be taken by the State Government concerned. We would not come in the way of the exercise of this discretion by the State Government. So far as we knew, the State Governments concerned were also anxious to release as many people as possible. In fact they had released a very large number during the past month or two.

I told them that all I could do was to pass on their request to the West Bengal Government and leave it to them to decide.

I do not know if your Government has finished the examination of all remaining cases. About the RCPI the position appears to be different and, according to the report you received, they even now declare their intention of resorting to violence. If this is so, then it is obviously difficult to release them.

The so-called Resistance Group of Three are, I presume, going to be tried for their connection with the raid on Jessop's factory.

There remain the fifteen or so Communists. I suppose you have examined or are examining their cases. Generally speaking the argument that 90 or 95 per cent of Communists have been released and there is no particular point in keeping a few others, has force. Whether these people are detained or not is not likely to make too much difference. Insofar as any one has been discharged by a Court of Law and then again arrested and detained, his case for release would appear to be stronger, unless he did something new after his release.

If it is a fact that Rabi Mitra is very ill in prison, then that should be an additional reason for reconsideration.

I was told that the charges against many of these persons are very peculiar. Thus some are charged with certain activities during the British regime.

6. Mohammed Elias (d. 1990); general secretary and president, West Bengal Trade Union Congress, for several years; vice-president, All India Trade Union Congress; Member, Lok Sabha, 1957-67.

However good or bad those charges might be, we can hardly take into consideration pre-Independence activities. Other charges were said to be flimsy and even where some charge was put forward it had no basis and was just an allegation with no proof at all. This is what the delegation told me.

When I was in Calcutta, some charges were shown to me. They did appear to me to be very flimsy. I do not remember to whom they applied. Probably those persons have been released.

I am forwarding this report of my interview to you for your information. It is clear that for sometime at least we have to fight the Communists in a different way just as they have adopted different tactics. We have to adjust ourselves to this. I am not sure if our police have carried out this mental adjustment. I am sometimes worried at the thought that they still function rather in the old pre-Independence way.

The delegation told me also that of the detenus that were released, some went back to their previous posts in the Railways, the P & T, and the Telephone Department and even the Secretariat, but some others were not taken back. It appears that while they were in detention they were on some kind of half pay. I told the delegation that I could do nothing in this matter and that each case had to be judged on its merit. I have no desire to push out any one from employment but we could hardly take back persons who are likely to give much trouble.

Yours,
Jawahar

7. Policy towards the Communists¹

I sent you a note² today reminding you of the Home Minister's note in regard to passports and our general approach to the Communist Party. I have now got this file containing these various notes and I have read them carefully.

2. Briefly, I agree with the Minister for Home Affairs, that is to say, that out policy in regard to passports and visas should be that we normally grant them and we refuse them only in exceptional cases and for exceptional grounds.

3. This does involve a change in the policy thus far pursued, though this

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 26 May 1952. JN Collection.

2. Not available.

change may be largely one of emphasis. In effect we examine each doubtful case and decide about it on its individual merits. Previously there was a tendency to refuse passports to members of the Communist Party and its allied organizations.

4. I have read Shri Rajagopalachari's note. I regret I am unable to agree with some of his conclusions, even accepting some of his premises. I think that it is not possible for us, situated as we are, to suppress communism by force. Force has to be used when violence is resorted to or is prepared for. But the extension of force beyond this is likely to have effects contrary to those intended. The Home Minister gives the example of Calcutta. It is a good example. I am quite sure that our lack of success in the elections in the Telengana area as well as in parts of Malabar and Travancore was due to an excess of force on Government side and a lack of other methods.

5. It may be difficult to decide in any particular case when to use force and when not to. But the use of force inevitably leads to the use of more force till one of two results is achieved: (1) a stalemate between two rival forces or two rival methods of violence and (2) the possible complete suppression of the rebel force.

6. The second seldom happens and if it does happen in a particular area outwardly, it leaves such bitter memories behind that the remedy is almost as bad as the disease. The first result discredits Government very greatly and ultimately weakens it because it shows that Government cannot adequately deal with a particular situation. On a large scale this has happened in Malaya where in spite of every kind of force employed by Government, it has failed to deal with the situation. This is so for two reasons: (1) the general body of the public (which is not Communist) rather sympathizes with the Communists and (2) too much force overshoots its mark and creates this sympathy in the public for the rebel force.

7. It is difficult and not very helpful to draw parallels because the situation in India is *sui generis* and has to be dealt with by itself.

8. The result of the elections and the coming in of a considerable number of Communists in Parliament and State Assemblies has naturally altered the situation greatly. If properly dealt with, I see no particular reason for alarm. If we mishandle the situation, we drive large numbers of others towards the Communists. The real danger always is not of some more persons becoming indoctrinated by communism, but the general mass becoming favourable and friendly to them. It is this mass opinion that counts in the end, more specially in a democracy. Our actions therefore should be judged from the point of view of influencing this middle opinion. That opinion is of course largely influenced by our positive work for amelioration. But it is also influenced by the attitude we may adopt towards more or less rebel parties like the Communists. It must be remembered that it is not so long ago that the Congress,

though not violent, was a rebel party. Many Congressmen therefore react rather strongly to excessive police measures. In this they represent the general public.

9. May I point out that Dr Katju is not quite correct when he says that if the British Government refuses a passport for political reasons, the matter seldom gains publicity? This is not so. Almost every refusal of a passport gains quite enough publicity in England from a number of periodicals such as the *New Statesman* which probably has more influence among the middle-classes in England than any other newspaper or periodical.

10. It is always a little difficult to adopt a carefully balanced policy. To leave all doors open all the time to every kind of activity or entry or exit in accordance with democratic tradition may very well lead to dangerous situations. To try to close all doors has a certain virtue in it, but I am convinced that it leads to even more dangerous consequences from the point of public opinion. To follow this latter policy one will have to go further and further towards some kind of authoritarianism which itself will make the Government exceedingly unpopular. Even our friends will rebel against it.

11. It must be remembered that communism is something which force cannot combat and doors cannot keep away. It is a creed which develops sometimes into a passion. It has the force of a new faith. It has in it something which most intelligent and sensitive persons admire and believe in. It has also something in it which is thoroughly bad and which corrupts and degrades a human being. It thus depends on which side of it one looks at. Everyone knows that some of the finest types of human beings today in the world have been attracted towards communism. It is rather foolish therefore for persons to run down the whole ideology of communism without probably even understanding it because in doing so they run down the good which appeals to many people. The right approach therefore is to recognize the good and try to separate the bad. The bad is evident enough if pointed out. But a general condemnation confuses the issue and covers up the bad.

12. I think we may take it for granted that no assurance which the Communist Party or individual Communists might give about future behaviour can be relied upon. If circumstances lead them to think that violence and rebellion are desirable in the interests of communism, I have little doubt they will indulge in them. Therefore it is not a question of placing faith in their assurances but rather our trying to tie them up with their assurances so that when they fall away from them we can use that to combat them. We should be wide awake but we should always remember that we have to gain the goodwill of the mass of the people in any action that we might undertake.

13. It is for this reason that we have adopted a general policy of releasing detenus, even though we know that there are risks involved in this. We have said that as a policy we want to release all of them except such as for special

and individual reasons should not be released. This general approach should be applied to other matters too, such as the issue of passports.

14. It must be remembered that an evergrowing number of Americans and other foreigners are entering India. There is little doubt that a fair number of them indulge in undesirable activities. They cannot, in the nature of things, rouse up mass passions or create revolutionary situations. But they can harm us in many ways. We take the risk except on very special cases. When such large numbers of other foreigners come to India and large numbers of Indians go to their countries, it becomes even more difficult to restrict the coming from or the going to Communist countries. It has an effect on our foreign policy also.

15. Whatever course we adopt, there are risks. It is better to take a risk by keeping as far as possible to the democratic tradition and thereby keeping the public goodwill than the other risk.

16. Please send a copy of this note to the Minister for Home Affairs.

8. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi
May 28, 1952

My dear Bidhan,

Thank you for your letter of May 27th about detenus.

I had sent you my note of the interview with the Communist Party members² for your information so that you might know what was happening here. I gave them no undertaking at all except what I have said in public. I have repeatedly stated that our general policy is of release subject to individual cases which we might decide otherwise, and that the discretion lay with the State Government.

I do not attach very much importance to the assurance given by the CP people about their future behaviour. But from the facts I imagine they will behave in the sense that they will not indulge in violent activities for some time. Later they might change their policy. My whole approach is one of the correct tactics to meet the situation.

What you say about the RCPI certainly justifies your detaining them. So also the Resistance Group.

1. JN Collection.

2. See *ante*, pp. 335-337.

As regards re-employment, that is entirely a question to be decided in each individual case.

Yours,
Jawahar

9. The Telengana and Other Prisoners¹

Four members of the Communist Party, who are Members of Parliament, came to see me today. They spoke chiefly about the Telengana prisoners. They repeated the usual arguments and I gave them the usual replies. I told them that our general policy was one of release except in special cases, insofar as detenus were concerned. A large number had been released in Hyderabad and the other cases were no doubt being examined. This would apply to undertrials also, unless the matter had proceeded rather far in the courts. As for the persons convicted, I could hold out no hope to them, as the convictions were for very serious offences. Later perhaps, in the normal course, the matter might be considered.

2. So far as the warrants were concerned, the people involved will be treated in the same way. That is, we would try to release as many people as possible, but could give no assurance about individuals.

3. They told me that it was well-known that they had given up their previous policy. They were not there to bargain but to follow the new policy and there was no difference between them and some of those who were in prison. As for surrendering arms, they were perfectly prepared to do so. But naturally they were apprehensive of the persons who surrendered arms being arrested. They did not mind what mechanism was adopted in dealing with these matters provided there was release at the end of it.

4. They asked me what I would advise those people who were underground today. I said that my advice was quite clear. They should come out and deliver up their arms. Their cases would be considered in line with our general policy. We had no desire to be vindictive, but we could give no assurance about individuals. Each case would have to be examined and wherever possible we would release them. I asked them if they could give me the instance of any Government which would treat them more generously after all that had happened in Telengana.

1. Note to the Minister for Home Affairs and States, 29 May 1952. JN Collection.

5. They asked me if the Hyderabad Government would tell them the names of the persons against whom there were warrants and indicate the charges. I said that this was for the Hyderabad Government to decide. I did not know anything about individual cases.

6. They then mentioned that there were a number of conspiracy cases in Madras, some in the sessions courts and some in appeal in the High Court. They mentioned the Trichinopoly Conspiracy Case, the Ramnad Conspiracy Case, the Tinnevely Conspiracy Case and the Salem Conspiracy Case.²

7. I pointed out to them that they could not expect us to do anything in these cases which were based on serious charges and which were in process of trial.

8. They admitted the difficulty and suggested that where the cases had not advanced far, they might be withdrawn.

9. They mentioned the Salem Jail Riot Case. The incident had occurred in February 1950 and twenty-three persons had been killed. There had been a judicial enquiry, but the report of this enquiry had not yet been published. All prisoners in this case were treated as C class prisoners and kept locked up for the whole twenty-four hours. This had continued for about a year. The treatment was very bad and many deaths had occurred because of it. This was sheer vindictiveness.

10. They suggested that the prisoners might be kept in prisons of their home districts so that they could meet their relatives.

11. They referred to some cases going on in Ballia in UP, in which 100 persons were involved.³

12. They referred also to six detenus in Bombay who had come out to work during election time and had been arrested and detained.

13. They mentioned the case of C.A. Balan of Coimbatore who had been sentenced to death.⁴ This sentence had been confirmed by the Madras High Court.

14. Lastly, they mentioned that many railway workers had lost their posts on release from detention. There were about 300 cases.

15. I said nothing about these various cases and merely listened to them.

2. The four conspiracy cases, involving about 500 persons and instituted at the instance of the Madras Government in 1950, implicated some Communist leaders of Tamil Nadu, several among whom had been elected to the Legislative Assembly.

3. One of the cases involved the trial of 42 persons, including some peasant leaders of Ballia, Azamgarh and Ghazipur, for allegedly attacking on 30 March 1950 the house of Ramkuwar Singh, a zamindar of Chhichhor, at the behest of the leaders of the CPI. According to the prosecution, the zamindar was helping the police in suppressing the lawless activities of the Communists.

4. Balan, a trade union leader, was subsequently released. He died in 1994.

10. To A.K. Gopalan¹

New Delhi

July 2, 1952

Dear Gopalan,²

I have received your letter of July 2nd.

Of the incidents in the House that you mention, I was present at one of them and heard about the other. I do not quite know what you expect me to do when statements are made by Members in the House from what is said to be their personal experience. I cannot deny them or confirm them. One of them you contradicted.

You refer to some incidents in Provincial Assemblies, specially what the Chief Minister of Hyderabad said. You have hardly even taken the trouble to deny this clearly. I presume the Chief Minister speaks from knowledge and information received. Indeed we have received information independently to that effect.

You go on to say that you cannot escape the conclusion that all these outbursts have a common origin in the Congress High Command. If that is the kind of irresponsible statement that you can make, it is a little difficult for me to deal with the points you have raised. It appears to me that your letter is hardly written to me with the object of eliciting a reply. Probably you have written it in order to give it some kind of publicity. I am not unacquainted with the methods of so-called publicity by the Communist Party of India and I have seldom come across a greater bunch of falsehoods and distortions of the truth than those indulged in by members of the Communist Party in this country. For my part I do not wish to have any personal attacks, distortions of the truth or even exaggerations, in the House or outside. If any Congress Members indulged in this kind of thing at any time, I draw their attention to it.

The difficulty apparently is that some members of the Communist Party have different standards to judge people by, as they have different standards to judge countries by.

You refer to Hyderabad. It does not strike you as very extraordinary that a number of people belonging to your Party should carry about unlicensed arms, which they have used in the past on a large scale for improper purposes, and claim amnesty. To me that position appears to be very odd.

It is not our policy to run down any country or Government, whether we agree with it or not. Apparently your Party's policy chiefly consists in running down Governments and peoples of which you do not approve. It is the general

1. File No. 32(195)/49-PMS.

2. Leader of the Communist Party in Parliament at this time.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

belief in India and elsewhere, and there is considerable evidence to confirm it, that the policy of your Party is directed from outside. If Congress Members or others refer to this, I do not understand why you should object.

You refer to the "policy of ruthless suppression of the entire democratic movement." I do not quite know which democratic movement you refer to because it cannot be the Communist movement which is certainly not democratic, whatever else it may be. As for the policy of ruthless suppression, this is a strange way of describing the generous treatment and very wide latitude that Government is giving to the Communist Party in this country, in spite of their professed aims and policies.

I am grateful to you for throwing some light on history. Being a student of history myself, I had not interpreted it in the sense you do.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

THE COMMUNISTS AND THE SOCIALISTS

II. The Socialists

1. To Jayaprakash Narayan¹

New Delhi
May 27, 1952

My dear Jayaprakash,

Thank you for your letter of the 25th May. This reply will probably not reach you before you come here. I am therefore sending it to your Delhi address. I shall fix up some time to meet you on the 29th May when you are here and will let you know by telephone.

I did not bring in what Norman Thomas said in order to blame or criticize but merely to suggest the origin of a tale.²

You refer to what Harris Wofford wrote to Lohia about someone of our Embassy saying something to him.³ Obviously I can say nothing about this as no name is mentioned and I can make no enquiries about it. It is conceivable that some young man associated with our Embassy, and there are many of them, might have made a foolish remark. I have not heard of this before.

I have not yet received Harris Wofford's book⁴ which you have sent.

Lohia's letter, a copy of which you have sent to me, is so unbalanced that it hardly needs a reply. He refers to four criticisms which he has apparently made of me.⁵ I had not heard of any one of these previously either from Lohia or from anyone else. The fourth of these points relates to the Prime Minister's Relief Fund. This criticism too I had not heard previously from anyone. The Fund is not a Government Fund although a number of Government

1. JN Collection.
2. Jayaprakash Narayan wrote that Rammanohar Lohia's visit to the United States soon after suggestions made in India by Norman Thomas, an American socialist, of an international fund for aiding the socialist movement in India was no ground for some people believing that the Socialist Party had accepted American money, as deduced by Nehru in a letter to him on 14 February 1952 (See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 17, pp. 164-166). He added that Thomas had been told that the Party would not accept any such aid and subsequently Lohia had also written to the Socialist International declining their offer.
3. Wofford, one of the sponsors of Lohia's American trip, wrote on 5 November 1951 that someone from the Indian Embassy in Washington had told him authoritatively about the Embassy being informed by the US Federal Bureau of Investigation that Lohia had got 100,000 dollars.
4. It was a booklet entitled, *Lohia and America Meet*.
5. On 1 March 1952, Lohia stated that he had made the following criticisms : (1) To have mounted the funeral carriage of Mahatma Gandhi was irreverence rarely suffered by a nation; (2) the slogan, to work hard in order to produce wealth, was ineffectual in the absence of adequate technological support; (3) food deficit of eight million tons had been caused by wrong agricultural policies; and (4) the Prime Minister's Relief Fund should be subject to Government or parliamentary audit instead of being a matter of personal discretion.

people, like the Finance Minister, are among the members of the Board of Trustees. The whole purpose of this Fund is to afford quick and immediate relief where needed, without the delays involved in Government routines.

You say that I have done harm to socialism.⁶ I am no judge of that. But I think that I have never said a word against socialism. Rarely in the course of the election addresses I referred to the Socialist Party. This too was chiefly in connection with their foreign policy and their alliances in India. I do not pretend to be a socialist in any formal sense of the word but surely socialism is not the monopoly of any particular group.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

6. Jayaprakash Narayan wrote, "You have on occasions criticized all extant forms of socialist thought and practice, but I have searched in vain in your recent writings and speeches for your own picture of socialism.... If you continue to call yourself a socialist without making any effort to give form to your faith, much less to practise it, are you not, to put it mildly, misleading the people?"

1. To K.N. Katju¹

New Delhi
June 21, 1952

My dear Kailas Nath,

I do not like the gradual, and indeed sometimes rather rapid, development of communal trends in Delhi. Having received almost a knock-out blow in the elections,² they lay low. Latterly they have raised their head again on two issues—the communal marriage issue³ and Kashmir. I understand that everything is being got ready for the observance on the 26th of this month of what is called “Raj Sharma Day” and on the 29th as “Kashmir Day”.⁴ Apart from violent speeches and attacks on Shaikh Abdullah and others, it has even been suggested that an effigy of Shaikh Sahib should be burnt.

All this has of course little to do with either the communal marriage or with Kashmir. Those are pretexts to gain a hold over the people and to discredit Government. In fact, many of these persons, who are such enthusiasts for Kashmir, would not mind in the least if Kashmir left India, because it is said that that would discredit our Government and thereby raise the prestige of the communal parties like the RSS, Jan Sangh and the Hindu Mahasabha.

What worries me is the way some of our officers react to all this. There is a strong communal element in them and they are easily influenced. Whenever a trouble occurs, some of these communal-minded officers do not act properly. It is even thought by some of them that they should encourage the RSS and the Hindu Mahasabha, so that they might fight the Communists.

All this is rather dangerous nonsense. I prefer the Communists any day to the communalists. But there is no question of preferring this or that. So far as Delhi is concerned, the real danger with far-reaching consequences comes from the communalists and I think it should be very clearly understood by all concerned that any slackness in this matter will be strongly disapproved.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.

2. The Hindu Mahasabha, the Jan Sangh and the Ram Rajya Parishad secured 4, 3 and 3 seats each respectively out of the 30, 94 and 57 seats they contested for the House of the People. In the State Assemblies, they won 20, 35 and 32 seats respectively out of the 206, 732 and 304 seats contested by them. The Akali Dal won 4 seats in the House of the People and 32 Assembly seats.

3. See *ante*, p. 211.

4. The Praja Parishad decided to observe 29 June as a protest day against the decision of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly to adopt a separate flag for the State and to terminate the hereditary rulership there.

2. Communal Writings in the Press¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: ... Now, I have got one or two things to tell you. That is, here in Delhi, not only in Delhi but in other places also, there has been quite a spate of writings in some newspapers—a limited number—which is pretty bad. Now, I want to make it perfectly clear that I am not complaining about the Indian Press as a whole at all, but the very limited number of papers in Delhi—mostly Hindi and Urdu, and there are some English papers too. It is just amazing to what lengths they have gone over this communal question, bringing in personalities and saying the most fantastic and objectionable things.² Now, I will tell you something without mentioning names. The editor of a newspaper who was writing in a fairly balanced manner so far suddenly started writing all sorts of things. Now, he was asked, not by us, but a friend, rather unofficially: What is this you are doing? You were alright two days ago; what has happened to you? And he said: Don't you see my paper is suffering? Every other fellow is writing such things and getting a bigger circulation day by day. Do you expect me to suffer? I have to follow suit.

Question : Is that *Forum*?

JN : I am talking about Delhi papers. What are we going to do about this? I would suggest to you and to all newspapermen in India that it is very dangerous; it brings down others also. One must build up a healthy body of opinion, more especially those who are responsible men in newspapers. On the one hand, you do not want Government to interfere; on the other hand, a very serious situation may be created, and is created by some newspapers indulging in this vicious abuse and one cannot go to law courts with these cases. We do not know how to deal with these except to leave it to you to try to control the

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 21 June 1952. PIB. For other parts of the press conference, see pp. 36-38, 76-80, 144-145, 169-170, 405-410, 466-467, 476-477, 515, 542-544 and 580-582.
2. Replying to Nehru's letter of 30 June about scurrilous articles in the press in the wake of the marriage of Sikandar Bakht and Raj Sharma, K.N. Katju observed on 1 July that local newspapers and news sheets were "behaving wickedly in this matter." He noted that *Milap* was "really awful" and *Pratap* "even worse". Earlier, A.K. Azad, taking exception to "the unusual publicity" given to the marriage by Subhadra Joshi, General Secretary, Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee, however, wrote to Nehru on 9 June: "The dirty linen of Delhi Congress is being washed in public. The worst kind of filth has been thrown at Subhadra Joshi's private life. Brahm Prakash too has been smeared."

situation and disapprove of this kind of thing.³ It is hardly a political matter. Political difference, political criticism is one thing; but once you enter this communal field, you enter into the most vicious field of personal abuse.

Q : Was it so much a communal issue or a political one. I think you are referring to that marriage issue ?

JN : It is always there to some extent but because of the marriage issue it became much worse. The Administration of the State was dragged into the picture and attempts were made to discredit the Administration or certain groups or parties.

Then there is another thing. I was most amazed to read about two days ago—naturally I do not read all the papers in India and the reading of some particularly is not very agreeable to me, but sometimes cuttings are put up to me—and I was astonished to read in a weekly from Bombay something about some deep crisis in the Cabinet and the other headline was “Deshmukh-Kidwai duel, Cabinet crisis.” I was amazed. I have not heard anything of the kind, nor felt it nor seen it. Really I can tell you, I can be absolutely frank with you in this matter, that I have not had a Cabinet in the last five years which has worked more smoothly and harmoniously than the present Cabinet which is functioning today. Of course all have their own points of view, but there is a greater sense of harmonious working in this present Cabinet than at any time in the last five years. Even in previous years normally there was no question of any lack of harmony. Sometimes if there was a difference, the members left; that was a different matter. Anyhow we are getting on very well together and all these stories are without foundation.

3. Katju wrote to Nehru on 1 July that he would “consider whether it would not be worthwhile inserting a section in the Penal Code making such writings a distinct offence.... As for advertisements, of course we should not encourage this kind of gutter press by any Government help, and so far as Delhi is concerned, I am taking immediate steps. On a wider scale the question is being examined further.”

SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES**I. The Harijans**

SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

1. To B. Ramakrishna Rao¹

New Delhi
July 12, 1952

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,

I hope that the visit of Gulzarilal Nanda and R.K. Patil² has proved helpful in finalizing your proposed land legislation.

I am told that when a considerable number of Muslims left their lands in Telengana, these lands were given by the Communists to Harijans. These Harijans have now been dispossessed of these lands. This may be legally correct but the case of the Harijans does require careful and rather special treatment. Landless labour all over India has become a big problem. If there are unoccupied lands in Telengana they might well be given under some terms to Harijans. Probably it was these Scheduled Caste people, hungry for land, that helped the Communists in Telengana.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. He was Member, Planning Commission, at this time.

SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES**II. The Tribals**

1. To Jairamdas Doulatram¹

Camp: "The Retreat"

Mashobra

April 4, 1952

My dear Jairamdas,²

I have now read carefully your letter of March 20th.

It is quite clear that there is a considerable difference in your position as Governor vis-a-vis the Assam State and as Agent to the Central Government for the North-East Frontier Agency. The responsibility for the Agency area rests with the Central Government and in view of certain developments across the frontier this responsibility has become all the greater. Apart from this, the responsibility for the Tribal Areas also is largely that of the Central Government though in many places it is shared with the State Government. As I wrote to Medhi³ sometime ago (I sent you a copy of the letter⁴) we are much concerned about these tribal tracts and propose to give a great deal of thought to the policy to be pursued there. They cannot be treated just as outlying regions. They want special policies and special care. We have to help them to develop, but to develop on their own lines. They must not have a feeling of any imposition or of any suppression of their own way of life.

Therefore it is quite clear that we cannot hand over these areas to the Assam Government. At the same time it is right and natural that the Assam Government should be kept in close touch with happenings there, apart from military developments which have to be kept secret. The whole matter requires tactful handling. To tell the Assam Government that they must not interfere in any way, would be rather an offensive way of approach. But we have to tell them, as politely and cooperatively as possible, that final decisions must rest with the Central Government. It is better for this to be done by the Central Government directly rather than by the Governor.

The Governor in Assam has dual functions, just as the old Governor in the North-West Frontier Province used to have dual functions. These dual functions sometimes overlap and sometimes come into slight conflict with each other. But they need not necessarily do so if the situation is handled with tact.

I have indicated previously that officers dealing with the tribal people have to be chosen with extreme care; just as the average Assamese officer might not be suitable, the average ICS officer is usually equally unsuitable. In

1. JN Collection.

2. Governor of Assam at this time.

3. Bisnuram Medhi, Chief Minister of Assam at this time.

4. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 17, pp. 385-386.

effect, we have to build up some kind of a special cadre. Apart from general policies involved, the approach has to be most sympathetic and friendly. The test of an officer is, how far he gains popularity among the tribes.

You refer to a case of some teachers having misbehaved with the tribal girls. I agree with you that we should be firm in such matters anywhere, more specially in tribal areas.

You refer to some complaints about the teaching of Hindu religion in schools. I am quite clear that no religion should be imposed in our schools on these people. Certainly festivals can be observed. Even there no festival should be imposed upon them. Generally speaking tribal festivals should be observed. Tribal people are much more festival-minded and given to dancing and singing than others of the plains. This should be encouraged. The whole point is that the tribal people should feel that they are not under any foreign domination. The movement for independence among the Nagas is entirely based on the assumption that Indians are foreigners ruling over the tribes. Our policy must be aimed at removing this impression.

About the medium of instruction, I think it would certainly be worthwhile to encourage the tribal languages. It may be that we cannot go far in these languages but the mere fact of our trying to encourage them will be greatly welcomed by the tribal folk and produce a friendly atmosphere. The Russians, after the Soviet Revolution, deliberately encouraged every tribal language and thus gained the goodwill of the tribes. They even went so far as to develop new alphabets for these tribal languages.

In addition to the tribal languages, Assamese and Hindi will have to be taught.

I see no objection whatever to Tibetan being taught in areas where it is used by the people. I do not see why the Education Department objected to it.

I therefore agree with the view you have expressed in your letter to the effect that elementary education should be in the tribal or the local language, including Tibetan where necessary, and that Assamese and Hindi might be taught as the children grow up. Effort should be made to prepare simple textbooks in the tribal languages.

As you say in your letter, the Chinese have opened schools to teach Tibetan on the other side of the border. We should learn from them.

I would very much like to visit the tribal areas and now that you are having a landing place built at Ziro I shall some day come there. But I cannot say when.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To Bisnuram Medhi¹

Camp: "The Retreat"

Mashobra

April 4, 1952

My dear Medhi,

You will remember writing to me about some difficulties you had in regard to the administration of the Tribal Areas under the North-East Frontier Agency. I sent you a reply² pointing out the policy we have to pursue.

I should like to repeat this briefly. The tribal areas in India, more specially the areas in the North-East of Assam and in parts of Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa, are looked on by us as special areas deserving very special consideration. Our objective there is to promote the progress of the tribal folk without in any way interfering with their customs or way of living and without in any way making them feel that we are imposing anything upon them. That is the right approach anyhow. Recent events have made this policy the only feasible political approach. Otherwise, the tribal people will be alienated from us and will think of themselves more and more as a separate people. The whole of the Zapu Phizo movement³ derives from this feeling of separation. In the Jharkhand area of Bihar and in similar areas of Orissa, there is the same feeling growing.⁴ It is a dangerous drift, not because it can give us direct trouble but because it will lead to anti-social elements becoming strong.

The Russians after the Soviet Revolution paid very special attention to their tribal people and did not interfere with their language, customs, or way of life. In fact they went out of their way to develop the tribal languages, etc. Thus they won the goodwill of the tribal folk. The Chinese today, on the other side of our border in Tibet, are putting up Tibetan schools for the Tibetans, and not interfering with their ways.

We have to follow more or less the same policy, that is, consider tribal questions from the tribal point of view. These have been our instructions to

1. JN Collection.

2. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 17, pp. 385-386.

3. The movement led by Zapu Phizo aimed at the formation of Nagaland as an independent sovereign state. The Naga National Council conducted a plebiscite throughout Nagaland in 1951 the verdict of which, the Council claimed, was for the constitution of Nagaland as a separate sovereign state.

4. The Jharkhand movement dates back to 1928 when Unnati Samaj, a political wing of the Christian Tribals' Association, petitioned the Simon Commission to constitute a tribal state in eastern India. The Jharkhand Party, which became the largest Opposition party in Bihar with 32 legislators following the 1952 assembly elections, stood for a separate state comprising the districts of Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Manbhum, Singhbhum and Palamau and the Santhal Parganas in the Chhota Nagpur region.

our Governors and before very long we shall have to meet in Delhi to lay down more precise policies. The carrying out of these policies demand very special men who have experience of tribal affairs and who are very sympathetic to those people. The test of the success of an officer is how far he is popular with the tribal folk. We have in fact to win these tribal people over to our side. We are thinking in terms of a special cadre of officers trained for this purpose.

In Assam an additional difficulty arises due to the nearness of the frontier and of the developments that have taken place there. We have to face a military problem in addition to political and cultural problems. For this reason we sent a Military Mission sometime ago which made various suggestions. It is inevitable, therefore, that the Central Government should have direct responsibility for these tribal areas in the north-east. We should like of course that responsibility to be discharged, wherever possible, in cooperation with or consultation with the Assam Government. In military matters, which have to be kept top secret, this may not always be possible. Nor is it feasible for day-to-day affairs. But otherwise it is highly desirable for the Assam Government to be kept in touch and consulted wherever necessary.

These are the instructions to our Governor in Assam and, so far as I know, he has adhered to that strictly. I think he has done very good work by his tours and otherwise in the Tribal Areas. He has a dual function—as Constitutional Governor for the State of Assam and as Central Government's Agent for the NEF Agency. Naturally, there might be some overlapping sometimes or some possibility of friction, though this can be avoided if people are tactful and intelligent.

The point is, two major considerations have always to be borne in mind: (1) military considerations in regard to the frontier and (2) the special policy to be pursued in regard to the tribal people. Any attempt to impose ourselves on them is doomed to failure. Any attempt therefore to merge them in a way with Assam will fail till the proper time comes for it.

There is the question of language and medium of instruction for primary schools in the tribal areas. I am quite clear that the language should be the tribal language or Tibetan as the case may be. Assamese and Hindi should come in at a later stage. This is the correct approach all over the world today. Having regard to our north-eastern problems it is obviously the correct approach there also.

We have been informed that there was some trouble in Centrally Administrated Areas with some teachers who were alleged to have misbehaved with the tribal girls. This kind of thing has to be rigorously dealt with anywhere, more specially in the tribes because it may have unfortunate consequences.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Medium of Instruction for North-Eastern Tribals¹

The Governor of Assam, who functions as the Agent of the Central Government for the North-East Frontier Agency, has written to me about the medium of instruction for the tribal folk in that area. I understand that our Education Department was not agreeable to the tribal languages being used as such media and that therefore Hindi or Assamese was used. In some places the people use Tibetan and wanted Tibetan to be taught in the schools.

2. I think that the medium of instruction in the primary schools in these areas should be the principal tribal language used there. Where Tibetan is used, this should be the medium. This will not only help in the educational process but will be greatly appreciated by the tribal folk. To impose Hindi and Assamese on them right at the beginning would be unfortunate and gives rise to resentment.

3. There is a considerable feeling in the tribal folk that they are being dominated over by us. Indeed there is a movement of independence among the Nagas. We have therefore to avoid any kind of imposition and to allow them to develop according to their own genius.

4. As a matter of fact, the Chinese have opened Tibetan schools across the border. Tibetan-speaking people on our side very naturally claim Tibetan schools and we should provide them.

5. Both from the cultural and political points of view, it seems necessary and desirable that the tribal languages should be encouraged and should be the media of instruction in the primary schools. At later stage Assamese and Hindi can come in. This means that we should make a special effort to prepare some simple text-books for primary schools in the tribal languages. The Governor of Assam has done something in this matter.

6. I hope your Ministry will adopt a policy in this matter which will be on the general lines indicated above.

7. I might mention that the Russians after the Soviet Revolution encouraged their tribal languages very considerably and thereby gained the goodwill of the tribal folk.

1. Note to the Union Minister for Education, Mashobra, 4 April 1952. JN Collection.

4. Script for North-Eastern Tribals¹

You were good enough to write a note to me about the languages to be taught in the tribal areas in the North-East Frontier Agency. You expressed your full agreement with the policy I suggested but were in some doubt about the script.

2. I think in this matter of script also we should abide by the local sentiment, even though this might cause some difficulty. We should consult representatives of the local population pointing out the pros and cons. If they accept the Roman script, well and good. If they want the Tibetan script, as I think they are likely to do, then we should teach the Tibetan script. We must remember that they are living on the borders of Tibet and they want to deal with Tibet. They cannot do so in the Roman script. It is natural therefore for them to want to learn the Tibetan script.

1. Note to the Union Minister for Education, 9 April 1952. JN Collection.

5. To Bisnuram Medhi¹

New Delhi
April 21st, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

Thank you for your letters of April 18th and 19th. I have noted what you have said about Shri Jairamdas Doulatram and we shall proceed accordingly.

I have already written to you at some length about our policy in regard to the tribal areas.² There is no question of our appeasing men like Zapu Phizo but our policy is definitely aimed at creating a feeling of self-confidence and progress in the minds of the tribal people.

I do not know anything about particular appointments in the NEF Agency that you refer to. Assamese officers should certainly be appointed but any appointments in the tribal areas must be considered chiefly from the point of view of the special capacity of the persons concerned to deal with the tribes. I do not know to which particular appointment you refer. So far as senior engineers are concerned, we have not ever thought of them in provincial terms. We have taken the best we have. At the present moment most of our best

1. JN Collection.

2. See *ante*, pp. 363-364.

engineers apparently come from the Punjab and Madras and they are spread out all over India.

I am very glad to learn of the inauguration of the Garo Hills District Council.³ I hope this will usher in a new era in the Garo Hills.

The railway conference has just been held here⁴ and I believe that all aspects of the question were fully considered. You will appreciate that in such a matter efficiency and good service to the public are the main criteria. A final decision has not yet been made about some matters but will no doubt be made soon. Unfortunately provincial considerations played some part in the arguments. I am sure that the fullest consideration must have been given to arguments advanced by your representatives.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The Garo Hills District Council, the first among five autonomous councils formed under the provisions of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution, was inaugurated by Bisnuram Medhi at Tura on 14 April 1952. The district councils were entrusted with wide powers for local administration.
4. See *ante*, pp. 106-107.

6. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

Camp: Kalimpong
April 29, 1952

My dear Rajaji,

You will forgive me, I hope, for writing to you about a matter which might not appear very important. You are busy and so I am. Nevertheless, I am trying to find some time to write this to you from Kalimpong, because the matter does interest me.

2. For some time past I have been vaguely interested in the Todas,² though I do not know much about them. Today I met Prince Peter of Greece (I might mention that I am not an admirer of his politics or of what might be his present activities). He spoke to me about the Todas, gave a monograph he has written on the subject which has been published by the Madras Government Museum, and also showed me some papers in relation to them. This brought the Todas back to my mind and, in spite of a multitude of problems here in

1. File No. 33(1)/56-57-PMS.
2. A matrilineal, polyandrous tribe of the Nilgiri hills mainly consisting of buffalo herdsmen and dairymen.

this frontier area, I felt that I or rather we owe a certain debt to them which I must discharge, to begin with, at least by writing to you. I know that a number of reports have been sent to the Government of Madras on this subject. With what result, I do not know.

3. I understand that the Todas number only about 500 persons or so. They represent, perhaps, the most ancient stage of human civilization. We cannot save them ultimately if they have to die out. But I think it is highly desirable for us to try to prevent this slow death of an ancient race. We should try to help them to preserve themselves. Many things can be done for this and I should have thought that, in this matter, we might follow the example of the American Government in preserving some land and giving protection in other ways to the Red Indians (after having tried to exterminate them in the early years). Land appears to be the most important demand. Not fresh land, but the land which they have previously held and where they still have their ancient temples.

4. I am told that they are being driven out from part of this land, as this land is going to be given to political prisoners. I have every sympathy with the political prisoners, but I confess that I do not understand why the poor Todas should be made to suffer in order to reward political prisoners.³ I should have thought that there were many people possessing the good things of the world,⁴ including large areas of land, who could spare their land more easily for other purposes. In any event, why should the Todas be deprived of their particular piece of land which they have occupied from immemorial times and where their temples are situated. It is not even good enough to give them other land, because that will not have any tradition or sentiment attached to it. Perhaps, the land in the Nilgiris is of special value, but financial considerations should not outweigh other and more human considerations.

5. I have been given a large file on this subject which contains correspondence. I shall not go into details now, but, if you so wish it, I can send these details to you. They are in representations and memorials addressed to the Governor of Madras and the Governor-General of India.

6. From these papers I find that the possible number of these Todas is 625 of whom 141 are Christians. The total male members, both Christian and non-Christian, are 337.⁴

3. Rajagopalachari replied on 18 June that no land was ever taken away from the Todas; much less was it given to any political sufferer. Out of about 2,949 acres of forest and waste lands in the Nilgiri district, known as "Toda patta" lands, 154 acres under cultivation were assigned to the Todas in 1949 on the recommendation of the Toda Welfare Committee, but the assignment was cancelled in September 1951 due to unsatisfactory working of the arrangement.
4. In fact, since the Census of 1941 the Toda population had increased from 630 to 879 with a preponderance of females over males.

SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

7. May I beg of you to look into this matter and try to do something to save these relics of a past age.⁵

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

5. Nehru was informed that the welfare work for the Todas was attended to by the Collector of the Nilgiris, assisted by a Toda Welfare Committee of which the Collector was the President. The State Government gave effect to the recommendations of the Committee as far as possible. Besides voluntary organizations, like the Servants of India Society, also worked among the Todas. However, some of the ameliorative schemes had not been very successful owing to the apathy and lack of initiative on the part of the Todas.

7. To Bisnuram Medhi¹

New Delhi
June 2, 1952

My dear Medhi,

.... I have noticed a report of a resolution passed by the Assam PCC stating that our north-eastern frontier policy is coming in the way of consolidation of those areas with Assam.² I do not quite know what they mean, but if they mean that we carry on a policy which interferes with the local life, customs and ways of living of the tribal folk, then they are completely wrong. It is our definite policy to preserve this way of living of the tribal folk and allow them to develop according to their own genius. Any attempt to upset this with a view to consolidation would, I think, be disastrous to all parties concerned. I have no doubt that in course of time that consolidation will come. But that will be a natural growth, not an artificially created thing which gives rise to a lot of trouble.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. A resolution passed by the Assam Provincial Congress Committee at Guwahati on 31 May 1952 stated that the existing system of administration of the tribal areas of Assam, through the Governor and independently of the State Ministry, was not conducive to the best interests of the country. It added that the conditions in the hill areas were "intimately connected with those of Assam politically, economically and culturally" and experience had proved that the existing system could not bring about consolidation but tended towards isolation and disintegration.

8. Understanding the Tribal Way of Life¹

Mr Chairman and friends,

This audience is more or less a select audience and largely consists of experts in this field of tribal work. I am no expert and possibly if we sat down to discuss individual problems, I might not be able to throw much light on any particular problem because you might know more about it than I do.

I suppose you have invited me here because I happen to occupy the office of the Prime Minister. Well, that may be right. But I think I have another and possibly a greater claim to participation in this conference, and that is that I have felt, not today, not since I became Prime Minister, but for many, many years previously I have felt very strongly attracted towards the tribal people of this country and that attraction has been, let me make it perfectly clear, not the attraction of the seeker looking for odd and curious customs. It has also not been even, if I may say so, the attraction of the doer of good who wants to go and do good to other people. It has just been the attraction of feeling happy among the tribal people, of feeling at home with them, of liking them without any desire to do them good or to have good done to me. I have no particular desire, if I may say so, to do good to others. Doing good to others may be a very laudable desire but it leads to great excesses which result not in good to either party, either the doer or the recipient.

So I have long felt attracted to the tribal people. I have found in them many qualities which I did not find in the people of the plains, in the cities, and in many other parts of India. And those qualities attracted me. They were a virile people, they sometimes went astray, they sometimes quarrelled, cut each other's head off even, which were deplorable occurrences and should be stopped; but even so, it struck me as perhaps a little better than the more evil practices that prevail in cities, because it is sometimes better to cut the hand or the head off than to crush and trample on the heart of a man or a people. So I felt happier with these simple folk. And perhaps, also, there is something of the nature, shall I say, of the nomad in me which found congenial soil there. So I approach them in a spirit of comradeship, in a spirit of getting on

1. Speech at the opening session of the Conference on Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Areas, New Delhi, 7 June 1952. AIR tapes, NMML. The conference was presided over by K.N. Katju and attended by about 200 persons including representatives of tribal people in various legislatures, Members of Parliament from tribal constituencies, social workers, anthropologists and officials at the Centre and in the States dealing with tribal affairs.

with them rather than as a person aloof and distant from them who had come to look at them critically and to report about them and try to make them conform to my particular way.

I am getting a little alarmed to find in this world of ours, not only in our country but in other countries, great countries, how people are anxious and keen to make others conform to their own image or likeness, their way of living or a certain way of living. If we want our way of living, we are welcome to it. But why impose our way of living on others who have their own way of living? Now, that applies not only internally to a nation but internationally too. In the sphere of foreign affairs, there would be much more peace if people did not want to impose their way of living on other people and other countries. So here too, in relation to tribal people, it should not be, I hope, a question of our starting with the assumption that we are better than the others, and therefore it is our duty to impose our way of living on them. Now, I am being completely honest with you when I tell you that I am not at all sure which way of living is better, yours or the tribal people's. I may say that in the balance yours, or ours, may be better but I am quite certain that in some ways theirs is better. There is no doubt in my mind about that. If that is so then it is just being absolutely presumptuous on the part of any of us to approach this question with an air of superiority, of going there to tell them how to behave, what to do and what not to do, and try to make them a poor, second-rate copy of ourselves.

I think even this way of thinking is rather wrong. We—and the words I use are rather likely to lead to wrong inference—I said, we and they, they being the tribal folk and we being something apart from them. Well, there is a difference, of course, just as there are differences in various parts of India, differences of all kinds, and perhaps even among the tribal folk *inter se* the differences are great. There are many ways of describing the tribal folk. Sometimes they are called people of the hills and people of the plains and they vary considerably. Just as the hills leave their mark on the persons who are born and brought up there so do the plains on the people who take birth there and grow in that environment. My own predilection is, as perhaps some of you know, rather for the mountains than the plains, rather for the hill folk than the plains people. So also I would say that I prefer the frontier—I mean not the frontier physically but rather the conception of the frontier, living near the frontier—to the conception of living away from the frontier. Why is that so? Because living near a frontier or round about it makes one wary and vigilant. It prevents one from becoming complacent as there is a very grave danger of such a tendency growing among the people specially in a great country like India where the frontier may be thousands of miles away. We tend to forget the threat of such a danger as we become wrapped up in our petty problems.

However, what I wish to put before you is this, that the approach to this problem will be vitiated completely from the beginning if you start by thinking that you have met here with feelings of sympathy for the tribal people and in order to do good to them. I know very well, if any man came and told me he is going to do some good to me, he will get short shift from me. I want no good from anybody. And I cannot imagine any person who is self-respecting and courageous will accept this approach of superiority from anybody, whoever he might be. There must be no superiority complex in regard to this matter. Therefore, there must be no approach of the superior to an inferior about it; therefore, there must also be no approach of slowly to teach others, but much more so to learn and, having learnt, to try to help, to cooperate. That approach, I think, is very important, because there is a very great deal to learn from them, not from all of them—I do not know, you may know more—but certainly from those in the frontier areas. They are an extraordinarily disciplined people; they are, if I may say so, often a much more democratic people than most others in India. They are essentially democratic, without your Constitution and the rest. They function democratically, whether it is as tribes or as clans or whatever you like, and carry out the decisions which are made by their elders or their representatives, almost without exception. Above all, they are a people who sing and dance and try to enjoy life. They are not the people who sit on the stock exchanges and make funny noises and silly gestures and call that the civilization. I would prefer any day to be a nomad in the hills than to be a member of the stock exchange or to be made to sit there and to listen to those frightfully ugly noises there. Is that a civilization we want the tribal people to develop, the civilization of our stock exchanges and the rest? I hope not. I hope, and I am quite sure, in fact, that ultimately the civilization of the tribal folk, of song and dance, will last after the stock exchanges have ceased to be in this country and other countries.

So what are we after? We must be clear about it. It is a tremendous pity that in a large part of India, we have, in the course of the past decade or more, drifted away from the aesthetic side of life. It exists, of course, and we have singers, the great singers, the musicians and all that and we have a good deal of folk song and dance also; but even for that you have largely to go to the villages. The villages preserve that because our so-called modern city civilization has not affected them quite so much as it has affected us. We confine our attention to the cinema, which is excellent in itself and an excellent medium for good things, but nevertheless which, as it is, is not particularly inspiring. So when I look at the progress of what is called modern civilization in India, I see many good things, of course; I see also lack of many good things, and some of the things it lacks here, I find in the tribal folk—this spirit of song and dance and an appreciation of life, of enjoying life. And I want, therefore, if you or I or others go there and meet these people, it is

necessary for us to go there to learn and to imbibe something of the spirit pervading those places and not go there with long faces and black gowns and try to kill that spirit among those people.

We have had, for half a century or more, a movement, a struggle for freedom in this country culminating in our achieving independence. Now, that struggle itself, apart from the result of it, has a liberating tendency. It raises one in character and discipline and many other things, and so it functions as a liberating force. It did that for us—it raised us, it improved us, it hid for the moment some of our weaknesses and other qualities. Now, we must remember that this experience that millions or hundreds of millions of Indian people had, did not extend to the tribal areas. It may, it did, affect somewhat the tribes in the central parts of India undoubtedly, not so intimately perhaps, but somewhat they saw it. But if you go to the frontier areas, say, of Assam, it did not affect it at all, or perhaps that is too much to say—it did not affect it much, naturally. Partly, those big areas were cut off from any approach in the old days and for other reasons too they did not feel it, one of the reasons being that we who live in the plains and the cities are a little afraid of going out of our native haunts into the mountains. Christian missionaries had gone there and spent the whole of their lives practically there—twenty, thirty years. I do not find many instances of Indians going and settling down there to spend their lives. But, apart from that, we were not allowed to go in those old days by the old British authorities, so that our freedom movement did not reach those people. Rumours of it reached them and sometimes they reacted rightly or wrongly for the moment. About twenty-one years ago there was that incident in the tribal areas of Assam, of a lady, Rani Gaidilieu, who, hearing stories of that great movement in 1930, here in India and of Gandhiji's name, became some kind of a leader.² Whether she functioned rightly or wrongly is not the point but what I meant was that these stories did, to some extent, affect people in the tribal areas without their having any real background or preparation. Anyhow, the essence of the struggle for freedom, which meant raising some kind of a liberating force in India, did not reach those areas, chiefly the frontier areas, which are the most important tribal areas. The result was that while we had been psychologically prepared during the last thirty, forty, fifty years for various changes in India, those frontier areas did not get so prepared. In fact, they were prepared the other way by the British officers or sometimes by the missionaries who were there. The missionaries, it has been said, did very good work there. I am full of praise for them. But, politically speaking, they did not particularly like changes in India. In fact, as

2. She belonged to the Kabui clan of the Naga Hills and fought for the establishment of an independent Naga rule.

we all know, just when the changes were coming to a point in India, there was a movement there in north-eastern India supported by many foreigners there to encourage those people of the north-east to form separate and independent states. How it was considered practical or feasible from any point of view I do not understand. But my point is that those people in the north-east frontier of India were conditioned differently in the past, during the past generation, and even in recent years. The fault largely lay with us, and partly with circumstances.

I am pointing these out to you to show how in tackling this problem we have to consider very important factors. It is not a question of so many schools and so many dispensaries and hospitals. Of course, they want schools and hospitals and dispensaries and roads and all that. But that is rather a mundane way of looking at things. What we ought to be after is not merely to put up a building here and a building there but to develop the sense of oneness with these people, that sense of unity, the understanding that would even deter me from referring to our relationship with the tribal people as we and they as that itself is wrong. It shows a feeling of separateness existing between us. And there comes the psychological approach. You may talk in this conference day after day about the development programmes in regard to schools and other matters, but you will fail and fail completely if you do not touch the core of the problem and that is, how to understand these people and make them understand you and to create a bond of affection and understanding with them.

Sometimes people talk of integration and consolidation of these people. I think the basic problem of India today, taken as a whole, is one of integration and consolidation. We had political integration of the States. But that is not enough. We have to have something much more intimate than political integration and that process takes time. It is not a matter of law; it grows. You cannot force that thing to grow as you cannot force a plant or a flower to grow; you can only nurture it and produce conditions when it grows. So the greatest problem today of India is a psychological integration and consolidation — the building up of a unity which will do away with provincialism and communalism and various other isms which disrupt and separate. Having said that, I should like to say that this talk of integration and consolidation of the tribal people is very largely wrong. It is a wrong approach. It is a wrong approach both practically and psychologically. If your approach is to win them by your affection, to go to them as a liberating force, to go to them as friends so that they may feel you have not come to take away something from them but to give them something, that is the right integration. But if they feel that you have come to impose yourself, to interfere, to come in their way, to try to change their methods of living, to take away their land, to push some of your businessmen there who will exploit them, then it is all wrong, completely

wrong. Therefore, the less talk we have of this type of integration and consolidation of the tribal areas, the better. That integration will come when the tribal people come to you, wanting you, not by your going to them and bringing them in by the scruff of the neck.

So also, if we have to appoint officers there—we ought to be careful in appointing officers anywhere, but we have to be doubly careful in appointing officers in tribal areas, because the officer in the tribal area is not merely a man who has passed an examination or who has gained some experience of routine work, but he must be a man or a woman whose mind understands, whose mind, and even more so whose heart understands this problem, who is an enthusiast in this business, who does not go there to just sit in an office for a few hours a day and for the rest curse his luck at being sent to an out of the way place. That is the type of a man who is completely useless. It is better to send, if I may say so, a totally uneducated man who has passed no examination but who goes as a friend and has affection for these people and lives with them. Call him a big officer and he will certainly produce better results than your highest intellectual who has no heart to understand this problem. This is important because the man who goes there as an officer must be prepared to share his life with the people of the tribe, the tribal folk. He must be prepared to enter their huts, talk to them, eat with them and smoke with them, if necessary, whatever it is—to live their life, not to consider himself as something superior or apart, and thereby gain their confidence in this way and then advise them. I say this because this question has come up before us, in the sense that who should be appointed officers there, people of this cadre or that cadre. I just am not interested in any cadre. I am interested in the individual officer who goes. If that officer is fit I will get him from Cape Comorin. If he is not fit, well, it does not matter whether he lives next door or lives elsewhere. So our approach should be a psychological approach which always seeks to win their affection, and you can only win any person's affection or any people's by giving affection. There is no other way. So your approach must be one of affection and understanding and there should be no show of superiority in all this.

Now, I have laid stress on our not imposing anything. Of course, difficult questions arise immediately. The President³ referred to some of the major problems before you. For instance, the language problem. Now, the language problem is almost always exceedingly important from the psychological point of view. Whatever the practice—your eminent educationists may discuss the educational value of a language, a script, a folk tongue or folk dialects—but

of real importance is the psychological aspect of the problem. The best of solution that you may offer, if it produces a wrong reaction on the other side then it is no solution. It would cause a breakdown and produce wrong results. Therefore, in the matter of language one must make it absolutely clear that we will encourage the tribal languages. I have no doubt about it in my mind and it is not a matter for argument with me. We must encourage the tribal languages to the utmost, and help and make them flourish, and go out of our way to do so. Firstly, because that is the only right approach in these matters. And the only country that has adopted that policy and done it with success is the Soviet Union in its various outlying areas. The old leaders of the Soviet Union, Lenin and others, were exceedingly wise in this respect. Whatever their ultimate objective was, they wanted to win the goodwill of those people and they won it by their policy, by encouraging their languages, by going out of their way in helping hundreds and hundreds of dialects, by preparing dictionaries, vocabularies, and all kinds of books in languages which had no script even, by even evolving a new script for them. They wanted those people to feel that they had autonomy, they could live their own lives and speak their own languages, eat their own food and marry within their own communities, that is, to have freedom to do what they liked. This was the impression that was sought to be produced on them and they did produce that impression. Having produced it, and having prepared that background they could influence each other in other ways too. So, on the question of language, there must not only be no compulsion but the clearest policy should be to encourage their languages.

The other day I was in Sikkim. There also was the question of language—there being two, three languages there. There was, of course, the Nepali language there. The Gurkhas there, a large number of them, wanted schools in Nepali. Obviously it was justified. There were the others there, various other groups like the Tibetans. I have no doubt at all that the West Bengal Government must provide round about Darjeeling and Kalimpong schools in Tibetan for the Tibetan people living there. If we are a big country, with great diversity, then we must also act in a manner as is expected of the people belonging to it. Therefore, on the issue of language, my mind is perfectly clear. A difficulty might arise and does arise about the script, as to what script are we to use? If they have a script, well, they must use it of course. But normally they do not. The only script they have thus far learnt to some extent is the Roman script and it is a good script, no doubt, and because many people have learnt it, I would not like it to be pushed out. I would encourage it. But probably now—here I do not speak with any assurance or authority but I merely put this to you that in evolving a script it would be better not only in the present but in the future also to use Devanagari script because it is relatively an easy script. But apart from that, it would bring

them closer to the rest of India than any other script. I would therefore suggest this for your consideration. But even in regard to this suggestion, I would say that where many of them have already learnt the Roman script, I would not suddenly force them to abandon it because I do not want any feeling of compulsion to be created in them. Now, this, if I may say so, is perhaps the proper approach to this problem.

There are generally two main ways of approaching this question. One may be called the anthropological approach of treating the tribal people as museum specimens to be observed and written about and not as living human beings with whom you can interact at social and personal levels. The other approach is to rather ignore that they are special and different and to try to absorb them into the mainstream of society. Well, it seems to me that both these approaches are wrong. It is an insult to them to treat them as specimens for anthropological examination and analysis, except in the sense that all of us are more or less anthropological specimens. We may not realize it, but we can be examined in that way. The approach of trying simply not to realize that they have ways of living of their own and try to absorb them is a kind of forcible assimilation which is also wrong. Not only forcible assimilation but sometimes even allowing normal factors to play would be wrong. What I mean by normal factors is: suppose you do not protect their lands, I have no doubt that unscrupulous people from outside will go and take possession of their lands, their forests and interfere with their lives, by simply not allowing them to have free play. Therefore, we must protect their lands, their forests, give them a measure of protection in their areas so that no outsider can interfere in their personal affairs except with their consent and goodwill.

Having discussed this background, the other questions will no doubt arise in your mind. These are: how to help them educationally, economically and otherwise? I suppose the first urgent need there, as elsewhere in India, is of roads and communications. I am beginning to think that building roads and communications network perhaps deserves top priority in our rural areas all over the country. In the mountains more specially, and in the frontier areas most specially, their urgency cannot be over-emphasized. Then, there should be schools and some health relief centres and development of cottage industries and the like. These are the simple but primary needs which must be fulfilled. But what needs to be always kept in view is that we are not going there to interfere with their way of life but to help them to live it by themselves and live it well. Thank you.

9. To Bisnuram Medhi¹

New Delhi

June 9, 1952

My dear Medhi,

...So far as the broader aspects of this question are concerned, that is, our whole treatment of the tribal folk in India and especially in the North-East, we have been giving a lot of thought to them. Indeed, there has been a high-power conference here on this subject and the President and I addressed it. My speech² on that occasion has been reported at some length in the newspapers and I would like to draw your attention to it. This will give you some idea of our approach to this question. After this conference is over, we propose to go into some of these matters more thoroughly in order to lay down the future policy for the tribal areas all over India. We attach great importance to these areas and to their proper development on their own lines. They vary of course greatly and no hard and fast rules can be laid down for all of them. But there are certain principles and certain general approaches to the problem which are common.

The very first feeling that must be created in these tribal areas is one of kinship with India. They must feel that they are parts of this great country and are sharers in its future destiny. That in fact the country is theirs as much as anybody else's. Secondly, they must feel that they will be encouraged to live their own lives and will not be interfered with. Thirdly, they must feel that they will not be exploited by others in any way. Fourthly, that they will have opportunities of advancement along their own lines.

This psychological approach is most important and the people who go to serve them must have it; otherwise they are unfitted for that task. A missionary and crusading spirit is necessary and it may be that people who are chosen for this will almost devote their lives to this task and not be the normal officers who go for a while and then are transferred.

You are perfectly right in saying that the Indian Foreign Service was not suited for this task. Probably people from Assam will be far more suited. I should imagine so. But, also, such persons who are selected must be specially chosen for this purpose and then trained for it. They must realize that that is going to be their principal work.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. See the preceding item.

10. The Demand for Naga Independence¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes.² A letter to this effect was received. The reply that was sent on behalf of the Prime Minister was to the effect that this matter had been discussed on two recent occasions with the representatives of the Naga National Council and there was nothing further to be said about it. The demand for Naga independence was completely unwise, impracticable and unacceptable.

Rishang Keishing³: May I know if the Prime Minister is of opinion that the Naga national movement for independence is dying out?

JN: I should have used different language—fading out, I should have said.

RK: I would like to know from the honourable Prime Minister if this movement is gaining ground in the Naga tribal areas.

JN: Not to my knowledge.

RK: Has the Government received any representation from a section of the Nagas disapproving the present activities of the Naga National Council?

JN: Yes, we have received representation sometimes.

RK: May I know from which party?

JN: I could not say off-hand....⁴

Under the Constitution they do have a considerable measure of autonomy and Government would gladly consider any extension of it, within the Constitution, of course....⁵

• So far as I know they are not.

1. 11 July 1952. *Parliamentary Debates: House of the People, Official Report*, Vol. II Part I, cols 1703-1704.
2. Rishang Keishing had asked whether the Prime Minister had been invited by the Naga National Council to visit the Naga Hills to meet the people and acquaint himself with the situation there and, if so, what reply had been given to the Council.
3. (b. 1921); Member, Manipur Socialist Party, 1949-63; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-57 and 1962-67, and Territorial Council, 1957-62; elected to Manipur Legislative Assembly six times between 1972 and 1995; Deputy Chief Minister, Manipur, 1980 and 1992-93, and Chief Minister, 1980-88 and from December 1994; General Secretary, Naga Integration Council, 1968-72; Member, AICC and Manipur PCC, for several years.
4. At this stage K.K. Basu asked whether in view of a strong demand for the independence of the Nagas, the Government proposed to grant them greater regional autonomy.
5. Sarangdhar Das asked if the Nagas of the Manipur Hills were in any way connected with the movement in Assam.

11. Administration of the Tribal Areas in the North-East¹

Government have seen a press report of the resolution about the Tribal Areas specified in Part B of the Table appended to paragraph 20 of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution.² They have not received this resolution in any other way.

The North East Frontier (Assam) Tribal and Excluded Areas Sub-Committee, set up by the Constituent Assembly, recommended that "the Central Government should continue to administer the Frontier Tracts and Tribal Areas with the Government of Assam as its agent until administration has been satisfactorily established over a sufficiently wide area. Areas over which administration has been satisfactorily established may be taken over by the Provincial Government with the approval of the Federal Government." In the Constitution as finally adopted, this general principle was accepted, but the Governor was substituted for the Assam State. The present position is, therefore, that the Governor of Assam, acting on behalf of the President, is responsible for the administration of these areas. The ultimate responsibility is of the Central Government.

These provisions in the Constitution were decided upon after careful consideration because it was thought that these areas required the special attention and assistance of the Central Government. The conditions then prevailing have not changed and are not likely to change for some time to come. Government, therefore, see no reason for making any change in the arrangements laid down in the Constitution.

It is desirable that there should be cooperation between the Governor, acting as the agent of the President, and the Assam Government in regard to the administration of the tribal areas in Assam specified in Part B of the Sixth Schedule. The Governor has been advised to keep in touch with the Assam Government in this respect. But the conditions in these tribal areas are so different and require such special care and treatment that Government administration of these areas should be kept apart and should be under the direct control of the Central Government. The first consideration before Government is the welfare and advancement of the people of these tribal areas.

1. 11 July 1952. *Parliamentary Debates: House of the People, Official Report*, Vol. II Part I, cols 1708-1709.
2. The Prime Minister was asked whether the attention of the Government had been drawn to a resolution of the Assam PCC regarding the autonomous hill districts of the North-East (see *ante*, p. 369) and whether it was proposed to implement the same.

10

KASHMIR

1. Undesirable Interference¹

It is very good of the UK Government to take such a deep interest in our affairs² and to be so lavish with their advice to us that one should behave. I fear I am a little tired of their good intentions and good offices.

1. Note to Secretary-General, MEA, 7 April 1952. File No. 52/94/NGO, Vol. III, MEA.
2. J.J.S. Garner, UK Acting High Commissioner, told G.S. Bajpai on 7 April that his Government would like Frank Graham to meet in New York India's Permanent Representative to the UN to hold further talks with him before he gave his report to the Security Council. Earlier, on 23-24 March 1952, Dean Acheson, US Secretary of State, had considered Graham's discussing again concrete proposals regarding quantum of troops on both sides essential. He however thought a joint appeal by Truman and Churchill to Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan for a meeting under Graham's aegis as insisted upon by Britain might be interpreted by "Nehru and/or Nazimuddin as unwarranted interference and stiffen attitudes."

2. To N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar¹

New Delhi
April 12, 1952

My dear Gopalaswami,

I have been reading Shaikh Abdullah's speech² reported in this morning's papers. I confess that I do not like it—neither the tone nor the content of it. His lumping India and Pakistan, more or less together, and his attack on the Indian press as a whole are, to say the least of it, most unwise.

I do not know what we can do about such matters. I do not propose to write to him. I fear that he is not serving his own purpose by saying things which must irritate large numbers of people in India.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. The PTI reported Shaikh Abdullah as having said in a public meeting at Ranbirsinghpura on 10 April that Kashmir's accession to India would have to be of a restricted nature as the communal spirit still existed in India. While the Indian Government, unlike the authorities in Pakistan, were trying to curb communalism, they had not succeeded fully, and "so far as Kashmir was concerned it wanted to preach the mission of secular democracy both to India and Pakistan." He also said that many Kashmiris feared about their fate in the event of something happening to Nehru. Shaikh Abdullah added that the Indian press and some correspondents in the State were "indulging in misconceived criticism of Kashmir's desire for a special status" and warned that if they persisted in their attitude, they might "finally destroy the union of Kashmir with India."

3. To S.M. Abdullah¹

New Delhi
April 25, 1952

My dear Shaikh Sahib,

I have just received your letter of April 23rd.² I am leaving very early tomorrow morning for Darjeeling and Sikkim, and I am rather overwhelmed with work. But I hasten to write to you though not as fully as I would have liked.

When I read the report of your Ranbirsinghpura speech in some Delhi daily (I suppose it must have been the PTI report), I was considerably taken aback. I was not taken aback so much by what you have said but I realized immediately what the reaction of that report was going to be all over India as well as abroad in foreign countries. I realized that the report might be wrong. But it would be difficult to catch up with that wrong and, rightly or wrongly, some mischief would be done. We have to deal from day to day with the press in India as well as abroad. I deliver innumerable speeches and the great majority of newspapers in India criticize vigorously all the time and are opponents of the Government. They seize every opportunity of twisting a word or a phrase. Foreign newspapers are worse in this respect. Inevitably I have to keep this in mind whenever I am speaking and to weigh my words. I know well that corrections³ of a report already issued seldom help.

* No question arose in my mind about any important matter that you might have referred to and therefore there was no need for me to ask for any correction from you. I knew that the correction would be coming about any statement made or of any misreporting.

I had to address a public meeting in Delhi on Jallianwala Bagh Day, 13th April.⁴ This was, I think, a day after the report of your speech had appeared in the press. At that time not many comments had been made in the press. But I knew very well that a very powerful reaction had been produced among

1. File No. 52/318/NGO-55, MEA.
2. Shaikh Abdullah wrote that the PTI had "viciously" distorted his speech at Ranbirsinghpura, as well as his speech at Jammu on 12 April, for he had not been able to help it financially to open a branch office in Kashmir. He added that a section of the press, controlled by certain vested interests opposed to his Government's enactment of the principle of "no-compensation" in case of acquisition of land under the scheme of land reforms, found an opportunity provided by the PTI report to run him down.
3. Enclosing a detailed note on the PTI coverage of his speeches prepared by the Department of Information and Broadcasting, Kashmir Government, Shaikh Abdullah wished Nehru, instead of being "carried away by the press reports", had contacted him personally before commenting on his speech publicly.
4. See *ante*, pp. 5-9.

the people here of all kinds.⁵ Nevertheless, it was not my intention to refer to your speech at all, or indeed to Kashmir. I spoke for nearly an hour at that meeting without referring to Kashmir. I was told however by the chairman that there was great excitement among the public about your speech and large numbers of people had come, even from the villages, specially to hear me say something in regard to Kashmir and your speech because they were worried about it. When I was specially asked to say something, I made a few remarks. I began by saying that I was not myself happy at the report of your speech though there was nothing in it of substance with which one need disagree. I added that these speeches are often not correctly reported and that they are made to a particular audience and must be judged in that context. I then justified the constitutional position which you had taken up.

I was told by many people afterwards, including Ahsanullah,⁶ who was deliberately sitting with the crowd, that my speech had an excellent effect and much of the worry and apprehension passed off because of it. I know something of my people and my audiences and I dealt with them in a way to make them understand and appreciate the situation.

As I have said above, there was no constitutional difficulty in my mind but I certainly have a feeling that what you said, though perfectly correct, might have been said differently or in a different context. I have seen the subsequent authorized reports that were issued of your speech⁷ and that feeling has not left me. Kashmir has become to vast numbers of people a matter of

5. On 12 April, S.P. Mookerjee termed Shaikh Abdullah's reservations about full integration of Kashmir as "a strange and sinister statement calculated to strengthen the hands of Pakistan"; Premnath Dogra, President, All Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad, said that "we will not hesitate to offer any sacrifice to resist" any attempt to limit full accession of Kashmir to India; Asoka Mehta, said that development of secularism in India was the responsibility of all sections of the society and to say that cooperation of the people of Kashmir in that task would come only after secularism had been established in the country was to ignore the dynamics of the situation. On 13 April, Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, said he was glad "Shaikh Abdullah has also realized the communalistic way of thinking of Hindus"; and N.B. Khare said, "It appears Shaikh Abdullah is not satisfied with real secularism but wants pampering of Muslims and preferential treatment."
6. A tour and travel agent in Kashmir; was closely connected with the National Conference since 1930; was close to Shaikh Abdullah and Nehru and set up the Kashmir Arts and Crafts Museum in New Delhi in 1948 to promote exports of Kashmir handicrafts.
7. According to the official version of the speech released on 13 April, Shaikh Abdullah had said, "It is not I who have got misgivings as to what will be the developments if something happens to Mr Nehru in India. It is a thing which is constantly being put before Muslims here and in India by Pakistan." He added that the earlier report wrongly attributed the expression of this fear to him. He also said that the existing relationship between Kashmir and India was "the outcome of full agreement arrived at after long deliberation between us and the Government of India.... This relationship sanctified by the blood of countless martyrs is, so far as we are concerned, irrevocable and no power on earth can rend us asunder."

rather intimate feeling and concern. If those feelings are hurt, naturally there is a reaction. It amazed me (Ahsanullah came and told me about this himself) how simple villagers were talking about Kashmir and your speech. That pleased me also because it showed how keen and anxious they were about this vital issue.

It is quite possible that there was deliberate misreporting of your speech and that other people and the press took advantage of this. But I think that you are rather unkind to the press in India as a whole which has the warmest feelings towards you and Kashmir. In fact, it is because they had those warm feelings that they felt hurt. You know well how we can hurt a person we love by some word or gesture which might be passed unnoticed in the case of others.

There is the larger issue of foreign press and foreign opinion at a time when the United Nations are considering these matters. You will remember that I have sometimes drawn your attention to some speeches made by members of the Constituent Assembly in Kashmir, which were unhappy at that time.⁸

I am not connected with the PTI in any way, and, so far as I know, most of their prominent men have tried to be helpful in regard to Kashmir. I am sure that if a correspondent of theirs misbehaves in Kashmir, a suggestion from you to them would probably lead to his recall.

We fight communalism in India and elsewhere and we have fought it with a considerable measure of success. Naturally, a huge country has all kinds of forces playing about and it is easy to pick out anyone of them and lay stress upon it. Sometimes an attempt to lay stress rather adds to the strength of that very force. The general impression that one gathered from the reports of some of your speeches was that you were perhaps taking an exaggerated view of the communal situation in India, more specially after the general election here. That has actually given some strength to the communal elements in India who were on the whole down and out.

As I have said above, the constitutional issues are fairly clear and need little argument. But the one that ties Kashmir to India is something much more than a constitutional one. It may even be called sentimental but popular sentiment itself has importance and value. If that sentiment is hurt in any way, it is unfortunate.

If you so wish, you can certainly release your letter to me to the press.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. Shaikh Abdullah wrote back on 1 May that he could not recall whether his attention was ever drawn to the speeches referred to here.



WITH CHILDREN IN SIKKIM, 28 APRIL 1952



FELICITATING RAJENDRA PRASAD ON HIS ELECTION AS PRESIDENT, NEW DELHI, 6 MAY 1952

4. To S.M. Abdullah¹

New Delhi
April 25, 1952

My dear Shaikh Sahib,

Late this afternoon, I dictated a letter² to you in answer to your letter. About 8.30 this evening a man from the All India Radio came to me with what purported to be a summary of your speech delivered today at the Friday prayer meeting in or near Srinagar.³ He said that some care had been taken to verify it although it couldn't be considered as completely authorized. I told him not to give it out on the AIR because he must be quite sure of the accuracy of any statement which you are reported to have made. The AIR has therefore not mentioned it.

I cannot be absolutely sure of this summary of your speech and therefore perhaps it is not pertinent for me to comment upon it. Nevertheless, reading it, I did feel disheartened. Your recent speeches⁴ are, if I may say so, angry speeches and anger produces the wrong reaction. Because some people have been criticizing you or some traders in Jammu or elsewhere have said that they do not wish to trade with Kashmir, you immediately jump to the conclusion that Indian businessmen as a whole have said so. You say that the Kashmir Constituent Assembly's decision not to pay compensation to landlords was having repercussions in India and that it was because of this that some Indian newspapers were attacking you. I was not aware of these repercussions, though of course some people no doubt may have had them. Indeed the repercussions in India to your land policy have been very favourable. It seems to me that you are judging large numbers of people by a few and that is not a safe policy and it needlessly pains those large numbers of people. Because a small

1. File No. P.V. 102/30/64, MEA.

2. See the preceding item.

3. Shaikh Abdullah asserted at Hazratbal in Srinagar on 25 April 1952 that Kashmir was completely free to decide on matters other than defence, communications and external affairs. On the reported threat by Indian traders that they would have less trade with Kashmir, he remarked that Kashmir was not dependent on Indian trade or money. He added, "It would be better to die than to submit to the taunt that India was our breadgiver. Kashmir is not eager for India's aid." Appealing to Indian leaders and the press to talk of Kashmir affairs in a "cautious manner and after due thought", he said threats and taunts could not bring India and Kashmir together.

4. For example, Shaikh Abdullah, speaking in Jammu on 12 April, admitted that the report of his Ranbirsinghpura speech was "factually correct", and added that Kashmir's bonds with India could be strengthened only if India acted prudently and realized the realities of the situation. He stated in Srinagar on 18 April that full application of the Indian Constitution to Kashmir might weaken Indo-Kashmir relations.

organization, the Praja Parishad of Jammu,⁵ misbehaves, therefore you condemn all kinds of people in India.

You talk of intimidation of Kashmir by India. I have not the wish or the heart to argue about this or any other matter with you. I have felt deeply about Kashmir, because it represented to me many things and many principles. It always has been an axiom with me, quite apart from constitutional positions and the like, that the people of Kashmir must decide their own fate. For me the people of Kashmir were basically represented by you. If you feel as you do, then the link that has bound us together necessarily weakens and I have little heart left to discuss these matters. You will do of course as you think right and I shall certainly not come in the way. My only difficulty is that I happen to hold a responsible position in India and therefore have some voice in fashioning our policy. For the moment, it is not clear to me what I should do.

I wrote to you two or three days ago⁶ about Graham's report⁷ and suggested that you might take the trouble to come to Delhi for a consultation as we shall have to decide very soon what we should say about it. Apparently Graham wants consultations in New York within the next two weeks or so. I have little interest left in this business and I do not think I can make any useful contribution in a meeting held here to discuss the Graham report. May I suggest that you might come here and discuss this matter with Maulana Azad, Gopalaswami and other members of our Foreign Affairs Committee. It does not matter that I am away at the time.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. The Praja Parishad, demanding complete and unconditional accession of Jammu and Kashmir to the Indian Union, wanted the expropriated landlords to be properly compensated as per the provisions of the Indian Constitution. The President and four other officials of the Praja Parishad were arrested in Jammu on 8 February 1952 following disturbances in the town in the wake of a demonstration organized by the Parishad during which students attacked the police and Government buildings. The Parishad accused the State Government of waging a "cold war" against it on account of its "pro-Indian stand."
6. On 23 April 1952. Letter not printed.
7. Graham, in his report presented to the Security Council on 25 April 1952, recommended that (1) the Governments of India and Pakistan should refrain from augmenting the existing military potential of their forces in Kashmir; (2) they should observe the ceasefire agreement and the Karachi agreement of 27 July 1949; (3) they should undertake by 15 July to reduce the forces under their control in Kashmir; and (4) his negotiations with the two Governments should be continued with a view to removing the remaining differences and facilitating the implementation of the UN Commission's resolutions of 13 August 1948 and 5 January 1949.

5. To A.K. Azad¹

New Delhi
April 25, 1952

My dear Maulana,

It seems to me that Shaikh Abdullah has become very angry and, as a consequence, he has delivered and goes on delivering speeches which are most unfortunate. I am not referring to the constitutional issue, but rather to his whole tone.

Yesterday I had a long letter from him which I confess I do not like at all. It was an angry letter. Today he has delivered a speech at the Friday meeting which again is not at all happy.

I do not know what to do about all this, more specially at a time when Graham has just presented his report and we shall have to consider it. It seems to me that Shaikh Sahib has done a grave disservice to the cause he has at heart.

I have sent him a reply today and told him that I feel very unhappy about all this and I have not got the heart to enter into an argument with him or discuss these matters. I enclose a copy of my last letter to him.²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. See the preceding item.

6. To S.M. Abdullah¹

New Delhi
May 2, 1952

My dear Shaikh Sahib,

I have just received your letter of May 1st.²

I do not think that it is at all helpful to you or me to have a controversy

1. JN Collection.
2. Replying to Nehru's first letter of 25 April (see *ante*, pp. 384-386), Shaikh Abdullah felt that he had been gravely wronged as even the authorized version of his Ranbirsinghpura speech had failed to change Nehru's impression created by the PTI report. He said he was shocked to find that the attitude of the Indian press towards him and his movement had undergone a complete change on the basis of a single report without anyone caring to check up its authenticity. Shaikh Abdullah added that Nehru's expression of disapproval at a public meeting on 13 April (see *ante*, pp. 8-9) of the "tone and manner" of the Ranbirsinghpura speech "gave the greatest handle to those who were only too eager to malign me in order to isolate me from friends and people in India."

on this subject. You have delivered several speeches during the past fortnight. It is very difficult for me to say that all of them have been correctly reported. Some were supposed to be authorized versions. My reaction has been one of pain and distress. I felt myself out of tune with them. My distress was specially caused by the realization that harm would follow to the cause that you and I have at heart. Our opponents are always ready to injure us but they can never succeed really unless we give them a handle for it.

It is not I only who felt this way but Maulana Azad also and many other friends of ours. I have decided to remain silent on this subject. As I have said before, there is no constitutional issue in this. I can only hope that the excitement of the moment will tone down gradually.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. To S.M. Abdullah¹

New Delhi
May 7, 1952

My dear Shaikh Saheb,

I received today your letter of May 2nd.² This afternoon D.P. Dhar³ and Ahsanullah came to see me and I had a long talk with them for about an hour. This talk explained much to me and I also explained many aspects of recent developments which have been so unfortunate. D.P. Dhar will, no doubt, report to you. I think the matter had better be allowed to rest now because any public argument about it will not be helpful. I rather doubt if any statement in Parliament, initiated by us, will be useful at this stage.⁴ Of course, if the matter is raised in question or otherwise, it will have to be answered.

1. File No. P.V. 102/30/64, MEA.

2. Replying to Nehru's second letter of 25 April (see *ante*, pp. 387-388), Shaikh Abdullah admitted that some of his recent speeches, read as a whole, did appear as angry speeches and added, "I am required constantly to deal with a difficult and sometimes dangerous situation which makes it necessary for me occasionally to express myself in a rather strong language....What I tried to counteract was the interested propaganda that we were being kept in the saddle with the help of Indian bayonets."

3. Dhar was Deputy Home Minister, Government of Kashmir, at this time.

4. Shaikh Abdullah suggested that the earliest opportunity might be taken to explain in Parliament the basic constitutional relationship of Kashmir with India in order to clear the existing confusion about it.

I entirely agree with you that we must not encourage the belief in some people that the question of Kashmir is a personal affair between you and me. That makes a vital issue as almost an individual affair, which is not good.

I do not know what Graham proposes to do. The information we have received thus far goes to show that there will be no meeting of the Security Council in the near future. Neither the UK nor the USA desire it and, oddly enough, the Pakistan member⁵ of the Security Council has also expressed no desire for a meeting to consider the Kashmir issue.

The UK and the USA expect Graham to carry on without any further direction from the Security Council. Presumably, Graham will do so. Even so, he is not likely to take any step for another week or so. It may be that he may then call our Representative and Pakistan's separately and have a talk. It is clear that any talk in regard to demilitarization cannot go far. We have discussed this issue threadbare and given our final position. Our Representative can only repeat that and we have instructed him accordingly.

If Graham wants to talk about some new approach to the problem, obviously our Representative can say nothing without referring to us.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Ahmed Bokhari.

8. To Chaman Lall¹

New Delhi
May 9, 1952

My dear Chaman Lall,

Thank you for your letter of the 9th May with which you sent a copy of your letter to Shaikh Abdullah. I am sure that Shaikh Sahib did not really mean what many people inferred from the reports of his speeches but there is no doubt that these speeches as reported have done a good deal of harm.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

9. Talk with the US Ambassador¹

I had about two hours' talk with the American Ambassador² today. This talk ranged over many subjects—the Korean truce negotiations, Kashmir, Tunis, American aid to India, etc.

2. As a result of this talk, I have sent a telegram to our Ambassador in Peking.³ You will see a copy of this telegram and this will indicate the nature of my talk with Mr Chester Bowles on this issue. He gave me a copy of a secret memorandum about the Communist military build-up in Korea. I enclose this.⁴

3. About Kashmir, the talk ran along the usual lines and I need not repeat it. He referred to the possibility of our putting forward some proposal relating to partition or something to the effect that we do not want unwilling minorities or areas to remain under our control. I reminded him of the attitude we had taken up on more than one occasion on this issue. Pakistan however had been obdurate. I further told him that it must always be remembered that it is not for India to dispose of Kashmir this way or that way. The Government of Kashmir must have a large say in this matter.⁵

4. Tunisia—Mr Chester Bowles said that the US Government were not at all happy about the Tunisian question and had addressed a strong memorandum to the French Government.⁶ If the French Government did not move in the matter, the US Government intended taking some more positive attitude. He gave me a copy of a memorandum which I enclose.⁷

5. He spoke to me also about the food situation in India and about communist cheap literature that was being distributed here in large numbers. I deal with these two matters separately.⁸

1. Note to Secretary-General, MEA, 18 May 1952. JN Collection.

2. Chester Bowles.

3. See *post*, p. 536.

4. Not printed.

5. Bowles, referring to his talk with Nehru on 3 May 1952, had cabled to the Department of State on 5 May: "Primin was certainly not enthusiastic about Kashmir when I saw him Sat. When I asked him if there was anything he wanted to say about Kashmir, he said glad continue Graham discussion long as any hope for settlement, that GOI earnestly wanted pleb and that Ind glad discuss question partition, but no sense talking details on latter subj unless Pak willing open up question. He added Sheikh Abdullah not making situation easier, then changed subj abruptly." See *Foreign Relations of the United States 1952-1954*, Volume XI Part 2, p. 1244.

6. See also *post*, p. 563.

7. Not printed.

8. Notes not printed.

10. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

UK and USA representatives in Delhi presented aides-memoire to us on 15th May and 16th May respectively urging that we resume negotiations under Graham's auspices to begin with on four outstanding points of difference² listed in his latest report and particularly on the quantum of forces. Both Governments express hope that each party to dispute would be ready with contribution of its own which might help towards agreement. Owing to pre-occupation with Parliamentary business we could not finalize reply to aides-memoire until this morning. Since Graham has called meeting of representatives of the two parties on 29th May immediate intimation to both the UK and the USA of our decision became necessary and therefore our reply to the UK has been handed over to Acting High Commissioner³ here.

2. While acknowledging friendly spirit in which UK approach has been made we have expressed regret to concession already made by us, namely, agreement to reduce our forces to one-sixth of figure on 1st January 1949,⁴ to withdraw supporting arms even from this figure, to reduce it further if danger of infiltration from other side diminished and to ensure that distribution of forces retained in the State should in no way interfere with impartiality of plebiscite, has not been appreciated. Nevertheless as earnestness of our desire to settle dispute peacefully we have agreed to instruct our Permanent Representative⁵ in New York to resume negotiation.

3. Graham's intention is that meeting on 29th should be attended by representatives of both India and Pakistan. Dayal has been instructed to agree to this but to point out that if question of demilitarization is to be pursued first Graham should meet representatives of each party separately until common basis for further negotiation has been found. Dayal had asked that we should send a Military Adviser to assist him in negotiations. But I have told him that

1. New Delhi, 24 May 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. In his report of 25 April 1952, Graham stated that eight of his twelve proposals of 7 September 1951 having been accepted, he had addressed himself to the four remaining points of difference: (1) the character of forces to be left on each side of the ceasefire line at the termination of demilitarization; (2) the number of those forces; (3) the date for the completion of demilitarization; and (4) the date for the formal induction into office of the Plebiscite Administrator.
3. Joseph John Saville Garner (1908-1983); Private Secretary to successive British Secretaries of State, 1940-43; Deputy High Commissioner in Canada, 1946-48; Assistant Under Secretary, Commonwealth Relations Office, 1948-51; Acting High Commissioner in India, 1951-53.
4. India had agreed to reduce the number to 21,000.
5. Rajeshwar Dayal.

it would be premature to do this until we know for certain what basis of resumed negotiations on demilitarization is to be. Our stand in relation to proposals made so far has been already fully explained and we have no intention of modifying it. If Graham or Pakistan has any fresh proposals to make we shall be ready to examine them.

Copies of UK aide-memoire, which is identical in terms with USA document, and our reply are being sent by fast air mail.

11. Proposed Constitutional Changes in Kashmir¹

The Kashmir Constituent Assembly, after functioning for some time as Legislative Assembly, will meet on Saturday next² in Srinagar to resume its Constitution-making functions. We have been informed that the first question that it is going to consider is that of the Headship of the State. The present proposal is to remove Maharaja Hari Singh, to declare that in future there will be no hereditary or dynastic succession, but that there will be a chosen Head of the State, elected for five years. Further the proposal goes on to authorize the present Constituent Assembly to elect this Head of the State for the next five years. The second draft resolution proposes the election of Yuvaraj Karan Singh as Head of the State for five years.

2. All this is not entirely new, as Shaikh Abdullah, in his opening speech before the Constituent Assembly some months back,³ said that they wanted an elected Head of the State instead of dynastic succession. He also said then that they would like to have Yuvaraj Karan Singh as their first chosen President. No period was then mentioned.

3. Although this has been mentioned before, nevertheless the new proposal in its present form is likely to disturb some people in Kashmir and outside. Apart from this, it has to be considered carefully, from the legal, constitutional and other points of view, in relation to India, as well as from the effect it will produce on the Kashmir dispute in the Security Council. It is unfortunate that there is an element of rushing this through within a few days.

1. Note, 3 June 1952. JN Collection.

2. 7 June 1952.

3. The inaugural meeting of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly took place on 31 October 1951 at Srinagar.

4. The following points have to be considered:

- (i) The merits of the proposal, its advantages and disadvantages;
- (ii) The legal aspects, more especially in relation to the accession to India;
- (iii) The effect on the proceedings in the United Nations;
- (iv) The effect on people generally in Kashmir and in India; and
- (v) The effect on Pakistan and perhaps some other countries.

5. Shaikh Abdullah has always been rather powerfully impressed by the criticisms levelled against him in Pakistan and sometimes elsewhere about his being some kind of a puppet of India. He was also greatly affected by the events of October-November 1947 in Jammu⁴ and the part that Maharaja Hari Singh played in running away from Srinagar when the crisis came.⁵ Maharaja Hari Singh is undoubtedly exceedingly unpopular in the Kashmir State, except among the Dogra Rajputs in Jammu, who look upon him as a kind of clan head. Any solution that does not eliminate him will not be satisfactory. It was for this reason two years or so ago that he was asked to leave the State and the Yuvaraj was made Regent.⁶ It was because of this also that Maharaja Hari Singh has been asked recently to abdicate in favour of his son, Karan Singh. This matter is still pending. It will obviously make things easier if he abdicates soon.

6. Normally, the proper course for the Constituent Assembly would be to lay down some basic principles of the Constitution and then to proceed with drawing it up. When the Constitution has been finally passed, some date should be fixed for giving effect to it. It is not desirable to give effect to the Constitution piecemeal before it is finalized. The whole picture must be seen. I suppose there is no legal bar to this piecemeal change, but from the practical point of view it does not appear to be desirable. Therefore, it would have been better if the Constituent Assembly laid down some basic principles only now without giving effect to them. For instance, the Assembly might say, if it so chooses, that the Constitution should provide for an elective Head of the

- 4. A convoy of a large number of Muslims from an evacuees camp in Jammu under the protection of Kashmir State forces, while on its way to Pakistan, was ambushed on 5 November 1947 by Hindu and Sikh refugees from within the province. Another convoy was attacked the next day but the attackers were repulsed by the escort party. Connivance of the State forces was suspected in these incidents.
- 5. As Srinagar stood in imminent danger of being captured by raiders from Pakistan who had already reached Baramulla, about 30 miles north-west of Srinagar, and with nearly all officials having fled and practically no State forces left or police functioning, the Maharaja of Kashmir, Hari Singh, taking some valuable possessions with him, left Srinagar for Jammu with his family on the night of 25 October 1947.
- 6. Karan Singh was appointed Regent of Jammu and Kashmir State on 20 June 1949.

State. No other detail, such as period, manner of election, etc., need be mentioned at this stage. There is another advantage that it accustoms people to the idea of the proposed change, which otherwise might come as a shock to some.

7. While there is certainly something in Shaikh Saheb's approach to this problem, that is, the psychological effect on large numbers of people in Kashmir, Pakistan, etc., of putting an end to dynastic succession, there is another aspect of this also. There are certain disruptive tendencies in the State, in Jammu and Ladakh.⁷ The Head of the State thus far has been some kind of a cementing force. If a sudden change is made, this would certainly have a disturbing and disruptive effect, even though it might be welcome by many others.

8. We may presume that the Constituent Assembly has the right to make any kind of Constitution for the State and to deal with the Head of the State in that connection also. Nevertheless, the question remains how Kashmir's relationship to India is affected by it. Such a change, as suggested, would probably produce an impression of a weakening of that relationship, unless something else that is positive is said in that regard.

9. The accession of Kashmir to India was an act, in law, of Maharaja Hari Singh. If he abdicates and his son succeeds him, no change takes place. If his son subsequently agrees to become the elective Head, presumably no break takes place, although the change is important. But if the Constituent Assembly deposes the Maharaja, then it is not quite clear to me what effect this would have on Kashmir's accession to India. Of course the Constituent Assembly can reaffirm at the same time the accession to India. Anyhow this is a matter for consideration, more especially the effect it would have on the proceedings in the United Nations.

10. I am myself inclined to think that we cannot go back on Shaikh Abdullah's declaration made previously that Kashmir should have an elective Head. But I think that the Constituent Assembly might proceed more cautiously in this matter and declare the principle without going into details of period of office, manner of election, etc. This does not bring about any sudden change, although the intention of the CA is obvious. This gives time for adjustments

7. In Jammu, the State Government was perceived to be following a communal policy hurting the Dogras and the Maharaja. The Praja Parishad led several demonstrations against the Government of Shaikh Abdullah, demanding full merger of the State with India. In Ladakh, there was a sense of uneasiness and insecurity among the Ladakhis who, on account of their poor representation in the State Assembly, felt totally subordinate to the Kashmiris, and were apprehensive about their distinct cultural identity. Kushak Bakula, the Head Lama, complaining on 12 May 1952 that the State budget "did not provide a penny for the betterment of Ladakh", gave the call "Ladakh for Ladakhis." In early 1952, he had demanded a statutory provision for making Ladakh a federating unit of Kashmir.

and provides an opportunity to Maharaja Hari Singh to abdicate. In effect it produces the result that Shaikh Saheb aims at without producing all the contrary results, though some no doubt will be produced. It gives us time to consider the next step.

11. If the Constituent Assembly is going to deal with this matter, it seems to me necessary that it should also deal with the accession to India.

12. It is rather unfortunate that this matter comes up at a moment when some strain has been caused in public feeling in India and among some people in Kashmir because of certain recent happenings. This necessitates a careful handling of the situation.

13. This note, which is being sent to members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Cabinet, is my first reaction to the proposal made. I might mention that the draft resolution that I have seen appears to me unfortunate even in its wording, apart from its contents.

12. To S.M. Abdullah¹

New Delhi
June 5, 1952

My dear Shaikh Saheb,

Day before yesterday, D.P. Dhar came to see me. Maulana Saeed² was also with him. He told me that your Constituent Assembly, functioning as a Legislative Assembly, was for the present finishing its labours, and that it would meet from Saturday next to resume its functions as a Constituent Assembly. At this meeting it was your intention to put forward a resolution, the draft of which he showed me. This related to the Headship of the State. I had a brief talk with Dhar then. I suggested to him naturally that he should see Gopalaswami Ayyangar. There were obviously some complicating factors in this, which required careful consideration.

2. After that, some of us—Maulana, Gopalaswami Ayyangar and Katju—discussed this matter amongst ourselves. This morning we had a formal meeting of our Foreign Affairs Committee and D.P. Dhar and Maulana Saeed were also invited to attend it. D.P. will no doubt tell you about our discussion. I understand that Gopalaswami will also write to you. This letter will perhaps

1. JN Collection.

2. Mohammad Saeed Masoodi (1905–1990); taught Arabic in a local college in Srinagar till 1930; actively participated in the people's movement, 1931; first General Secretary, All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, 1939; associated with the emergency administration in Baramulla, 1947; Member, Provisional Parliament, 1950–52.

only repeat what you will get from these other sources. But as the matter is important and might have far-reaching results, I feel that I should also write to you. During our discussions in our Foreign Affairs Committee of the Cabinet (which includes Maulana, Gopaldaswami and Katju) we were all practically of the same opinion, and what Gopaldaswami might write to you or what I am writing now represents that opinion.

3. At the time the Constituent Assembly was inaugurated, you delivered an address there in which, so far as I can remember, you made it clear what your and your party's attitude was about Maharaja Hari Singh, hereditary or dynastic succession to the State and the Yuvaraj. You said (I am writing from memory of course) that you wanted to have a full democratic system which meant no dynastic or hereditary succession for the Head of the State. Thus the Head had to be elected. You further said that Maharaja Hari Singh had, by his conduct, etc., made himself disagreeable to the people of the State and you could not possibly have him to continue. But the Yuvaraj had conducted himself well as a constitutional Head and therefore you would be in favour of electing him as the Head of the State.

4. What you propose now in the draft resolution is meant to carry out that intention. Your reason for this at this stage is understandable. I could guess it even apart from D.P. telling us about it. This reason is that, on the one hand, by removing Hari Singh and laying down the elective rule for the Head of the State, you not only carry out your declared policy but create a good impression on large numbers of people in Kashmir as well as on people in 'Azad Kashmir' and, to some extent, even in Pakistan. At the same time, you consider it important simultaneously to elect the Yuvaraj in order to assure the minority communities, more especially in Jammu and Ladakh. I understand that.

5. The question is, how exactly you should give effect to your intentions and the manner and timing of doing so. Normally speaking, a new Constitution is not drawn up piecemeal and much less given effect to piecemeal. The whole Constitution is drawn up by the Constituent Assembly. When it is completed, then the whole is considered afresh so that there are no lacunae or contradictions in it and then passed. A date is fixed for its application. In such a Constitution there are, inevitably, transitory provisions, because it is hardly possible suddenly overnight to give effect to it entirely.

6. This was the procedure we adopted here. We started our Constitution-making in December 1946. After going through various phases, we finalized that Constitution in the latter half of 1949. This Constitution had many transitory provisions and it fixed the date for giving effect to it. This date was the 26th January 1950, when the Republic of India came into existence. We had in fact declared, right at the beginning of the Constituent Assembly, that we would have a Republic. But we continued as a Dominion with a Governor-

General, even after we gained independence and till the 26th January. The Indian Constitution is a complicated document (much too complicated) and anyhow we had to deal with an exceedingly complex situation. I hope your Constitution will be a relatively simple affair. Nevertheless, a Constitution requires a great deal of thinking and care and it is unwise to rush through it without seeing it as a whole, because each part must bear relation to the other.

7. All these are procedural points, though they have a certain importance. What is much more important is the consequence of any action that you might take now on Kashmir's relation to India and, to a somewhat lesser extent, on the Kashmir question before the Security Council. We may not attach too much importance to what the Security Council is doing and Graham's interminable discussions. Everyone is tired of them. But the fact remains that we are still carrying on with Graham and the Security Council and it will not be wise to give a handle to Pakistan there. If the resolution as drafted by you is passed by your Constituent Assembly, the question of Kashmir's accession to India is indirectly affected, because the person who, as Ruler and Head of the State, acceded to India is himself removed. What exactly the legal implications of this will be, we cannot immediately say. They have to be enquired into. The matter cannot be ignored and anyhow it would be the better part of wisdom not to do anything now which may come in our way in the Security Council.

8. But far more important is the question of how the proposed change in Kashmir would affect Kashmir's legal and constitutional connection with India, apart from of course other aspects of this question. According to our Constitution, the Maharaja of Kashmir is recognized by the President and thereupon is supposed to be the Rajpramukh of the State. Any change brought about by your Constituent Assembly unilaterally, and without our Constitution being changed, would bring about a certain legal conflict and disharmony. A very curious situation would arise and the whole question of Kashmir's accession to India would become one of acute debate and argument. There are of course some people in our Parliament who would try to make capital out of this legal disharmony, but apart from them, many others would also be troubled by it. In fact it might be interpreted as a breach of our Constitution by a constituent part and it is not clear to me immediately what the consequences would be.

9. We cannot change our Constitution suddenly. There is a long process which has to be gone through. Of course if Hari Singh abdicated, as we have been wanting him to do, one barrier would be removed, though others will remain from the constitutional point of view. But if Hari Singh was deposed, as your draft resolution dictates, then there is an immediate conflict with our Constitution.

10. You will appreciate that this will create any number of difficulties.

The accession of Kashmir to India, though complete when it took place, has become somewhat undefined, except of course for the fact that the accession took place in regard to three subjects named. But the accession is not a unilateral thing. It entails mutual obligations. Indeed, the mere fact that our Constituent Assembly contained representatives of Kashmir and our present Parliament contains them, is proof enough of Kashmir's accession. But there are other matters that flow from it, which have yet to be decided. If at this stage this new complication arises, it will undoubtedly lead to grave complications in law. It will of course also become a subject for heavy argument all over India and, to some extent, abroad.

11. This was essentially a matter which had to be very carefully considered and thought out before any step was taken. Indeed, it was our impression that these talks would take place between you and your Ministers and Gopalaswami Ayyangar and possibly others here. When Gopalaswami Ayyangar went to Jammu two months or so ago,³ we were given to understand that full discussions would take place on all these subjects in June and that previous to that, the matter would be considered on a secretarial level. These discussions have not taken place and we are now confronted with this difficult question. I do not see how we can decide it without that careful attention and consideration which it requires. It seems essential that apart from our legal advisers looking into it thoroughly, there should be a meeting and full discussion between you, your colleagues and your advisers on the one hand and some of us here on the other. I had hoped that you might be able to come here and I suggested as much, you will remember, some weeks ago.⁴ But you were busy with your Assembly and then the month of *Ramzan* began. You cannot come now and it is not possible for any of us to go to Srinagar because we are facing the Budget discussion in Parliament here, apart from many other important preoccupations. Thus there can be no meeting between us for some time and certainly not before your Assembly session. I do not know what I can suggest in the circumstances except that you might postpone the consideration of this matter in the Assembly. The Assembly can meet and can consider many other constitutional matters. There would be nothing unusual about this because, as I have pointed out above, the normal course is for the Assembly to draw up the framework of the Constitution and even fill in details before this is finalized. It is unusual for it to decide a very important matter of this kind in a hurry right at the commencement. However, it is for you to decide.

12. I have referred to the legal and constitutional aspects. There are of course other aspects of this problem also. Any important step that has to be

3. Ayyangar visited Jammu for three days in the first week of April with the purpose of seeking financial integration between Kashmir and the Indian Union through extension of the jurisdiction of the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India to the State.

4. See *ante*, p. 388.

taken has to be judged from various points of view and a Government tries to avoid such friction and untoward results as it can manage to do. Of course one cannot go in a straight line always or have absolute unanimity. One has to consider the balance of advantages and disadvantages and sometimes choose the lesser evil. As you know, there have been certain disruptive tendencies in Kashmir State, notably in Jammu and Ladakh. It would be unwise to give them a handle which could be exploited by our opponents. I cannot off-hand say whether the advantages gained will be so great as to enable us to discountenance the disadvantages. But the disadvantages are there and they may come in your way.

13. After all, you have clearly declared what your intentions are. You can declare them again so that there can be no doubt in the minds of Kashmiris as well as those outside, wherever they might be. To that extent, you gain the advantages which you seek without risking the disadvantages. But to take a final step, which involves so many difficulties, seems to me to give undue prominence to the disadvantages.

14. Apart from all this argument, to depose Hari Singh by a decision of the Constituent Assembly seems to me not to be a wise approach. We all know that he is not at all a desirable person and that he ought to go. But it does make a difference how one brings that about. Public memory is short and many will forget what happened four and a half years ago. They will look upon this as an unnecessary and discourteous act, and a certain measure of public sympathy might well go to him, even though he does not deserve it. It would be ever so much better for him to abdicate and fade away.

15. I have not discussed the other parts of the draft resolution, although something can be said about them. I have sought to place before you some major issues involved in this business. I feel that, in the circumstances, the only right course is to postpone a decision by the Constituent Assembly of this issue and for a full consideration to be given to it by you and us, so that any step that might be taken should be fitting and in harmony with the wishes of the people and the Constitution of India.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Shaikh Abdullah replied on 9 June that in order to enable the Government of India to effect corresponding adjustments necessitated by the decision of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly to terminate the system of hereditary rulership in the State, it had been decided to defer consideration of the proposed constitutional changes "for nearly a month." He added that in the meantime a delegation was being sent to New Delhi for discussions. Shaikh Abdullah, however, disagreed with Nehru that the repercussions of their decision "will be either harmful or unpleasant. On the contrary, we are convinced that the effect of this decision will be positively wholesome and advantageous. It may even go a long way in stabilizing our position so far as international opinion is concerned."

13. Status of Kashmir in the Indian Union¹

I had an interview with Mr Afzal Beg,² Maulana Saeed and Mr D.P. Dhar about Kashmir matters today.³ As I was talking to them, I was seeing a note from Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar about his talks with the Kashmir Delegation. I glanced through this rapidly.

Mr Beg appeared to be very depressed and said that they were leaving tonight for Kashmir. No results had been achieved thus far by their talks. They were anxious to help in every way. They talked about financial integration with the States Ministry and they had been told that it would take at least ten days before the States Ministry could send them a paper on this subject. Then it would take another week or so before the Kashmir people could consider it. The delay was thus not due to them.

He then told me that he had discussed with Mr Gopalaswami Ayyangar the question of the Head of the State, the title, etc., and the period for which he should be appointed. Fifteen years had been suggested. This would take away much from the whole object aimed at and would create a bad impression.

I told him that I did not attach very much importance to these matters. Personally I had agreed to the principle of the change and it should not be difficult to find out the proper procedure for doing so. Talk of deposition of Hari Singh seemed to me wrong and almost an affront to our President who had recognized him. The obvious course was for Hari Singh to abdicate. That would remove one obstacle. The other steps could be taken later.

But the real question before me was a wider one. What was the position of the Jammu and Kashmir State in the Indian Union? Was it a federal unit of that Union? Were Kashmiris citizens and nationals of India, using Indian passports? What was the position of our President who was the symbol of the entire Union? Where did the Supreme Court come in and the flag?

If these matters were clarified, then it would not be difficult to find ways and means to decide the other questions which had been raised now.

Financial integration was an important matter, but even that is dependent upon this larger issue. The small details of financial integration could be

1. Note to A.K. Azad, N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar and K.N. Katju, 19 June 1952. JN Collection.

2. Mirza Afzal Beg (1912-1982); participated in the people's movement since 1931; member, Indian Constituent Assembly and Kashmir Constituent Assembly; member, Shaikh Abdullah's Cabinet, 1948-53; arrested and detained several times between 1953 and 1972; founded the Jammu and Kashmir Plebiscite Front, 1955; Minister in the Government of Jammu and Kashmir, 1975-77, and Deputy Chief Minister, 1977-78.

3. A delegation led by Beg arrived in Delhi on 14 June 1952.

considered at some leisure. But the major points need not take long to decide if we were clear about the position of the Kashmir State in the Union of India.

All these matters, except the details of financial integration, did not require any great length of time for a decision. They were important, but if our minds were clear, we could sit down and decide them. They could not be left to the Secretariats.

Thus the point I stressed was that even before they finalized their Constitution, the relationship of Kashmir to India must be fully clarified. Once this was done, the other matters would not offer much difficulty.

Mr Beg and others left me saying that they would be returning to Kashmir tonight.

14. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi

June 19, 1952

My dear Mr President,

Thank you for your letter of the 19th June sending me a note on Kashmir. The Kashmir Ministers, after their preliminary talks with us, have gone back tonight to Srinagar. Presumably they will return after some days.

Your note is very helpful in considering this question. I shall be glad if you could have copies sent to Maulana Azad, Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar and Dr Katju.

In your note you have laid stress on strictly legal aspects of the case and the limited powers of the Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir State.² Whatever the strict law may be, I imagine that it is difficult to limit the powers of the Constituent Assembly deriving its sanctions from the people. Our Constituent Assembly took shape under the British Government. It is true that it was not limited in scope, but underwent several changes of its own volition and, ultimately, the people of India, functioning through their Constituent Assembly, gave to themselves their Constitution.

1. JN Collection.

2. Rajendra Prasad had asked whether in view of India's acceptance of the accession of Jammu and Kashmir State in terms of the Instrument of Accession signed by the Maharaja on 26 October 1947 and in view of the Maharaja's Proclamation of 5 March 1948 authorizing the convening of a Constituent Assembly for drawing up a Constitution subject to the continuance of the constitutional headship of the State in his dynasty, it was open to that Constituent Assembly to unilaterally abolish the hereditary headship of the State without the concurrence of the Maharaja or of India.

I rather doubt if any argument, however sound in strict law, which is based on the Maharaja's autocratic power, can be advanced now. In dealing with other states, we got some kind of consent from the Rulers. But it is well-known that that consent was due to the pressure of circumstances and not through any particular goodwill on their part. In any event, I do not see how we can take our stand on some innate authority of a hereditary autocratic Ruler.

What is important to me is not the Ruler but the President and the Constitution of India and anything that may be done should be in keeping with that Constitution and with the dignity and authority of our President. It must be remembered that the position of Kashmir has been very peculiar ever since its accession and, more especially, since the reference to the UN.³ We are committed to abide by the decision of the people of Kashmir, whatever it might be. We are committed secondly to a plebiscite. If the people of Kashmir decide to remove or do away with their old Ruler, we must accept that decision, in view of our repeated assurances to that effect. If they want to leave India, that also we have to accept, because of our assurance. We could of course want this done in the proper way and having due regard to constitutional proprieties. The Maharaja's wishes cannot come in the way.

Because of all this, a special provision was made in our Constitution in the transitory clause,⁴ so that we can give effect to changing circumstances without having recourse to a formal amendment of our Constitution. So far as Maharaja Hari Singh is concerned, he was put out of the picture a long time ago and he has no authority whatever now and there is not the least chance of his return to Kashmir as Ruler.

It is, however, perfectly true that the Kashmir Government or Constituent Assembly should not take any step affecting our Constitution without reference to India and without our concurrence. If they take such a step unilaterally, it means some kind of conflict with our Constitution, unless we are prepared to adapt our Constitution to meet their wishes.

Even the present situation in Kashmir is that the Maharaja or his son, the Regent, is a strictly constitutional Head and should abide by the advice of his Ministers. If he refuses to do so, he breaks a well-recognized convention.

We have to bear in mind also that, apart from Kashmir, there is strong feeling in India, and in our Parliament, against all hereditary Rulers. Even the

3. On 30 December 1947, the Government of India announced their intention of bringing the dispute with Pakistan over Kashmir before the Security Council.

4. Article 370 of the Constitution restricted the legislative authority of Parliament over Jammu and Kashmir to those items of the Union and Concurrent Lists as corresponded with matters specified in the Instrument of Accession of the State. Parliament, however, could legislate on such other matters in the said Lists as, with the concurrence of the State Government, the President might by order specify.

present position of Rajpramukhs and other pensioned Rulers is criticized and not accepted willingly. An argument based on hereditary right will not be agreeable except to very few in India.

The important questions that arise are mentioned in paragraph 9 of your note.⁵ In my talks with the Kashmir Ministers, I told them that the first question to decide and clarify was the position of Jammu and Kashmir State vis-a-vis India. In this connection, I mentioned some of the matters to which you have referred in paragraph 9.

Their answer was that of course Jammu and Kashmir State is a constituent unit of the Republic of India, that it has acceded in regard to three subjects and it is open to it to accede to more. That the Supreme Court undoubtedly exercises jurisdiction in regard to the subjects of accession. That the Union Parliament has full jurisdiction in regard to the subjects of accession, whatever they might be. They admit the necessity of financial integration of the State with India and are prepared to have talks on this. They are waiting for a note from the States Ministry on this subject. As regards the flag, they recognize the Flag of India and say that there is no conflict in having a separate flag of their own at the same time.

I told them that all this was rather vague and we should define our relationship precisely.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Rajendra Prasad noted that the position of Jammu and Kashmir vis-a-vis India required clarification in regard to the following points: the State's entitlement to have a flag of its own; India's entitlement to raise funds from the State to meet expenditure in connection with the responsibilities of defence, foreign relations and communications of the State; financial integration of the State with India; and jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and Parliament of India over matters relating to the State.

15. The Nature of Relationship between India and Kashmir¹

Question : Do you agree with the Resolution of the Constituent Assembly that there should be no hereditary Head for Kashmir State but that he should be elected?

Jawaharlal Nehru : The Kashmir question is under consideration by all of us

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 21 June 1952. PIB. Extracts. For other parts of the press conference, see pp. 36-38, 76-80, 144-145, 169-170, 352-353, 466-467, 476-477, 515, 542-544 and 580-582.

and I do not think it will be proper for me to talk much about it. Something I have already said elsewhere, I will tell you. When the Constituent Assembly first met a year ago, Shaikh Abdullah in his inaugural speech stated that they did not want the continuation of the dynastic rule there and so on and so forth. The principle has been stated repeatedly and generally speaking we had accepted it. We have accepted that point. The question that arises is, how to do it in the present circumstances so that it might be in keeping with the Indian Constitution and at the same time could give effect to the wishes of the people of Kashmir. If you want to ask me independently—not about Kashmir but about the whole of India—I do not believe in hereditary succession to anything.

Q: But it does not exist in India?

JN: Yes, it does exist in many ways.

Q: What about the State flag? Is it compatible with the sovereignty of the country as a whole for the State to have a separate flag? Will it not come into conflict with the sovereignty of India?

JN : Not necessarily. The point is that the State must recognize the national flag of India and use it on all major occasions. Whether they can have a subordinate State emblem also is not a very important point. The real flag of the State for national and international purposes is the Indian flag.

Q: May I recall your advice to the Mysore State when they asked for a separate flag for the State that they could have a flag for the Rajpramukh but not for the State? Will not a separate flag lead to a disintegrating influence?

JN: The main thing is the positive thing, as I said just now. I may like a thing or not like a thing and I may give certain advice—that is one thing; but the other point of view—what they can do—is another thing.

Q: The question is this. The accession of Kashmir is by the Ruler of Kashmir to India. The Constituent Assembly of Kashmir is also the instrument of the Ruler acting with the consent of India. Now, the point is, is India to appoint the future Ruler for five years or six years, or a Governor, or is the Constituent Assembly, which is itself the creation of the Ruler, to appoint a fresh Ruler or limit the appointment of the person who originally created the Constituent Assembly? That is what we would like to know.

JN: The real question is, what the exact relationship of Kashmir with the Union of India is. That is the real question; all others are minor things. Now, the Constituent Assembly of India was the creation of the British in India. They have gone now. It developed of its own impetus, gained momentum, converted itself into a sovereign assembly and finally into a Republic. Once you talk in terms of real constituent assemblies, they are supposed to derive power from the people and not from the figure-head who might appoint them. Otherwise they do not function. The whole idea of sanctions goes. But what is done is, one tries to keep up, as we keep up in India, certain constitutional forms. And we do that because the British Government accepted that position and cooperated with us without difficulty. Take again, another thing: the Constituent Assembly or the Government of Kashmir is supposed to be the Maharaja acting on the advice of his Ministers. That is, he is the constitutional head. If his Ministers advise him to do something, he must do it. If he disobeys the advice, he comes into conflict with his Ministers, even though the Ministers' advice may be against his own interests. Lawyers can argue about these matters. We want to do things in a constitutional and legal manner. But the real thing is rather beyond the scope of legal argument. And the basic thing is: what is the present or the future connection of Kashmir with India? Now, we proceed, and the Kashmir Government proceeds, so far as I know, on the basis of Kashmir being a constituent unit of the Union or federation of India, with all the consequences that flow from it. Nobody raised any discussion of details, etc., and this matter would have been settled long ago but for the fact that it was before the United Nations, and we did not wish to hustle, and I tell you that when this Constituent Assembly was convened, it was convened in consultation with us and with our goodwill, the goodwill of the Government of India. We did not look upon it, naturally, as something that would settle the problem that was actually before the United Nations. We had given an assurance to the United Nations,² and we stand by it. When the Security Council asked us about it, we made it clear to them again that the Kashmir Government had every right to have a Constituent Assembly to frame an internal Constitution. But so far as we were concerned, we would not be bound by their decision of the question before the Security Council.

Q: You will not be bound either by the Security Council decision or by the Constituent Assembly decision?

JN: We said we would not be bound by their decision on the question which was before the Security Council. We had given assurance to the United Nations

2. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 15 Part II, p. 296.

about, let us say, plebiscite. So we shall stand by it; we cannot get out of it because a third party does something. That does not prevent the third party doing something. We defined our attitude. When the Constituent Assembly met in Kashmir for the first time, I may inform you that it was their intention to pass a resolution forthwith confirming the accession to India. We asked them not to do it so as not to be embarrassed before the United Nations.³ Simply because of that we said: "Do not do it." But the fact of accession is there, and naturally they will have to face it in accordance with the Constitution. We asked them not to pass the resolution which might be interpreted by the United Nations as trying to bypass them. And it was at our instance that they did not pass that resolution.

Q: Are you aware that the fact of the accession and the subsequent decision which they have taken are being exploited by the Pakistan press?

JN: Maybe. These new questions have arisen now. And, as I said, the real question is not, if I may so, about the Head of the State being elected, etc. The real question is about the fundamental relationship of Kashmir with India. And in regard to that there has been no room for argument because the leaders of the Constituent Assembly and the Government there have repeatedly stated, and state now, that the fundamental relationship is that Kashmir is a constituent unit of the federation or Union of India. Now, in regard to details, there must be certain arguments. The point is, it acceded in regard to three subjects, as, indeed, did every other state at that time; subsequently other states acceded in respect of other subjects and came within the full purview of our Constitution. Kashmir did not, chiefly because of the Security Council. We did not wish to go ahead, and indeed in our Constitution there are certain transitory provisions to deal with this peculiar situation. It had been left somewhat fluid.

Q: Will the decision of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly be taken into consideration, in view of the importance of the Kashmir issue, in considering the overall situation in the country? And how will it affect other States?

JN: When the Government of India consider a question, they have to consider every aspect of it, naturally.

Q: Has there been any special development which has led Kashmir to decide to elect the Head of the State?

3. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 15 Part II, pp. 275-276.

JN: I may tell you that for at least five years the subject has been discussed. Yet it came as a surprise. People do not know the background. For the last four or five years they have always talked about an elected head.

Q: Was it the policy that there should be no dynastic head? Abolition of dynastic head need not necessarily mean an elected head.

JN: Do you make a distinction? What is the difference?

Q: There is a distinction. The rest of India can have Governors appointed by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister. Kashmir can also have the same arrangement.

JN: There is that possibility.

Q: It is implicit in the Constitution that certain powers of the President in regard to Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications cannot be exercised by the Head of the State. Will there not be some difficulty if the Head of the State is not appointed by the President of India?

JN: You remember that when we were discussing the Constitution of India our first decision was that Governors should be elected by adult franchise. What would happen if each State elected its Governor? Under the Constitution the President derives his authority from the States. After further consideration we decided to make the Governor a nominee of the President. Of course, no Governor is appointed without consultation with the State and without its agreement. But these points do not really arise. Whether you have a particular person nominated at the top does not make very much difference. The point is whether the whole real governmental structure should be coordinated in the federation or not.

Q: So far as the powers of the Head of the State are concerned, the important point to consider is whether the President of India has the power to grant pardon or reprieve. Is the elected Head of the Kashmir State also to be invested with similar power?

JN: The Governor of a State today has that power.

Q: But it has to come to the President.

JN: The Governor has certain powers. He can exercise them. The President has certain powers. Your question is, whether the President will have power

in addition to that. It is obvious that in regard to the subjects of accession, first of all, the Parliament has full power. Secondly, the President has power. Thirdly, the Supreme Court has power. The question is the quantum of accession. From the quantum of accession all the powers flow to the President, Supreme Court, Parliament, etc.

Q: If a State gives the death penalty to any subject, the President has got authority to grant a pardon or a reprieve. Will the President have the same power to grant pardon in the case of Kashmir?

JN: I imagine so. It normally flows from the quantum of accession. Five years ago, the accession was in regard to three subjects. As I said, because the Security Council was considering all these matters, we postponed it. We said we would consider them later on.

Q: Some two years ago, the President passed some orders enabling the Indian Parliament to have some powers with regard to these subjects. The Kashmir Government have yet to accept it.

JN: You will find that an exception has been made in the case of all orders passed by the President in the case of Kashmir.

Q: The Kashmir Government have yet to accept it with regard even to the subject of accession.

JN: Yes, in regard to certain interpretations of the three subjects.

Q: Now that you have no objection to have an elected Head in the case of Kashmir, will the other State Governments be allowed to have elected Heads if they want to?

JN: At one time we thought that it was not desirable because there would be conflict between the elected legislature and the elected Head of the State. If the Head is elected by the Parliament or is made the Head by some other arrangement, presumably there will be no conflict. If the Head is elected by the people, he derives his sanction from the people, and inevitably this will make the Head of the State think that he can ignore the Assembly and there will be conflict....

16. Towards a Real Integration of Kashmir¹

The honourable Member who has just spoken has appealed to me to exercise such influence as I might possess in this matter of Kashmir.² May I reply to that and say that not only will I exercise my influence to the best of my ability and according to the light as I see it but that I have done so in the past. But my difficulty has been—and it is a serious difficulty which has come in the way of a solution of this problem—a difficulty that speeches like the one which the honourable Member has delivered are delivered.

The honourable Member started off his speech today reasonably. There are important matters to be considered, to be weighed by us, to be decided by us. Not only to be decided by us, sovereign Parliament as we are, but there are some matters which are outside our scope. We cannot decide the shape of the world, for instance, however much we would like to do it. For instance, we cannot stop the fight in Korea. Yesterday, when an honourable Member wanted to move an adjournment motion regarding the bombing on Yalu river, it was not discussed.³ But I am quite sure every Member here dislikes it, and was aghast at it—that this should be done at this moment, when peace was being talked about. But we cannot stop it. We could have discussed it, but we can certainly not stop it. There are many things beyond the power of this Parliament. Therefore, we have to proceed about these matters with wisdom, with caution, with restraint, and with firmness. And during all this period there has been much, much wrong we may have committed and the honourable Member may have committed. I am no paragon of virtue, nor is our Government paragons of virtue. I do not say that. But I do humbly submit to this House and to the honourable Member who has just spoken that there are certain approaches which lead to wrong results, however eloquently they are put forward. And the approach which has been made often enough, not so

1. Reply to the debate on the demand for grants of the Ministry of External Affairs, 26 June 1952. *Parliamentary Debates: House of the People, Official Report*, Vol. II, Part II, cols 2583–2595.
2. Syama Prasad Mookerjee had appealed to Nehru to “exercise his influence, his goodwill, his power of persuasiveness and whatever he possesses and thereby persuade Shaikh Abdullah and others to remain with India as a constituent unit.” But if they remained intransigent and did not “come within India except in respect of the three subjects, then at any rate let us devise a scheme by which the people of Jammu and Ladakh may have the full liberty to decide whether they will integrate fully with India.”
3. The notice of an adjournment motion by A.K. Gopalan calling attention to “the danger of extension of war to China and throughout the world by the deliberate bombing by American planes of the Yalu river electric plants”, was not accepted for discussion by the Speaker on grounds of the unspecific nature of the matter and inadequacy of facts.

much by the honourable Member, but by the honourable Member's companions—I regret he keeps such amazing company nowadays....⁴ And during all that period when the honourable Member was in our company, he, if I may say so, functioned with remarkable clarity of mind. And it is an amazing thing that much that he criticizes or dislikes today was done when he was in our company. There was nothing to criticize then. But gradually he drifted away into evil courses, with the result that we see today. As I listened to the first part of the honourable Member's speech,⁵ I did not agree with everything, but it was an able, cogently argued speech on constitutional and other problems which we have to decide in this House. But then he drifted off. The influence of his earlier career in this Government apparently passed away, and his later associations came to the front, and he brought out all kinds of amazing things.

I wish I had the time to deal with each single point. He referred to the permit system.⁶ Either it is ignorance, or it is wilful forgetfulness on his part. It is the Indian Army which had introduced the permit system in Kashmir. It is India and the Indian Army which have introduced it, not because of anything else, but because spies went there—not our spies, but other people's spies. It was the Indian Army that wanted to control entry into Kashmir of undesirable persons. It has been represented as something imposed by some one else to prevent Indians from going there. Now, that is a thing which misleads persons. I am not here to defend every act of the Kashmir Government or, for the matter of that, of my own Government. Let us consider them. If we have made mistakes, let us change them. But I submit that this kind of approach cannot possibly lead to any reasonable result that we may aim at.

Now, this Kashmir affair has lasted in this present form for nearly four years and nine months. Public memories are short, and many of the honourable Members who have come here have not heard the previous debates on this subject here, and the subject may, in a sense, be new to them. Previously this Parliament, or rather the previous Parliament, has often considered this problem. So far as I am concerned, it is important enough for us to give it as much time as we can possibly give, and I am prepared to say this to honourable Members opposite, that if they wish to confer with me privately, I am prepared. What is more, should occasion arise, and should the House so desire, I am

4. Mookerjee, who was the Union Minister for Industry and Supply from 15 August 1947 to 19 April 1950, intervened to say, "I was in your company for two and a half years."
5. Mookerjee wanted clarifications regarding: (1) India's position vis-a-vis Kashmir; (2) compatibility with the Indian Constitution of the decision of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly regarding the Headship of the State; (3) the question of a separate flag for Kashmir; and (4) the position of the Maharaja.
6. Mookerjee asserted that the system prevalent during the Maharaja's time which restricted the rights and privileges of Indian citizens to go and settle in Kashmir was still continuing.

prepared to have a full-dress debate on this issue, so that we may not be hurried about the matter.

It is not the Government's desire to hurry this through or to follow any policy of hush-hush. There is no secrecy about it. The point is that this problem is a difficult, intricate problem, and no amount of eloquent speeches by me or by the honourable Member opposite will solve the problem. It may influence us for a while. Some of us have faced this problem in this particular way for nearly five years. Some of us have faced this problem in other ways for the last twenty-two years. It is a long problem; various types of conflicts—conflicts of the people against their autocratic Government, and a conflict which involved me personally in an incident in which I myself was the prisoner of an earlier Government in Kashmir State. So that there is a history behind this. It is not so simple as the honourable Member makes out. It is a long history. When the time came, in July and August 1947, when Independence was coming and partition was coming, at that time still Shaikh Abdullah and most of his colleagues were in prison. Remember that. They had been in prison for a long time. And when I sought to go there merely to interview him, I was put in prison by the Maharaja's Government of the day.⁷ That was the inheritance just before partition came.

Ultimately, by pressure of events, the Government of that day released Shaikh Abdullah and his other colleagues. They conferred with some of us. What was the advice that was given to them, by bigger people than I am? The advice given to them was that they must not hurry. It was a difficult problem, this Kashmir problem, and whatever steps they took should be after consulting their people as formally as possible, because we knew that this matter of Kashmir was going to be complicated. So, when the honourable Member referred to that process of accession which went on on a large scale in July and early August, through the great wisdom and courage of Sardar Patel, three states were left out—two major ones and a minor one—the major ones being Hyderabad and Kashmir: Hyderabad for different reasons, and Kashmir for different reasons. This was done deliberately, and our advice to the Kashmir people and the Maharaja so long as he was there was: "Do not hurry. It is a difficult problem. Do it soundly and well, and we shall abide by the decision of the people of Kashmir." That is the policy that Sardar and our Government laid down in regard to every state in India. Naturally the question did not arise in regard to most states. But this was the policy in regard to every state: that the people of the state should decide.

Long before the struggle with Pakistan about Kashmir arose, we put it to the Maharaja and, if I may say so, in this connection it is my conviction and an honest conviction that at least seventy-five to eighty per cent of the troubles

7. See *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 15, pp. 381–393.

of Kashmir today and in the last few years have been due to the amazingly mistaken wrong-headed policy that the Maharaja pursued there. Well, there it is. So we put it to him but, what was much more important, we put it to the organization—to the National Conference of Kashmir. It was an organization of Kashmir only but it has been closely associated for twenty years or so with that other great organization which does not function now as such, the All India States People's Conference and that was closely associated with the people from other States and the people from Kashmir. So the Government of India and others put it to them, to the Maharaja and Shaikh Abdullah, as soon as he came out, that this matter must not be hurried and it was our idea then that a Constituent Assembly should be elected in Kashmir quickly and as soon as possible to decide about these and other questions. We advised them.

Of course, the House will remember that immediately after partition and Independence horrible things occurred in Pakistan on the borders of India. Killings, massacres and migrations took place and we were completely tied up with these things. Then came the news on the fateful day—in the last week of October—about the invasion of Kashmir by those raiders. It was an exceedingly difficult question for us and the honourable Member who spoke about it was a member of our Government then. He might remember how difficult that choice was for us. It came suddenly. We were busy with troubles at home. From a military point of view it was exceedingly difficult to cross over the mountains into Kashmir and to take an effective part. The first day we considered it. We could not come to a decision. We wanted more news. The next day the news was much worse. Mahora Power House was burnt down and so on and so forth and it seemed to us that whatever might be the risks, we had to intervene and intervene by air. We had no air force worth the name at that time. The whole army was split up. Everything was split up and it was rather a fine effort that I think within twelve hours of our decision by the Defence Committee of the Cabinet troops were on their way to Kashmir by air. We stopped all the civil lines overnight and sent some troops—I think the first day about 270 persons and the second day about 200 or 300 of them—and these troops went straight from the airfield to battle near the Srinagar city. However, much happened that day and before we sent our troops an appeal came to us from the Maharaja and an appeal came to us from the National Conference.

I do not wish to go into the past history or to cast blame on people for past events but when crises came to Kashmir in those days, the part played by a number of leading persons was not creditable. In fact, it was very discreditable and it was in ultimate analysis—even before the Indian Army got there—the common people of Kashmir who stood the strain and faced the enemy. It was not the big people there who faced the enemy. It was this organization—the National Conference—and their volunteers, without arms of course, who stood

the strain and stayed there even when the enemy was ten miles away. Not a shop in Srinagar closed. It was really astounding how they showed their courage. So that way this story of invasion started.

Now, in accordance with our previous decision—quite apart from Kashmir and Pakistan—a declaration was made by Sardar Patel and us that every state where there was a difference of opinion will be allowed to decide by popular verdict, if necessary. When this question of accession came before us, if the Maharaja only had asked for accession we would have hesitated unless we had known there was some popular backing behind it. We knew that the Maharaja had no popular backing. Hence it was not for the mere asking of the Maharaja that we could agree to a thing like this. It was only because of the popular organization there that we decided to accept it. Even so we repeated what we had said previously. We accepted it and of course the accession was complete. It was not a kind of partial accession or limited accession. The accession was complete. But we said that we will abide by the verdict of the people whenever the chance or the opportunity comes to take it.

Later we referred the matter to the United Nations. It is very well for honourable Members to be wise after the events or for us too and realize what we should have done four years ago. But the position as we saw it then, it seemed to us a wise thing to do. And in those days we had also the high advantage of taking counsel from the Father of the Nation and in this matter too—I do not wish to drag his name because it is not fair to do so, but I do wish to say that I took counsel with him because we were in a state of great difficulty and perplexity. We did not want war all over just at the beginning of our career as an independent nation. And yet we had to defend Kashmir and there was a possibility of that war spreading and becoming a major one. Now, regardless of the question as to who was right and who was wrong, there is no doubt about it that if that war had spread, it would have been disastrous for us—more so for others but disastrous for us also—and would have stopped all our ideas of progress and development. So we decided—to stop the war spreading—to refer this matter to the United Nations. May I say that honourable Members sometimes ask us to withdraw this question from the United Nations? I do not understand that. I do not know how it can be done. Of course, we can break with the United Nations when we want to and we can say to them and tell them, “We leave you, we go away from you and take the consequences.” If you are prepared for that, well, I do not think that will be a right step. That will be a wrong step from many points of view—either broader grounds of policy or narrower opportunist grounds, call them what you will. Therefore, the question of withdrawing something does not arise in that way. We have made it perfectly clear to the Security Council and the United Nations that we went there with the particular appeal. We did not go there to seek their arbitration or to be ordered about. Our original request to

them was a very simple one and that was: "Please ask the Pakistan Government not to aid the raiders." That was our sole request that we made. So since then several resolutions have been passed by the United Nations or the Security Council with or without our agreement. One at least—and a major one—has been passed without our agreement and we have not accepted that.⁸ And we have made it perfectly clear that we cannot accept it or a large part of it. There the matter stands. So that there is no question of our submitting to any direction which we consider wrong. But apart from that we have made it clear that we will, in our desire for peace, accept any advice or mediation, if you like. And even though it is awful enough, rather distressing and disheartening, to carry on these interminable talks without end when often enough the major issues are put aside and long arguments take place over trivial details.

So this story continued and about fifteen months after that came the truce. The honourable Member, Mr Chatterjee, said this was our second bungling—error—that we agreed to the armistice then.⁹ Well, I do not know where Mr Chatterjee was at the time and how far he was acquainted with what was happening, but I was here and I was acquainted with every full stop and comma and semicolon of what was happening and what was being done, and all I can say is that the inference he has drawn is completely unjustified from the position. It may be good to be wise after the event. And there is no doubt about it, and I am free to confess it, that always our desire has been to stop fighting wherever possible with honour and self-respect and with the preservation of our freedom. We do not want unnecessary wars. After judging the situation very carefully we came to that decision. It was the depth of winter, the 31st of December 1948.¹⁰ All over Northern Kashmir, fighting itself was not too easy because of heavy snow and all that; of course, fighting was nevertheless taking place. It was only in the South that really effective fighting could take place and was taking place.

8. An Anglo-American resolution, deprecating the proposed convening of a Constituent Assembly in Kashmir as inconsistent with the earlier resolutions of the Security Council and the UN Commission for India and Pakistan, and affirming that a final disposition of Kashmir could be made only after a free and impartial plebiscite conducted under UN auspices, was introduced in the Security Council on 21 February 1951. India refused to accept it. However, a revised resolution moved on 21 March 1951 was adopted by eight votes with India, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia abstaining.
9. N.C. Chatterjee of the Hindu Mahasabha said that while the valiant Indian Army was chasing the marauders and aggressors and the whole territory was going to be cleared, the ceasefire order came with the result that those "illegal trespassers" were still sticking to Kashmir.
10. A ceasefire in Kashmir, mutually agreed upon by India and Pakistan, came into effect from the midnight of 31 December 1948–1 January 1949 in anticipation of proposals by the UN Commission for the holding of a plebiscite in Kashmir.

I really am very sorry, I apologize to you, Sir, and to the House, for going into this past history. I shall briefly refer to some of the matters that have been raised. So far as the strict law is concerned, my colleague, the States Minister, is obviously an infinitely better lawyer than I have ever claimed to be, but it is clear that when this accession took place it was an accession of the same kind as in the case of the other states in the first stage—accession on three subjects. Now, in regard to the other states later on various processes of integration took place. Obviously, in regard to Kashmir they could not take place because the position had been petrified because of various things happening: a war happening, the reference to the United Nations happening, and the undertaking and assurances given by us. It could not change until some other step was taken. So that it became inevitable that the position in regard to Kashmir was limited to the accession on these three subjects. Of course, the rest we might confirm, we might decide by conferences, by friendly reference; that is a different matter. But strictly speaking it was only that and that position had remained and it had to remain until some major change in the other circumstances took place. Because all these years—it is now three years since the ceasefire—we have not been assured at any time whether there would be a resumption of military operations or not.

The House will remember that we declared clearly more than a year ago that in spite of the fact that our territory had been invaded and part of it was actually in enemy occupation, we would not resume military operations unless we were attacked and we would rely upon a peaceful settlement of that problem whether it is through the United Nations or otherwise.¹¹ The honourable Member asked me a question: How do you hope to get back those territories? Well, my reply then was and now is: By peaceful means. Because I think that resuming war for them would mean disastrous consequences which we do not wish to face. However, I am not going into that question. Then we made it clear, first of all, that we would not start military operations unless we were attacked. Secondly, we made it perfectly clear that if an attack took place in Kashmir by way of Pakistan, any kind of attack, then the operations that would ensue would not be limited to Kashmir State. This was made perfectly clear. We were not going to be tied down if Pakistan attacked Kashmir State thinking it could confine its operations as previously to Kashmir. That could not possibly happen. That declaration of ours I believe had a salutary effect and probably prevented attacks in Kashmir in the last year or two.

Now, that has been the position. Constitutionally the position continues and no doubt it is desirable, and I wish it as much as Dr Mookerjee, that the constitutional position should develop, should be clarified. Certainly, and we shall try to have that done, but it must be remembered that the basic causes

11. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 15 Part I, pp. 326–327 and 421.

which prevented it from developing still continue to a large extent and that is the difficulty. We have not got a clean slate to write upon; we are limited, inhibited by the United Nations, by this, by that. But, nevertheless, the basic thing still remains, that we have declared, and even if we have not declared, that fact would remain—that it is the people of Kashmir who must decide. And I say with all respect to our Constitution that it just does not matter what your Constitution says; if the people of Kashmir do not want it, it will not go there. Because what is the alternative? The alternative is compulsion and coercion, presuming, of course, that the people of Kashmir do not want it. Are we going to coerce and compel them and thereby justify the very charges that are brought by some misguided people outside this country against us? So the question becomes one of having the closest possible union with the people of Kashmir, with their goodwill and our goodwill. Therefore, any action taken which frightens, irritates, brings suspicion in the way, comes in the way of that very thing that we desire. And that is why I venture to say that some of the advisers of my honourable friend opposite, maybe with all good intentions, but nevertheless have been acting in a manner which has come in the way of the very thing they may desire. Now, it is clear that today the accession of Kashmir is in regard to three subjects and the idea was and is that the matter should be looked into when the time comes, extended, or whatever it is, but for the moment it remains in those three subjects. Of course “three subjects” as interpreted can mean much more or a little less; but the accession is complete, it is not partial. And when we said that the people of Kashmir will decide, that did not limit in any way the accession. It only meant that for other reasons—not constitutional, not legal; but we placed them on higher ground, if such a contingency arose. Let us suppose there was a proper plebiscite there and the people of Kashmir said, “We do not want to be with India.” Well, we are committed to it, we would accept it. It might pain us, but we would not send an army against them; we would accept that however much hurt we might feel about it and we would change our Constitution about it. We do not think that would happen—that is a different matter—because even previously and in the last few years, numerous bonds have arisen which bring us together, the people of Kashmir and the people of India.

So Kashmir, obviously, is a constituent unit of the federation or the Union of India, but a difference has arisen—subsequently arisen, you please remember that, not originally—between Kashmir and the other states because subsequent to the earlier accession the other states have become integrated more which Kashmir has not and could not in the circumstances as I have tried to point out. But, nevertheless, it is a full constituent unit of India. Various things flow from it, various consequences—consequences, for instance, in regard to the President of the Republic. The President has certain authority which he



Personal

12/5/52

My dear Deshmukh,

Now that various formalities about the election of the leader are over, I have to take steps to submit the names for the next list to the President. This will be done tomorrow afternoon. You know that I would like you to continue and I shall therefore include your name in the list.

Yours Sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru

TO C.D. DESHMUKH, 12 MAY 1952



TAKING OATH OF OFFICE AND SECRECY AS PRIME MINISTER, NEW DELHI, 13 MAY 1952

exercises on behalf of the Republic and wherever the constituent unit may be the President will exercise that authority in that measure. Of course, the President exercises that authority on the advice of his advisers. That is a different matter. The President may recognize or not recognize a Rajpramukh or someone else like that. That presidential authority, therefore, applies to every State of India in that sense. It may be exercised on a recommendation after some choice by others, whatever it may be. But the President's ultimate right has to remain for a constituent unit of India.

The honourable Member referred to the flag, and he was good enough to refer to what I said long ago in the Constituent Assembly.¹² But there can be no doubt that in any part of India it is the flag of India that must prevail and that must be dominant. But remember that in some States in India even now—or till recently—there was the State flag. In the State of Mysore, till a few days ago (till four or five days ago), every public building displayed apart from the national flag the State flag also which was the Maharaja's flag really but which the State had adopted as its own. It so happened that just four or five days ago, the Mysore Government, with the concurrence of the Maharaja, decided not to display the State flag. I welcome that move. What I mean to say is that it is not such an extraordinary thing for a State flag to be there in a subordinate position, provided the flag of India is the dominant flag and represents the Republic of India all over the territories of the Union. These are matters of importance, no doubt, but not of great difficulty, matters which we can consider and settle amongst ourselves.

Take the Supreme Court. Undoubtedly, in regard to matters concerning which a State is associated, or has acceded, there can be no doubt that the Supreme Court only can decide. I am not for the moment referring to other matters. The matter is not clear in my mind. It is a matter for the lawyers and others to consider. But it is obvious that within that sphere of accession, the Supreme Court must come in. It may come in otherwise too.

The honourable Member referred with great force to the Fundamental Rights of citizens.¹³ It must prevail all over. The Fundamental Rights which we have, have ensured the liberty of the individual here certainly, but the House will remember that they have also ensured the continuation, for some time at least, of certain systems which we wanted to get rid of: for instance, the landlord system in this country; for instance, the zamindari system. For years we have been trying to get over that difficulty and the Fundamental Rights came in our way. I wonder how many honourable Members present

12. Mookerjee pointed out that Nehru, while speaking about the National Flag in the Constituent Assembly, had said that its significance was for the entire nation and not for any one State or a section of the people.

13. Mookerjee said that in a democratic federal State the Fundamental Rights should be afforded alike to all citizens in all its constituent units.

today, if we have the framing of the Fundamental Rights, would have anything to do with the Fundamental Rights which restrict our social and economic progress. Certainly, I would not. So that having gained this experience of the Fundamental Rights we had to amend the Constitution ourselves a little while ago.¹⁴ Having gained this experience, would you like us to push that on to Kashmir in regard to land reform and other things? I feel that it would be improper for us to do that.

I am not talking about other Fundamental Rights, but that particular one about land reforms. As a matter of fact, as the House knows, considerable land reform has taken place in Kashmir¹⁵ with advantageous results. Some individuals no doubt have suffered, as they must when there is any big scheme like this. But the whole scheme has been considered to be a great success. I wish, if I may say so, that we in the rest of India could make as rapid progress in land reform.

There are many small matters to which the honourable Member referred—Hindi, Urdu, Hindustani, etc.¹⁶ The House will remember that the honourable Member mentioned that the language is written both in the Devanagari script and the Persian and Urdu scripts. So it is the content of the language that he objected to. Now, I have not seen the book¹⁷ and it will not help me even if I see it. I take his word for it. But may I point out to the House that the kind of language which perhaps the honourable Member might approve is totally incomprehensible in Kashmir. Nobody understands it. What the future will bring I do not know. But we are overwhelmed with complaints even from Eastern Punjab to the effect that they do not understand this new language

14. The main provisions of the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, passed by Parliament on 2 June 1951, were: (1) to secure the constitutional validity of the agrarian reform laws in general and certain specified State Acts in particular; (2) to enable the State to make special provisions for the advancement of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes and other backward classes; (3) to impose restrictions on the exercise of the individual's right of freedom of speech and expression; and (4) to enable the State to make laws restricting the individual's right to engage in any trade or start an industry which might be inconsistent with the programme of nationalization.
15. The Big Landed Estate Abolition Act of 1951 ended the right of ownership of a landlord owning more than 182 kanals (22.75 acres). The expropriated land was to be transferred in full ownership to the tillers to a maximum of 160 kanals (20 acres).
16. Mookerjee said that Hindi had disappeared from Jammu and Kashmir under the present rule, and where Hindustani in the Devanagari-script survived, the content was only Persianized Urdu.
17. Mookerjee alleged that in a book approved by the Kashmir Government's Textbook Committee, which he claimed had no representation of the minorities, *talaq* and *khula* were mentioned as the rights of women in the State. Describing *khula* as a kind of temporary marriage which he likened to "companionate marriage" in the US, Mookerjee wondered at the nature of the rights being given to women.

that is growing up. Even they say so. They say that they cannot understand our Radio and that they have to listen to Pakistan Radio which they do not like, because Pakistan Radio curses them. But that is the only one they can understand. It is no good your imposing Banaras Hindi on Kashmir. It is not the language of Kashmir at all.

First of all, the language of Kashmir is Kashmiri. Kashmiri is a language of not any particular group or religion. It is the language of Kashmir—Hindu, Muslim or Sikh; they talk in Kashmiri.

Kashmiri is a mixture of Sanskrit, Persian, Pushtu and quite a number of nearby languages. There is a good deal of Persian in it. It has nothing to do with Muslim or Hindu. You can talk to anybody there. Maybe a particular textbook is not good; maybe the language of it can be improved. But that is not the point. Please remember in regard to this language matter, our friends from the South raised the issue in another context. This vast territory from Central India to the tip of Ladakh in Kashmir, you may call vaguely a Hindi-speaking area. But it varies very much and a person right in the North does not understand, or otherwise struggles to understand, the Hindi that is spoken elsewhere. So you will have to find out a middle language. There is no doubt that this type of Hindi is not understood by one per cent of the people in Kashmir—Hindu or Muslim. I include in that the vast number of Hindus of Jammu too.

So one has to develop a language. There may be errors in the textbooks or mistakes. Get over them; simplify them. If that is a grievance, it is a far greater grievance all over here, including my own province of Uttar Pradesh. The language they use is largely incomprehensible to me today. What am I to do about that? The sign-boards on the roads I do not understand. I do not know what they are.

So, may I finish by again saying that this matter is an important matter. It is not a matter ultimately of eloquent speeches, but of dealing with a situation which is very delicate, very difficult, and the decision for which ultimately lies with the few million people in Kashmir, not even with this Parliament. That is the important thing. And if we seek to gain their goodwill, we should act accordingly. Remember also that India is a great country, spreading right from Cape Comorin to Kashmir. And if you look at the map, Kashmir is almost the heart of Asia. There is an enormous difference, not only in geography but in all kinds of factors there. Do not think you are dealing with a part of UP, Bihar or Gujarat. You are dealing with an area, historically and geographically, and in all manner of things with a certain background. If we bring our local ideas and local prejudices everywhere we will never consolidate. We have to be men of vision and there has to be a broadminded acceptance of facts in order to integrate really. And real integration comes of the mind and the heart and not of some clause which you may impose on other people.

17. Message to Frank P. Graham¹

When you were here we gave you an assurance that we would remove our troops a considerable distance away from our frontiers with Pakistan. Further that we would withdraw the equivalent of a division from Jammu and Kashmir State. We were prepared to do this unilaterally and even if Pakistan did not withdraw any troops from areas occupied by her. We proceeded, however, on the assumption that assurances, given by both India and Pakistan to you to the effect that no aggressive step will be taken by either party which might worsen the situation, would be kept.

In accordance with our assurance to you we withdrew large numbers of our troops from Pakistan frontier and stationed them far away in the interior. Having completed this withdrawal, we were proceeding to give effect to the other part of the assurance, namely, the withdrawal of a division from Jammu and Kashmir State. We were doing so in spite of reports that reached us about activities on the Pakistan side which were not satisfactory. We have now received reliable information that Pakistan has moved Headquarters fifteen division and three armoured brigades and one infantry brigade into Sialkot very recently. There was already one brigade group in Sialkot. This increased strength in the Sialkot area within seven miles of our border and within twenty-one miles of Jammu city constitutes a grave threat to the security of Jammu and hence also of Kashmir generally. We would point out that this is in direct contravention of assurances given by Pakistan. This redistribution of troops and heavy armour by Pakistan right on Kashmir border is a threat to our security which we cannot ignore. We have therefore to re-examine the situation in the Jammu-Sialkot area and for the present have suspended withdrawal of our division which had already been ordered to take place immediately, pending the result of the re-examination.

You will agree with me, I am sure, that this is a serious development which to some extent affects the entire situation which we have been discussing for so long. It indicates how danger can suddenly threaten the security of Jammu and Kashmir State from the Pakistan side and we have to be on our guard against it.

1. New Delhi, 26 June 1952. JN Collection. This message was communicated to Graham through Rajeshwar Dayal, Permanent Representative of India in the UN.

18. Integration of Kashmir with the Indian Union¹

Kashmir, like other states, acceded to India on three subjects in October 1947 under rather peculiar circumstances. Later, other states became more integrated in regard to additional subjects and they accepted the Constitution of India in its entirety.

2. This development did not take place in regard to Kashmir because of those special reasons—war with Pakistan, reference to UNO, etc., and therefore Kashmir's accession was continued to be limited to those three subjects. This was a fluid condition, which could not be finalized then. When our Constitution was taking its final shape, something had to be said about Kashmir and, therefore, some transitional provisions relating to Kashmir were added to it. The position remained fluid.

3. The Dominion of India became the Republic of India. That made no difference to Kashmir and its accession to the Republic of India was also in regard to those three subjects only.

4. In the normal course, more definite shape would have been given to the position of Kashmir in the Union of India and the transitory provisions would have been replaced by a more permanent arrangement. But, chiefly because of the reference to the UN, we did not take this matter up and allowed things to continue in the transitional and rather vague state. Even in the transitional clauses of our Constitution, reference was made to a future Constituent Assembly of Kashmir State, which was to draw up a Constitution for Kashmir.

5. Now that this Constituent Assembly of the J & K State has started functioning, we can no longer delay taking decisions in regard to some of these matters affecting the relation of Kashmir to India. This has been brought to a head by the desire of the Kashmir leaders to change the nature of the Headship of the State. In considering this particular matter, we cannot isolate it from other matters. Therefore, we have to define with some precision, though not necessarily with detail, the nature of this relationship.

6. The first question that arises is this: must all constituent units of the Republic of India have exactly the same relation to the Union, as embodied in our Constitution and various Lists of subjects, or can there be a variation?

7. If they must stand on exactly the same footing, then there is not much room for argument and Kashmir must line up with the others.

8. This is not a practical proposition and, even from the larger point of view, it is desirable to have a certain flexibility in our Constitution. Therefore,

1. Note, 3 July 1952. JN Collection.

we must proceed on the basis of some special treatment of J & K State in this connection.

9. Whatever special treatment we may accord to that State, if the State is a constituent unit of the Union of India, then certain inevitable results flow from it.

10. We proceed on the assumption that J & K State is a constituent unit of the Union of India. For the present, the major Central subjects in regard to the State are three only, namely, Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications. We accept that limitation for the present, but it must be made clear that these subjects can be added to. Even now certain additions will have to be made to bring out the inevitable consequences of J & K State being a part of India. These would not be major subjects, but rather corollaries of accession.

11. Accepting that J & K State is a constituent unit of the Union of India, it follows that there can only be one common nationality or citizenship, namely, that of the Republic of India. There cannot be any kind of separate citizenship for Kashmir or dual citizenship.

12. The authority of the President as given in our Constitution must be acknowledged. (The President has certain overriding powers of suspending the Constitution in a State.) It will have to be considered whether this power should remain in regard to J & K State.

13. Any Head of the J & K State must be recognized by the President.

14. The Supreme Court must function in the State in regard to anything connected with the subjects of accession as well as Fundamental Rights and other important clauses. The Fundamental Rights may be varied, with our consent, by the Constituent Assembly for Kashmir. There may be other variations too in the Kashmir Constitution. The Supreme Court, however, should be the final authority to interpret the Kashmir Constitution, as it does our own.

15. The question to be considered is whether the Supreme Court should be the highest appellate tribunal for Kashmir also.

16. The National Flag must be the symbol of authority in Kashmir. The new State Flag might continue, but not as a rival of the National Flag.

17. There is to be financial integration. It does not necessarily follow that that integration should be exactly of the kind we have got with other States. In any event, it is to be remembered that customs revenue is the main source of income from Kashmir and if we take it, the whole State finances will collapse. It has to remain with the State for a number of years, which may be at least 10 and which might be 15.

18. The question of income-tax has to be considered in this connection also.

19. As regards the Head of the State, once it is acknowledged that the recognition of our President is essential, the rest, though important, does not

vitaly affect our Constitution. I think that, in the circumstances, we must accept that the Head of the State may be elected. The period has to be considered. I do not think a life term is feasible. It is not likely to please anyone really. Possibly a longer term than five years might be better, from all points of view.

19. To Maharaja Hari Singh¹

New Delhi
July 5, 1952

Dear Maharaja Sahab,

Our Minister of States, Dr Katju,² has shown me your letter of the 29th June 1952 which you sent him.

In this letter you refer to certain statements made by me at a press conference and in the House of the People and also to assurances given to you by or on behalf of the Government of India. At the end of the letter you ask for a definite assurance and a clear statement as to how your rights are to be safeguarded.

The Minister of States will, no doubt, reply to your letter. But as this letter of yours has been occasioned chiefly by what I said, I think that I should also write to you and make it clear what our basic position is in this matter.

You are, no doubt, aware that the whole Constitution of India is based on and is derived from the people of India. In the final analysis, it is the people and their wishes that count and all private and personal interests must give way to the larger interests of the people. Insofar as the old states are concerned, it was our position, repeatedly stated, that, wherever necessary, the wishes of their people will be consulted and will prevail. This was in regard to accession to India. In the great majority of these states the wishes of the people were well-known and obvious and, therefore, no question arose of a separate consultation with them. In regard to the Jammu and Kashmir State, we felt that the people there would prefer accession to India, but the matter was delicate and not beyond dispute. Hence, even before partition, and when large numbers of other states were acceding to India, we did not press for the accession of Jammu and Kashmir state. We suggested that this matter should be considered at a later stage when the people's wishes could be ascertained in some form or other. Our then suggestion was that some kind of a constituent assembly might be constituted in Jammu and Kashmir state to decide the question of accession as well as other questions. Meanwhile Standstill Agreements were proposed.

1. JN Collection.

2. K.N. Katju was Minister of States from 13 May 1952 to 9 January 1955.

On the invasion of the state by tribal raiders and others late in October 1947, a crisis arose there. At the time of that crisis you left Srinagar at the dead of night for Jammu. Many of your officers followed your example and the state was left without leadership or means of defence, insofar as official authority was concerned. You asked us then for help and proposed accession of the state to India so that that help could be more easily given. At the same time the leading popular organization of the state, the National Conference, also sent us an urgent request for help in their hour of danger. It was suggested by them also that the state should accede to India. After long and anxious consideration we accepted these requests and took immediate steps to render assistance to the people of Kashmir against the ruthless invaders who were bringing arson, loot and murder in their train. In accepting accession, however, we repeated our policy that the wishes of the people must prevail in the end. It was, indeed, because your request had been powerfully supported by the National Conference, representing the people of Kashmir, that we decided to accept accession. Nevertheless, we stated even at that moment that the people of Jammu and Kashmir state would finally decide the fate of their state.

War developed in the state and India became more and more involved in it. There was danger of this war spreading to other areas. In order to avoid this danger and in pursuance of our general policy to pursue peaceful methods, we referred this matter to the United Nations. Again we laid stress on our policy and our desire that the people of Kashmir should decide about their future, whenever a suitable opportunity for this was given to them.

In the Security Council of the United Nations, it was later proposed that a plebiscite should be held in the state after a number of other steps had been taken and conditions created for the proper holding of such a plebiscite. We accepted that resolution. That has been our position in the Security Council ever since. The plebiscite has been delayed because of Pakistan's insistence on certain conditions which we could not agree to. The matter is still pending before the United Nations where our position has been clearly stated on many occasions.

You will observe that in this basic picture of the crisis of Kashmir you do not come in at all. The fact that emerges is that the people of Kashmir must decide their own future. We have pledged ourselves to this not only in the Security Council but directly to the people of Jammu and Kashmir state. If, as a result of the plebiscite, it was decided that Kashmir should not accede to India, we would naturally have to accept that decision. And, in that event, it is clear that your personal interests in the state would automatically disappear. If the people of Kashmir decided in favour of India, as we hoped and believed they would, then also it would be for them to say what, if any, your position should be in the future. India went to the help of Kashmir on the invitation of the people of Kashmir. We did not go there, as Pakistan falsely asserts, as an

invading army to suppress the people. We do not propose to continue there for a day when we are no longer wanted by the people of the state.

It has been our policy all over India to settle the problems of the old states peacefully and with goodwill and the consent of the parties concerned. We were fortunate to gain that consent in a very large number of cases and so the radical changes that were brought about were done in a spirit of cooperation. But it is always to be remembered that those changes were necessitated by the fierce pressure of changing times and the demands of a revolutionary situation. Those changes would have taken place, whether consent came or did not come, because the will of the people has to prevail and no vested interests could come in its way. The Government of India softened the change and made generous settlement with the Princes. But the main thing was the demand from people and the vital necessity of that change. It was because you did not sense the spirit of the times and the revolutionary changes that were coming over India and the world that you and your then advisers pursued a mistaken policy that led to the grievous developments of subsequent days. You will remember how you discarded our advice, repeatedly given in 1946 and 1947. We saw a situation developing there which was full of danger. But your advisers then led you along a wrong path, which, undoubtedly, would have led to complete disaster for you and your dynasty if the Government of India had not come to your help. They came to your help, but on that major condition that the people's will must prevail.

It surprises me that even after all these terrible experiences you still fail to understand the true nature of events in Jammu and Kashmir state, in India, and the world. Those Princes in India who had some understanding of these events and the new forces at work, adapted themselves to them and thereby, though they lost power and authority, they secured an honourable place for themselves. Kashmir was rent by war in which India poured her blood and treasure. The people of Kashmir suffered greatly. In this crisis, you still imagined that your personal claims had first importance. The Government of India sought to help you, in spite of you, but they had to face on many occasions difficulty and obstruction from you. You refer to your permitting the Yuvaraj to sign the proclamation setting up the Constituent Assembly. Even in doing so you delayed matters considerably and obstructed, to some extent, the natural course of events. You did not appreciate then, as you do not seem to appreciate now, that constituent assemblies do not ultimately derive their authority from a ruler but base their sanctions on the people. Certain norms are observed and it is desirable to observe them where possible. But if those norms are not available, they are done away with and matters take their course. The Constituent Assembly would have met whether you agreed to it or not.

In view of the assurances given by us to the United Nations we made it

clear that we would not consider a decision of the Constituent Assembly as binding upon us, if it went against those assurances. Even so, we could not come in the way of the Constituent Assembly in deciding in regard to accession or other matters. Indeed, it was made clear that they had full authority, derived from the people, to draw up their internal Constitution. Naturally that Constitution had to be in keeping with the Constitution of India, if the accession to India was to endure.

In your letter to Dr Katju you refer repeatedly to what you consider your rights and the rights of your dynasty. There is little mention in this letter of the rights of the people. That is the basic difference between your outlook and that of the Government of India. We have tried here and elsewhere to adjust rights, as far as possible, but there can be no doubt that no right can prevail if it comes in conflict with the right of the people. For our part we would welcome any decision taken by the people of the Jammu and Kashmir state which acknowledges any right of yours but it would be against our policy, as well against the dominating facts of the situation, for us to consider your rights as overriding public rights. Indeed, whatever your theoretical position might be, you have no authority or position left now to influence the future of Kashmir. Because of various considerations, however, we have tried to maintain for you an honourable position, though that is devoid of authority. But if you claim rights which in reality you do not possess and if you come in the way of changes which are inevitable, then even that formal place that you occupy will be endangered. That place would ultimately be made secure only if you had the confidence and the affection of your people. Since you have lost this confidence and affection, the right also goes.

You will have appreciated that the people of Kashmir have gone through fire and suffering during these past four and a half years. I have seen no evidence of any great sympathy on your part for these people, no desire to help in their distress. Kashmir became an international problem and the people there lived in fear and doubt, facing day-to-day perils, but you only laid stress from time to time on what you called your rights and privileges, on your privy purse and the like. You can imagine that this did not enhance your prestige or lead your people towards you.

You ask for a definite assurance and a clear statement as to how your rights are to be safeguarded. The only assurance I can give you is that the first place will be given always to the rights of the people and to the wishes of the people. If you fall in with those rights and wishes, then we shall endeavour to help you to the best of our ability. If you do not do so, then events will take their natural course.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

20. Talk with the US Ambassador¹

.... 4. Prime Minister agreed there should be no difficulty on question appointing plebiscite administration if other questions which were principally military problems were once decided.² He said demilitarization could go forward promptly and there should be no delay on appointment plebiscite administrator himself. Nehru not 100 per cent clear on exact timing but I believe it fair assume this not problem.

5. I then presented Nazimuddin proposition i.e. Indian regular army in Kashmir be limited 15,000 with 3,750 Azad Kashmiris on four to one basis; that 3,500 northern scouts and 6,000 Kashmir militia should not be counted; and that this proposal predicated on assumption there be no delay establishing plebiscite administration.

6. For three or four minutes Nehru did not speak. He then said Indian position quite clear.

a. 21,000 Indian regular army troops without heavy equipment (when I reminded him on occasions he had stated would go below this figure he said this quite correct but that in last month GOP had moved armored brigade into Sialkot 22 miles from City Jammu and these troops in position cut India's communication with valley. He stated if security situation became easier with removal this brigade as on demonstration this easing his statement that he might go below 21,000 still held good).

b. That India insisted present Azad Kashmir forces be entirely disbanded. He said, however, that it clear some force be available preserve order and therefore GOI had stated their willingness allow 2,000 regular Azad Kashmir troops be recruited for police duty with 2,000 additional police recruited other sources. He said ratios were not the way to approach problem since this implied Pak had definite rights in Kashmir which Indians had consistently denied. He stated in event plebiscite Indians would of course not enter Azad Kashmir and UN officers would be in entire control Azad Kashmir police force.

1. New Delhi, 8 July 1952. Chester Bowles' cable to the Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952-1954, Volume XI Part 2*, pp. 1272-1274. Extracts.
2. Briefing Nehru about his talk with Khwaja Nazimuddin, Prime Minister of Pakistan, on 26 June 1952 in Karachi, Bowles said that he had told Nazimuddin that as per his understanding India had always made it clear that the appointment of a plebiscite administration would not be an issue if agreement was reached on the quantum of forces.

c. Although I tried pin him down he noncommittal about northern scouts and Kashmir militia. This does not necessarily mean his agreement....

8. I then said to Nehru I had responsibility reporting result my talk and asked what he wanted me say. I added I hoped if negotiations were to continue they could be handled through Graham in New York or if he wished I quite sure Graham willing return subcontinent. He stated thought proper thing do is for Graham make any recommendations to negotiating bodies New York that seemed to him be fair and with some chance success.

9. I asked Nehru if he had anything specific add this general statement since I afraid whole UN negotiations fast approaching crisis and if Graham's next efforts failed whole issue likely be back in SC. Nehru said I knew very well India had always been interested partition possibility as outlined Dixon report omitting requirement Kashmir Government should give up its sovereignty during demilitarization and plebiscite period. I stated Graham felt it impossible bring up question partition because his terms reference did not cover it and if Nehru felt this suggestion might bring solution closer he might ask his representative in New York open up question with Graham on his own directly. Nehru answered he thought everyone understood India's attitude on this that it really Paks who had turned Dixon down flatly and if they now mood discuss it they should open question. I ended discussion Kashmir with renewed plea he do everything within his own power make agreement possible. Again I pointed out Pak and India an economic unit and even though two countries would always remain independent politically they as well as world in general had everything gain in material as well as moral sense in finding solution. He stated he not discouraged that India pledged plebiscite under proper conditions....

11

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

I. Foreign Policy

1. Roots of India's Foreign Policy¹

Mr Chairman, I feel somewhat embarrassed in addressing this House, not having participated thus far in this three-day debate here, although I have sought to acquaint myself from reports with what was said here. I do not propose to say anything about the multitude of matters that have been referred to because I find that in this debate on the President's address² almost everything under the sun has been brought in. I am not objecting to that from any legal or constitutional point of view, but purely from the practical point of view as we get lost in a maze of detail instead of concentrating perhaps on two or three or four or five important issues. There appears to be, if I may say so, a certain misunderstanding as to what the President's address is supposed to be. Well, first of all, the President's address represents the viewpoint of Government. That is obvious. But, apart from that, the address is not the kind of long dissertation on every subject with which Government has to deal. It is confined to a few very broad matters, general matters; other matters come up before this House or the other House in detail on various occasions, whether it is a general debate on the Budget, which I take it they will have here, or specific matters as they come up, which can be discussed fully and thoroughly. Our Constitution is drawn from various countries and our own country, but to some extent this system of Government is based upon the British Constitution with which we are most accustomed. Now, in America, the President from time to time addresses Congress and deals with a variety of topics because he is, in fact, not only in theory, the supreme executive of the nation. In England, the King of England is placed in a very different position and his address to Parliament is usually a brief, concise document dealing with foreign affairs generally and with a few domestic topics which are likely to be included in legislation. Now, we are not following any particular model, but more or less it is the latter model that has been adopted here, so far as I understand it, for the President's address. I wish to say this, because I should like honourable Members to realize what the scope of the President's address is, and not to criticize it from the point of view of not including so many other topics or not going into details or not making any dramatic pronouncements and the like. If any dramatic pronouncements are made, they are made at the right time and at the right place. Take the case of our whole economic policy,

1. Reply to the debate on the President's address, 21 May 1952. *Parliamentary Debates: Council of States, Official Report*, Vol. I, cols 281-295.
2. Rajendra Prasad addressed the joint session of Parliament on 16 May 1952.

which is of the first importance to us. It has been considered in a larger context by the Planning Commission. I have no doubt that the Planning Commission's Report will come up before this House and also the other House for full consideration, and we can discuss these matters then, and discuss them in any way. But to bring in all those matters in a discussion on the President's address rather overshadows the few important things that the address intends to bring out. The President's address is meant for the people of this country, of course. It is also meant for the people of other countries. Therefore, inevitably a good part of it deals with our foreign outlook, our relations with foreign Powers and the like. There is nothing new about it. But it is important that these things should be emphasized, repeated, and clarified from time to time, because there is a great deal of confusion in people's minds here, as in other countries, in regard to this changing world, so that foreign policy almost always occupied the first place in the President's address. It also deals with certain important domestic matters.

Sir, I wish to say just a few words about that foreign policy only. My honourable friend,³ the Leader of the House, will no doubt deal with all other matters that have arisen in the course of the debate. This foreign policy of ours may be considered from a variety of points of view. It is not, if I may say so, my policy which I have imposed on others. It is the policy not even of a group; it is the inevitable development which had to take place in view of our past history. I venture to say that although the Government might vary subsequently, although it might think otherwise on other topics, however, I am almost sure that basically that foreign policy would be continued by any Government. It is all right for honourable Members in the Opposition benches to criticize it, as they are perfectly entitled and justified to do, because their main function is to oppose, whether reasonably or unreasonably. But the fact remains that, considered objectively and dispassionately, I say, any Government which does not forget its responsibilities completely—which does not forget that they are governing this country and have therefore to keep the good of this country in view and not that of other countries for the time being—would follow eventually and basically that policy which we have endeavoured to follow. As I said, that policy springs up nationally from our struggle for freedom. If you go back and look up the numerous expressions of our foreign outlook long before we became a Government, the numerous resolutions or speeches which we had passed and made, you will find how that policy fits in or is in tune or rather how our subsequent policies fit in there. Sir, I do not want to say anything to the effect that we must adhere to what we said long ago regardless of changing circumstances. Much has happened in recent years which

3. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar.

is completely new, which nobody could have envisaged previously. Nevertheless there are certain basic approaches which have flowed from the past. If I may go a step further, I may say, from even earlier than that, the whole outlook of the past of India fits in and is in tune with our policy or, I may say, our present policy is in tune with that outlook. And that is an important thing, because then the policy we pursue becomes something infinitely more than the policy of an individual or a party; it becomes, in a real sense, a national policy having its roots in the way of thinking of the people. Now, as I said, it might vary while dealing with some minor details. But that is the basic approach. That policy may be examined from a number of points of view, as to whether it is having any effect on the events, whether it is raising India's position either morally or in any other way in the eyes of other people and other nations, whether it is leading—to whatever small extent it may be, but nevertheless leading—in the right direction or not. These are the various tests that are applied to it. I think that by any test you will find that it has succeeded in some measure. I do not claim any dramatic success for it, because it is difficult to be dramatic in a world which is torn by these dissensions, and where any dramatic act may perhaps sometimes, instead of succeeding, bring about more confusion. One has to be cautious; and one may be occasionally inclined to take risks. And in that matter, it is quite possible that opinions may vary, that in this direction one should go a little more positively; and I am prepared to consider the criticism that in a particular thing one should have gone a little farther, or a little less or not quite so far. That is a question of degree, which has to be judged by the particular circumstances prevailing at that particular moment. It cannot be judged here.

My first point is that the basic policy that we have pursued is the natural policy that any Government which has kept the ideals, not of any party but of the people of India, in view, had to pursue....⁴

Naturally. I am not any religious teacher coming out here, as some of the Opposition leaders apparently imagine themselves to be. I give my opinion but, what is more, I think I can say with a large measure of assurance that however much the people of India may differ in regard to many other matters, yet on this particular matter 99.9 per cent of the people are with us.

Now, what are the other policies? They are largely policies of shouting in condemnation. Examine the speeches of the Opposition here as also in the other House. What do they amount to except to shouting and condemnation? Is it a constructive approach? It is extraordinary to see how words which were presumed to have a good deal of meaning in the English language or in any

4. C.G.K. Reddy, a Socialist Member from Mysore, intervened to say that it was a matter of opinion.

other language are used and bandied about and twisted in their meaning.⁵ Peace, one of the finest words, and the ideal I hope we all aim at, is used in terms of war and with the intention of war. It seems an extraordinary state of affairs to be arrived at.

You go to the United Nations; that great body is meant to preserve peace and collective security. I still think that without it the world will be much the poorer and will have to face greater dangers. Unfortunately, as the President has pointed out in his address, recent developments in the United Nations have not been very fortunate.⁶ It may not be very definite, but they gradually seem to move away from their ancient moorings, and that was something that was not intended. And the speeches that are delivered there with passion, and with, if you like, logic or lack of logic—this is not so material—the point is the manner in which they are delivered almost amounts to a competition in mutual vilification. That is what apparently our present-day policy has gradually drifted to. That is the temper of it. Now, do you expect to solve any great problems of peace or war or any other problem when you approach them with that temper? I do not wish to criticize people of great countries, because all of us, wherever we may live, in the matter of foreign policy, or any policy rather, live in glass houses, and I do not presume to say that what we have done is free from blame or free from criticism. Therefore, it does not become us to criticize others as far as possible, nor will it do any good, because it merely irritates others and you get into an atmosphere which is still more difficult for finding a solution. Therefore, we try to avoid this business of vilification even though we disagree thoroughly with some step that other countries take. Of course, if it is possible, while avoiding criticizing others, we may express our opinion. We have done so privately with the countries concerned and not shouted it out from the housetops. Now, here again, some people seem to imagine that foreign policy has to be shouted out in the market place, and countries which we do not like or which have done something against our wishes should be cursed openly and publicly. Now, that is not the way, if I may venture to say so, to conduct any policy—I would even include domestic policy—but certainly not foreign policy. We are, I hope, a mature nation and we have to behave as a mature nation, as free men, with restraint,

5. H.N. Kunzru, an Independent Member from Uttar Pradesh, said that the President by asking the people to have patience had in fact exhorted them to have *shanti* (literal meaning, "peace", but contextually, patience), which virtue, Kunzru believed, the people of the country possessed in abundance. He wished he could take away some of their *shanti* and make them a little impatient so that the Government was forced to face the realities of the situation with much greater thought and determination.

6. Referring to Tunisia, the President said that although the UN was meant to represent the world community, its primary aim being the preservation of peace, gradually, however, the noble aims of the founders of the UN and of the Charter were getting blurred.

with responsibility, not saying things in the passion of excitement which creates difficulties. And when you come to the foreign field, and more specially during a critical stage, words said, casually said, words said in anger, have repercussions. And they make the solution of any question terribly difficult. So, even though we have strong feelings about matters and we express them, we do not shout about it. And then people may think that, because we do not shout in the market place, we are passive. That is not so. I think that our opinion, our voice, firmly expressed, but calmly and dispassionately, has perhaps a far greater influence than if given in a loud and vituperative way.

Now, I suppose we must accept some basic approaches. I am not going into the relative merits of various ideologies and the like. One basic approach is that we in India must fashion our own destiny, according to our wishes—no doubt influenced by other people, other countries, but we choose our own. We stick to our roots and we take what is good from other ideals. I have no objection to taking any such idea, wherever it may come from. But then we must fashion our destiny, and nobody else should interfere with it against our wishes. There is far too great a tendency in the world today to interfere with other countries. Indeed, I ventured to say on another occasion that there are not too many countries left in the world which are not interfered with, and which can be called, well, fully independent, carrying on their own policies. Most countries, under stress of circumstances, have somehow become subject to this type of interference and they are unable to carry out their full policies. Now, I think I can say with some assurance that whether we have acted rightly or whether we have not, we have not acted on any occasion under pressure from any country. We have tried, of course, to keep in step, to keep in friendly relations with other countries, to put our point of view to them and to listen to their viewpoint and to consider it carefully and to accept it insofar as we can accept it; if not, we go our way and they go theirs. We do not start quarrelling, and we try to avoid it. The result has been that although in the modern world the test is supposed to be the possession of great military might, and ultimately the atomic bomb and the like, we who do not possess that military strength or the economic strength of great countries and therefore from many normal present-day standards might not be considered important—nevertheless, our voice has some weight because of the way we do things, because it is realized by people that our voice represents our own opinion and nobody else's opinion, and because it is realized that we are likely to stick to that opinion unless we are converted or convinced to the contrary, and that the last thing that is likely to happen is that we will be coerced into a contrary opinion. That is not going to happen. It was thought by some countries that the type of pressure which used to be exercised in the past might perhaps be exercised, if not in a big way, in a small way, on our country also. They soon

found out that that could not be done and, in fact, it had the opposite effect on us. And so a certain consideration, a certain respect for our viewpoint is being given which has enabled us to play a somewhat more important part in world affairs than otherwise. And I am sure such honourable Members as have had occasion to go abroad can testify this.

Now, if I may refer to certain more or less recent happenings, many things have happened in the last two, three, four years, many things have taken place since the last War ended, which has made confusion worse confounded, but probably the one thing which has led to more serious consequences than any other has been the denial of recognition of something that was obvious, of a fact that was patent and obvious, and that is the fact of the recognition of the People's Government of China. It is not a question of any country or any people liking or disliking anything. It is a question of recognizing the fact of a great country functioning as a united country, as an independent country. Not to recognize it by the United Nations meant that the United Nations was becoming to that extent unreal, because it had refused to recognize reality. It meant that the United Nations, to that extent, had become rather exclusive. It was losing its more or less universal character that its founders wished to give it. That was a very unfortunate happening and from that many evils have flowed. I do not know how reality can be restored to our international politics till we recognize such basic facts.

We are living all the time in a state of high tension and we do not know what tomorrow's developments might be. On the whole, perhaps, it might be said that there is somewhat lesser tension in the world than there used to be a year or two ago, a somewhat lesser fear of war and smoother relations than there were previously and that is a good thing. I have no doubt whatever that in every country there is a positive dislike and horror of war. Nobody wants war. I doubt very much if any Government really wants war. There may be groups here and there or individuals who, in their short-sightedness or an excess of passion, think that war might solve problems. But, leaving these people out, generally speaking, I do not think there is any Government, and certainly there are no people who want war. And yet, curiously enough, things happen in such a way that a certain drift towards war continues. It may be slower or faster. There are, as this House must know, very serious problems in Europe. There are serious problems of a resurgent nationalism in Western Asia and in Northern Africa. But perhaps the most serious problem at present relates to the Far East of Asia, to Korea and all that is connected with it in the present context. For the last eleven or twelve months true negotiations have gone on there and they have not succeeded yet, and the whole thing seems to hang now on a single issue, so far as I can understand. I am not going to discuss that issue but it does seem a tragedy, as the President has pointed out, that the future of peace or war, the future not only of the Far

East but of the world at large, depends upon that single issue of exchange of prisoners. I earnestly hope that that issue will be resolved. Not that I think that by the coming of the truce in the Far East, all the grave problems of the Far East would be resolved. But, anyhow, one big step will have been taken and I have no doubt that that step, when it occurs, will be received by a tremendous feeling of relief all over the world by the common people. So, when we have to deal with these delicate problems, are we merely to shout and express our disapproval of this or that and thereby perhaps give occasional pleasure to one party and occasional displeasure to another but not help at all in the process of healing or bringing about peace? So we function a little quietly, without trying to lose our tempers, quietly approaching the various parties opposed to each other, approaching them in a friendly way, trying to put in a friendly way suggestions so as to help in bridging the gap, leaving it of course to them to decide. We perform a service. It may not ultimately be successful. I do not know. But we perform them a service today which no other country in the world can perform in that measure. Therefore, we do that in all humility because it is not our desire to play just a dramatic part in these world affairs. It would be perhaps easy though it would be fruitless and certainly not helpful to anybody and since we play that part quietly, in a friendly way, refraining from criticism of others, we are heard in a friendly way and our advice, which may or may not be accepted, is listened to with respect and considered. That itself is a great gain when passions are roused. Therefore, I venture to say that by and large the policy that we have pursued is not only the natural and inevitable policy which any Government which represents India can pursue, it has had a certain element of healing in it. It is not a policy which can be applauded from the housetops by impassioned multitudes because we have sought to make it a calm and dispassionate policy. There is too much passion about foreign affairs in this world. But it has, I believe, done some good and I hope it will in future also do some good....

I do not exactly know what that reference to a report is.⁷ We get almost weekly and daily reports on various aspects of the question, not a complete report of one particular visit. A large number of reports we have received and I believe we also received a brief report from Mr Hutheesing.

We receive reports of all kinds so that we may look at the picture from various points of view, and that is one of the reports we received. It was not an official report. I would be perfectly justified in saying that we have not received any report officially. But we received private reports and all types of information come to us.

About the other matter, namely, our being in the Commonwealth, I am

7. C.G.K. Reddy wanted to know about a report on China by G.P. Hutheesing, a member of the Indian delegation to China in 1951.

rather glad that the honourable Member has drawn my attention to it,⁸ because I confess to not being able to understand at all the criticism that is sometimes made about our association with the Commonwealth. The House will remember that this association is of a most peculiar type; that is to say, it is so tenuous, it is so little binding in its character—in fact it is not binding at all. It is a willing association of two countries or more to consult each other. That is all that it is. And, naturally, they consult each other in a friendly way. I think that our association with this Commonwealth, just as our association with the United Nations, has been good. Because we are in the United Nations it does not mean that we agree with the policies of every member of the United Nations. Because we are in the Commonwealth, it does not mean that we agree with the policies of the different members of the Commonwealth. We pursue our policies without the slightest interference from them. I can assure this House that there has not been a single attempt by members of the Commonwealth to interfere in the least degree with anybody.

Honourable Members will ask: "What is happening in South Africa? What is happening in Ceylon?" I do not know where the Commonwealth comes in so far as Ceylon is concerned. It has nothing to do with it. Our attitude to Ceylon⁹ is governed by the basic fact that even if Ceylon does wrong, we propose to treat Ceylon as a younger brother. It does not matter whether we are in the Commonwealth or outside; we shall continue to do so, because we consider Ceylon too close to us, too closely allied to us in culture and other things for us to get very angry with her. For we are quite convinced that ultimately she will accept our viewpoint and act accordingly. Now, if we treat Ceylon in anger because she is doing something wrong, what is the result? We do not do the slightest good to those people there of Indian origin who are at present being invidiously treated; in fact, we do them a great deal of harm. And, what is more, we sow the seeds of distrust and anger as between Ceylon and India. Now, we have to look to the future; we have to look to a future of cordial and good relations between Ceylon and India. This must come some time or other; and if we now, in a hurry or because we are angry, do something which leads to our sowing those seeds of passion and prejudice and anger in Ceylon, what will be the result? We have a duty to perform for the future generations of India and Ceylon. Therefore, we express ourselves firmly about present issues, and we try to deal with Ceylon in a manner conformable with justice, and at the same time we continue addressing them in a friendly way. But it has nothing to do with the Commonwealth.

Take the question of South Africa. That, again, has nothing to do with

8. H.D. Rajah, a Member from Madras representing the Republican Party, sought Nehru's views regarding India's status in the Commonwealth.

9. See *post*, pp. 505-515.

our being in the Commonwealth. As a matter of fact, to put it in diplomatic language, we have no diplomatic relations with South Africa. We have no direct relations with each other. We have no diplomatic representative there, and they have none here. It is totally immaterial that South Africa happens to be in the Commonwealth and we too happen to be in the Commonwealth, though in a different way and not in the same way as South Africa. In fact, if I may say so, these questions that arise in South Africa arise not only in South Africa but in other parts of Africa as well, and they are very important, and the next ten years or fifteen years are likely to see very big happenings in Africa. If the situation is dealt with with some wisdom, it will be well for Africa and for the world; if not, it will be bad not only for Africa but for the whole world. It requires the most tactful handling of these problems in Africa, not just getting angry. I am not talking of South Africa at the moment; I am talking of the whole of the African continent. The Africans, quite rightly, are becoming politically conscious; they have ambitions which are very justifiable; they do not want to be sat upon; they want to grow in their own way. And so it has been our policy in Africa, which we have repeated to all our representatives there and to all the Indians living there, that on no account do we want any Indian to have any kind of a vested interest against Africans there, that they are there to cooperate with the Africans, to help the Africans to progress.¹⁰ Insofar as they can do that they are welcome there; if not, they have no place there. We try to look ahead a little.

This trouble about people of Indian origin in South Africa has nothing to do with our being in the Commonwealth. Our being out of it will not help a solution of that problem; it will probably hinder it to some extent. I just do not understand this reference to the Commonwealth on the part of honourable Members, except that it is a kind of sentimental urge from past history. I do not understand this talk of our being inside or outside the Commonwealth. We are a sovereign Republic. In the whole of our Constitution there is no reference to the Commonwealth or to any other foreign country. But it is open to us always, as to any independent country, to have a treaty of alliance or agreement with any other country. If we have a treaty of alliance with any other country, that means some give-and-take; you give some promises, and you get some promises, apart from just promises of goodwill and friendship. In other words, alliances, apart from those rather simple treaties of friendship, mean binding yourself to something. Now, our association with the Commonwealth is not a treaty or alliance of that kind; it does not bind us to anything, and it does not bind others to anything either. It, of course, binds, if you call that a binding factor, to meet each other occasionally and discuss matters, to confer with each other, to meet each other as often as possible;

10. See *post*, pp. 568-569 and 571-572.

and we do meet sometimes Asian countries, and sometimes African countries; we meet together and discuss and formulate our proposals regardless of what any other country might do about it. I should like to know how and in what measure our freedom of policy and our freedom of action have been influenced by our membership and by our association with the Commonwealth. I should like to point out the many good things that have flowed from our membership of the Commonwealth, and many helpful things, and even in regard to the larger question of world peace, I think our being with the Commonwealth has been very helpful, and we have exercised such influence as we have in a more widespread way, in a somewhat more effective way than we might have otherwise done.

So I do not see the slightest reason for us to dissociate ourselves from the Commonwealth. We are completely free to do what we like and function as we like and at the same time have the opportunity of influencing others in the right direction.

2. Non-alignment and a Changing World¹

Since yesterday we have been discussing what is called foreign policy, and many aspects of it have been mentioned. We have discussed the Foreign Service, the failings or the virtues of our diplomatic personnel, the money we spend or the waste we indulge in or do not indulge in. We have also discussed other matters. I listened with respect and attention to the speeches that were being made and, if I may say so, the level of the debate since yesterday has been high.

As I listened today, the background of this tormented world came before me; because, after all, when we talk about foreign policy we talk about the world or bits of the world or we talk of this world which for years has hung on the edge of a catastrophe. People talk of the success of our foreign policy. How they measure success and how they wish to achieve success in Ceylon or Goa, I would like to know. People have talked about the policy that our Government has pursued as not yielding success or being driven into this camp or that camp, and that problems remain unsolved, whether it is in Kashmir

1. Reply to the debate on demands for grants of the Ministry of External Affairs, 12 June 1952. *Parliamentary Debates: House of the People, Official Report*, Vol. II, Part II, cols 1656-1673.

or elsewhere, some honourable Members have criticized our policy. But I have waited these two days for one concrete suggestion, a positive suggestion, of what one can do, apart from what is being done.

Brave words! yes; forensic eloquence, yes; melodrama, yes; but what do you want us to do? I ask honourable Members to ponder over this question. There are many problems in the world today, whether you go to Korea, whether you go to Iran or Egypt or Tunisia or America or Germany; almost anywhere you go, there are problems, and every problem is an unsolved problem because every problem is connected with the whole world situation in all its complexity. And this whole world situation may sometimes take a turn for the better and sometimes for the worse, but as a whole it presents a very tragic aspect. So, do you expect the solution of these problems? If I may say so with all respect, it means a total lack of comprehension of what the problem of the world is. Success may come, but I do not claim success. Our policy may have led to failure here and there. It is not that. But I do wish this House to consider the issue not from the point of view of debate or of eloquence but from the point of view of considering some of the most tremendous problems of the age; for it is a tremendous responsibility for anyone, whether it is an individual or a Government or this Parliament, to have to face and consider these problems and to decide what we are to do about them. We cannot decide these problems. That is, shall I say, sheer arrogance for any of us to think that even this great country of India is going to decide the fate of the world. Of course, not. It may be, however, that we may make a difference, that we may help towards a decision, that we may make that final difference which may come between war and peace, and that will be a great service if we can do that to the world.

Therefore, I approach those problems in all humility. Honourable Members have talked about my whims and caprices which fashion our foreign policy.² It is a small matter how they refer to me, but it is not a small matter when they refer to the policy of this great nation as the whim and caprice of an individual, whoever he might be. It is not a fitting thing for us to say and it is not a fact. Our policy, as I have said repeatedly, have grown out of our past ways of thinking and our declarations and I do say that we have stuck to those declarations and to those past ways of thinking. Insofar as we can stick to them in the changed circumstances, we have stuck to them and those honourable Members who think otherwise are mistaken entirely and completely. I cannot and nobody can judge himself. It is for others to see, but so far as I can understand whatever we have stood for and whatever I personally stood

2. Lanka Sundaram, an Independent Member from Madras, said that the foreign policy of India was governed by "the whims and caprices" of Nehru and urged that all sections of the House should be taken into confidence for the purpose of evolving a policy which would be in the best interests of the country.

for in the realm of international affairs, I have stuck to them to the uttermost limit without the slightest wavering or deviation to the right or left.

Personally, I am quite clear about that. Of course, I may be wrong; others may be better judges. Whether it is in relation to the type of partnership or about our remaining in the Commonwealth, I wish to stick to every word I have uttered and those who make this charge do not understand what they are talking about or what I said then or what I say now. It is amazing how some honourable Members opposite with all their eloquence, with all their fine qualities, have somehow lost all knowledge to understand the changed position. They are like the religious fundamentalists who will not see to the right or left but who will only go in one direction. The world may change but their mental habits and thoughts will not change. It does not matter to them whether it is morning, noon or night. Theirs is not to reason why or say anything. They will keep repeating the same slogan, the same everything, although the world may go on changing.

Take this business of peace. We all want peace, of course, but unfortunately the Great Powers and the great blocs of nations today, they all talk peace and yet in some great countries peace is considered a dangerous word. If you talk of peace one almost suspects your loyalty. In other countries peace is talked about so much in such tones that they deafen and they almost sound like war. After all peace is not peace; it is a quality; it is a way of approach, it is a way of doing things; it is the objective which you want to reach. If in talking of peace you are preparing for war, then surely there is something wrong in the peace you talk about. Are you going to get peace by meetings and by conferences? We have plenty of peace conferences nowadays. Perhaps some honourable Members may have seen an advertisement in England: "Join the British Navy and see the world." You might very well say: "Join the peace movement and have free trips over the world." There are conferences all the time and people are rushing backwards and forwards free of charge. I do not know who pays. All for the sake of peace they travel, suffer extreme discomforts and go to the uttermost ends of the earth. I do not understand this and I do not think it is dignified for people to rush about like this, Indians or anybody, at the cost of other people and other countries. But is this the way you are going to have peace? Are you going to have peace by merely shouting by the roadside and the market square, "Peace, Peace", and banging other people's heads and saying, "A person who does this will be punished"?

Surely, let us function as a mature people and as a mature nation. We are not children; we are not in a debating society to match each other's forensic skill, regardless of facts and regardless of what the effect of our words is. It is very easy to talk of anti-imperialism and that kind of thing. Imperialism does exist today, but I do venture to say that imperialism, as it exists today, is something surely and absolutely different from what it was and about which

some of the honourable Members talked. Let them understand what it is. Let them also understand that there are other imperialisms growing. Take British imperialism. Does any man in this House think that British imperialism is the same thing as it was in the past?...³ I know about Malaya and I say British imperialism flourishes in Malaya, in Africa and elsewhere but British imperialism today is an exhausted thing. England is a country for which, I hope, this House has respect for the way it has fought its problems since the war was over, and for the courage with which it has faced them. It certainly and undoubtedly in many places does things with which this House or I do not agree. That is not the point. Let us see things in the historical perspective. To talk about the British Power as it was before the last war, as if it was the same today, is either complete misunderstanding and ignorance of what is happening, or trying to delude others. It is not so. Today there are other Powers, Great Powers, for good or ill. I repeat that for England, since those war years, I have nurtured considerable respect, because I like brave people fighting against odds and the British people have fought against great odds. That does not mean that I agree with England in this or in that. That is not the point. But to talk about British imperialism today in the same context as of old is to talk about something which does not exist.

I will go a step further and take other countries. There are still some imperial Powers, colonial Powers. Undoubtedly all these colonies should be put an end to, whether they are British or French or Dutch or Belgian or any other. I quite agree. But the position today nevertheless remains that all these colonial Powers have no strength behind them. They have the strength of tradition, they have the strength of being helped by other people, and all manner of things. But they have inherently no strength. Let us certainly by all means help in putting an end to the remaining elements of colonialism in Asia, in Africa, wherever it is. Let us understand what the real conflict is about today. Let us understand this marshalling of forces. Let us understand that if the conflict once takes place, then the whole world will be mightily changed, and whatever the change may be, the change will not be for the good because of the uttermost destruction and the rest of it. Therefore, that does not do much good. Let us analyse each problem by itself. It does not help in the slightest to repeat the slogans of yesterday, thinking that they take the place of thought and action. It is a complicated, difficult, tormented world today. All we can do is to approach these problems with great humility, not with a certitude of success—I have none—and try to help where we can try to be good, try to put in a good word and try to avoid evil at any rate, and try to go ahead faster where you have the chance to do so.

It is all very well to talk bravely even about small matters. It does not

3. A Member referred to Malaya.

become people to be brave, to be melodramatic and convert this honourable House as if it was a meeting in the Ram Lila Grounds in Delhi. We are the Parliament of India talking about great problems; we should not put on melodramatic poses and forensic attitudes, repeating the slogans of the market place here. A high responsibility rests on us. So I beg this House to consider the foreign policy not in terms of petty success, not in terms of failure; because the success or failure of foreign policy today of every country is involved in the success or failure of this world of ours. No man can say whether this world will survive peacefully for the next few years or will not. No man can say what will happen if disaster comes to it. It just does not matter what your policy or my policy is. When disaster comes it comes to the world. It is true that even so our policy should be, firstly, to prevent that disaster; secondly, to avoid it; and, thirdly, even if it comes, to retain a position in which we are able to stop it even after it has started.

I want to be perfectly frank with this House. I should like an everwidening area in this world, an everwidening area of countries in Asia which decide that they will not enter the war whatever happens. I should like the countries in Asia, and other countries also—I speak about our neighbours—I should like the countries in Asia to make it clear to those warring factions, those great countries who are so much exercised by passion against each other, that they will remain cool and, whatever happens, they will not enter the arena of warfare and that they will try at least to restrict the war to other regions and save their regions and try to save the rest. I should like also, insofar as we can, to declare ourselves and get other countries to declare against the use of these horrible modern weapons. You have heard of the atomic bomb and the hydrogen bomb, which has not exactly come into existence but which is said to be far worse. Honourable Members talked about bacteriological warfare and have expected Government, if I may say so, to function as if it was an organization which rushes in and expresses its opinions like honourable Members do, without taking the trouble to find out exactly what to say, when to say it, and what weight to attach to anything. Governments do not function in that way. Governments weigh their words; Governments weigh the evidence. Governments do not go about condemning people or nations until they are absolutely convinced. Even when Governments feel that there is adequate evidence, they cannot do so till the proper moment comes or till they are quite satisfied about it. We should, undoubtedly, and I think nations should raise their voice against any application of germ or bacteriological warfare in any country. Take something which has been used in the recent past: some kind of grenade or something like that, the Napalm Bomb, a horrible thing. All these things are there.

But how are you going to put a stop to this drift towards catastrophe and disaster? It is not an easy matter. When the world is worked up by passion

and prejudice, one thing I am dead certain is that you do not put an end to it by yourself joining that crowd of passionate and excited people shouting at the top of their voices. That does not help. It merely increases the din and increases the passion. It does not matter if the word you shout is peace. Even then, it increases the din and shouting. You have to be a little quiet and go about speaking to smaller voices so that it could be heard by more people. You have to try somehow to make the people less excited. You may be convinced that you are right. But if it is your object not merely to show off that you are right and that you are very strong about being right but to gain results in the world, to calm down others, to prevent them from fighting, you have to set about winning them over. You have to set about winning them over, even though they are in the wrong, not by going and telling them that they are bad, very bad, and that they should be punished and crushed. That is not the way of calming them and winning anybody over. I do not mean to say that we should not condemn the wrong. We should. But I have not been taught that it is civilized behaviour among individuals, much less among nations, to go about condemning people. It is far better to talk about our own weaknesses than pinpoint others' weaknesses and others' failings.

So I submit that this is my approach to foreign policy. You may call it neutral or you may call it whatever you like. I do not see where neutrality comes in in this picture at all. It is not neutrality. The word neutrality is completely wrong except in times of war. There is no neutrality except when there is a war. If you think there is a war on today, we are neutral. If you think there is a cold war today, certainly we are neutral. We are not going to indulge in cold war which, if I may say so, is in some ways worse than shooting war. A shooting war is infinitely disastrous; but this is worse in the sense that it is more degraded, it lowers the standards all the time. We do not propose to join that war. It does not matter who is right and who is wrong. We will not join in this exhibition of mutual abuse.

Now, there are so many subjects which have been referred to in the course of this debate. I do not wish to get, if I may say so, rather lost in this maze of subjects, but there are one or two major aspects which I should like to put to this House. There has been repeated reference to our inclining more and more towards what is called the Anglo-American bloc. Now, it is perfectly true that our economic and some other bonds have been in the last few years far more with the United Kingdom, with the United States of America, and other countries of the West. That is something that we have inherited, and unless we put an end to this and develop some other bonds, somewhere else, we have to continue them. Obviously we had to continue them. We could not live in isolation. We wanted certain things. We could not get them from elsewhere. So, in normal practice, any country would continue those. We had to continue them; we propose to continue them. I see no reason at all except

the passion and prejudice of somebody who does not like it. I see no reason at all why we should break any bond which is of advantage to us.

Now, it is true that where a country begins to depend upon another country, there is always a danger and risk. Dependence is always bad, whatever form that dependence might take, and one should be guarded about it. And yet a country, placed as India is today, and many other countries, inevitably depends on other countries for certain essential things. We are not industrialized enough. We do not produce important things. We talk about our Army, Navy and Air Force, and yet we have to depend upon other countries for the major things that an army or an air force or a navy requires. We are dependent. Honourable Members talk about a big army.⁴ It does not matter in the least how big an army you have, if you do not have the equipment for the army. It does not matter, in the ultimate analysis, how many people you train up unless you have got the entire background for that army in the country. Well, we try to build that up as far as we can. Till we build it up, what are we to do? We have got to get the essential things from abroad from one country or other, from everywhere. It is not good to rely on any one country; and, to begin with, we have got to do things which are necessary to build up basic industries in this country. Now, we have tried to get them from certain countries because it was easier to get them from there, because of our economic contacts there, because our trade and commerce are in those channels. It is all very well to suggest other channels. It is very difficult for us to build new channels overnight. We are perfectly prepared to have new channels with other countries; we are perfectly prepared to deal with the Soviet Union or other countries which can supply us with the particular goods we need and supply them with our goods. But the fact remains that it is simpler for us, easier for us, to get things from America or England or France or other countries at the moment.

Take our defence services. We have inherited them; they have been built up after a certain model. Now, we may change that model later on or not. It is a good model so far as it goes, that is, our defence services are efficient, our Army is a good one. Inevitably it has been built up in the British way, because the British started it and built it up for a large number of years. Now, do you expect us to break it up and start building up afresh? I can understand the argument that the army should be made more and more popular. That I can understand. Let us consider it by all means, let us explore it. But you want us to break up this magnificent fighting unit that we have got today built up on a certain model just to show off our dissatisfaction with the fact

4. J.K. Bhonsle, a Congress Member from Bombay, said that India required a large sum of money to maintain her huge army. Surjit Singh Majithia, a Congress Member from Punjab, said that India required a larger number of able transport squadrons to support her very large army during operations.

that the British built it up or that it rather approximates to the British model of an army.⁵ That would be childish. We have to keep it going as it is. And because we have got to keep it going—we can gradually change it or make it after our own way, whatever it is—we have to get the equipment for it. Inevitably it is easier for us to get the equipment from certain sources which can supply that equipment than it is to get entirely new types of equipment, entirely new types of arms which do not fit in even with the arms we are producing in this country. That will create all kinds of difficulties.

Some honourable Member said: Why do you get British advisers? Why not get a German or Japanese or somebody else?⁶ Well, certainly; but things are not done in that way. It is not a question of getting odd people to come and advise us in an odd manner. Here is a machine working in a particular way, and you have to work it apart from everything else. You cannot mix up people or advisers thinking on different lines, different equipment, different types of munitions, coming here and quarrelling with each other while they advise us. We must follow a single system till we change it.

The House will remember that we attained independence ultimately in a cooperative way, in a friendly way, with the British Power, and I think history will record that to our credit, and to England's credit—I am not ashamed to say, to England's credit also. Having done that we went step by step. The House will remember that for the first two years while we were formulating our Constitution, we were a Dominion. But from the very first day our Constituent Assembly met, we declared that our objective was a Republic. That was in December 1946. And as soon as our Constitution was completed and given effect to, we became the Republic of India. Later, the question arose about our being in the Commonwealth or not. Now, is it not a very different thing for the Republic of India, which has nothing to do with England constitutionally, legally or in any other way except such normal bonds as two countries may have in the economic sphere or in the cultural sphere, whatever it may be, to decide to remain associated with England or with a group of countries without the least inhibition, without the least binding factor in it? I should like honourable Members to point out to me—the honourable Member, Dr Mookerjee, who was himself in the Cabinet when these questions were

5. Bhonsle thought that instead of following the models of nations like the UK or the USA, the Indian Army should be modelled after the Chinese and the Japanese armies who derived their strength and "dying spirit" from their ancient traditions and spiritual training. Indian armies, he added, also had these traditions but these had been lost under foreign domination and their revival would make the Indian Army invincible.
6. V.G. Deshpande was opposed to bringing military experts from the UK, the USA, or the Soviet Union because these countries might turn hostile towards India at any time. He said that countries like Italy, Germany and Japan had enough military talent and advisers could be invited from there.

considered, said that the time had come for us to do this or that or to leave the Commonwealth—in what way, at any time, at any moment, during the last three or four years, the fact of our being associated with the Commonwealth has affected our policy, has varied it this way or that in the slightest degree; I should like to know that. I say, therefore, it becomes purely a question, if I may say so, of acting in a sentimental huff. I must say nations do not act either on sentiment or in a huff. They act with dignity and strength, and considering what is the right course, they adopt it and go by it. Now, it is open to our country as it is to any other to be associated in an alliance with any other country. We have avoided alliances which entangle us. Dr Lanka Sundaram referred to a number of treaties of friendship which we have entered into and pointed out some minor differences in phraseology.⁷ I hope honourable Members will excuse me if I do not go into these rather trivial points, because they have no importance whatsoever. So far as we are concerned, we are prepared to enter into a treaty of friendship for ever with every country in the world. It is open to us to enter into any alliance with any country. In an alliance, invariably you give something and you take something. Each country binds itself down to a certain extent. If you put it this way, it gives up the freedom of action to the extent to which it is committed by an alliance or an agreement. That is not coming in the way of the independence of that country.

Our association with the Commonwealth is rather remarkable. It does not bind ourselves down in the slightest degree in any way whatever, and it has not had that effect during these last two or three years either. It has given us certain advantages, and it has not meant any disadvantages in the slightest degree. I should like honourable Members to point out to me now or later, how and in what way it has been disadvantageous, except in the way that they just do not like the look of it. I cannot help their likes and dislikes. We are concerned with the advantages to our country. And if I am told, "See, what is happening in Ceylon or in South Africa; they are in the Commonwealth and yet you put up with this kind of thing", then I venture to say that that is the very reason I remain there. May I explain it? I do not want this Commonwealth to be an interfering Commonwealth. I shall say what the Commonwealth means to me. It means an occasional meeting together once a year or twice a year. It means occasional consultation and reference to each other. It means certain advantages which I get by being able to influence larger policies, apart from the normal method of doing so. Otherwise it does not come in my way at all.

7. Referring to the treaties of friendship entered into with Afghanistan, Iran, Nepal and Indonesia during 1950–51, Lanka Sundaram said that the stipulated duration of friendship and provision for giving notice of termination differed from treaty to treaty. He desired certain basic cardinal principles to form the basis of such treaties.

Now, if I admitted the right of the Commonwealth to interfere with any country in the Commonwealth, then I cease to be in the Commonwealth at all; I am not prepared for their saying anything to me; I am not prepared to accept anything from them at all. It is very important and clear that the Commonwealth, or whatever it is, is some kind of an unsubstantial thing, unknown in any other Constitution. But what we have to consider is: in the balance, is it advantageous for us or disadvantageous? I am perfectly clear in my mind that in no sense at all does it come in our way, in any policy, political, economic, peace or war. If any honourable Member seems to think that we have got some kind of common war or defence policies, allow me to assure them that they are completely mistaken. We have never discussed defence policies in the Commonwealth, either jointly or separately....⁸ Our Commander-in-Chief goes to London to take part sometimes in what are called 'military exercises.' Perhaps the honourable Member does not understand these things.

I shall again repeat that our system, our army's model, is inevitably after the British system. It helps us as we want things from England. We have got a very big military stores department in London. We have to keep it up because the same type of things have to come to us; we have sometimes to get them through the good offices of the British War Office. Our Commander-in-Chief goes there in order to consider these matters. Our Commanders do not discuss policies; Ministers discuss policies. But the real thing is, if I may draw the attention of the House to this, in many matters we have inherited certain ways from the British period and we can decide either to reject them or accept them. We have given up many, we have decided to keep many, till we change them as we want to change them.

Now, one of the things we have inherited, the use of which honourable Members opposite have not objected to, and it is a sign, if I may say so, of mental subservience about which we are repeatedly told, is the English language. I have not heard any word of protest from the Opposition benches to the use of the English language. I have not heard being told that we are subservient to the Anglo-American bloc because we are using their language all the time here. I have no doubt at all that English language is the greatest thing which ties us to the Anglo-American bloc. The English language inevitably brings nearer to us their thoughts, their activities, their books, newspapers, cultural standards, while the rest of the world with which we are not acquainted linguistically is cut off from us. It is a sad thing. I should like our country, apart from developing our own language, of course, to know other languages of the world, so that we may develop and come into contact with them. And here it is a strange fact that some honourable Members opposite

8. K. Ananda Nambiar, a Communist Member from Madras, intervened to ask why the Commander-in-Chief had visited London.

object to everything, to even those things that are advantageous to us, because they happen to emanate from America or England or some country in the West, but they swallow wholesale the English language which is the real and ultimate bond which has tied us to them mentally and otherwise. I have no objection to the use of the English language, of course. I do not mean anything against it. But my argument was that we have inherited certain things, and it is not a good idea to break a good thing, to upset something that is good. We change it because we have decided, for instance, to change it gradually in our country during the next few years and to use our own language ultimately and fully. I hope English will remain even after that, not as a language we use in our official way, but because it is a great language. I hope other world languages will come in here too. That is all right. But this general approach of suspecting everything that comes from England or America is not helpful at all. I submit that it will be found that whatever step we have taken in foreign policy and many other subjects may have been wrong in a small way, but whatever step we have taken has always been measured by this rod: whether it helps India's interests and whether it helps the course of world's peace.

We have often expressed ourselves in a way that displeased the great nations and filled them with anger, but we have preferred that to going any other way. Honourable Members are acquainted with recent history, how great nations have changed their allegiance rather suddenly; how they have had alliances and how enemies have come together and become allies and then enemies again. Even in the course of the last great war, the Soviet Union was allied to Nazi Germany; a little later it was attacked by Nazi Germany and it fought with enormous endurance and courage against Hitler's armies. Now, I am not condemning any country; I am merely pointing out that at that time the rulers of the Soviet Union thought it right and desirable to have a close alliance with a country which previously they had condemned and which they were to fight a little later and fight to the death also. Now, I have not heard all the predecessors of the honourable Members opposite in their organization ever criticizing that as they might well have done.

There is one difficulty that I have to face and that is that I am liable to error. Very much so. All I can do is to try to avoid it. I think any of us is liable to error. When I am approached from the point of view of infallibility of an organization, an idea, a country, then I rebel against that. I think any such idea may yield results for the time being, but ultimately it is fatal to the growth of a nation; it curbs the spirit and the mind and stunts the community. So judge the present-day difficulties of the world not from the point of view of inevitably some country being right or wrong. Judge of each point separately; and, secondly, do not indulge in vilification of any country. It does not help. Let us certainly point out, when the situation demands our pointing out, that a policy is wrong or something else should be done; but merely to go about

slanging other countries does not create the atmosphere for the peace that we desire.

So I submit that so far as our policy is concerned, in spite of the fact that we deal largely with the United Kingdom or the USA—we buy our things from them and we have accepted help from them—we have not swerved at all from our policy of not aligning with any group. And, if I may say so, it is because we stuck to that policy and, in doing so, were denied help and still we stuck to that policy, that people realized and countries realized that we could not be bought by money or made to change our policy. It was then—not because we went begging for it; we have not done so at any time—that help came to us and we gladly accepted it; and we shall accept it all the time provided there are no strings, provided our policy is perfectly clear and above board and is not affected by it. I realize, I frankly admit, that there are always certain risks involved; not risks on paper but risks in the sense that certain obligations might be felt which might affect our policy without our knowing it. These risks are there. All I can say is that we should be wide awake and try to avoid our committing any mistake because of these risks. If the Government at all makes a mistake, this House, I am sure, will pull it up.

We have no big armies and we are no great power. The next generation will no doubt, I hope, be stronger than us, but even in the present generation which I represent we may make many mistakes. But we are not known to go down to threats. We have spent our lives in resistance. A word from us would have brought us many of the good things of life. We refused to give that; we preferred not to give it, not we, a few individuals, but millions in this country. So if any country imagines that we are going to change our policies and sell ourselves for a mess of pottage from any other country, it is, I submit, completely mistaken. I am quite sure in my mind that if at any time any help from abroad depends upon the slightest variation of our policy, we shall give up that help, the whole of it, and prefer starvation and everything to it. So it is in this way that we accept help and, I think, the world knows it well enough.

Now, there is one other aspect to which I should like to refer to. Dr Lanka Sundaram asked whether a Standing Committee of the Ministry of External Affairs was going to be constituted. Well, Standing Committees were constituted in the old British days in a peculiar way for a special purpose. As they were constituted, they serve no useful purpose now. I do not know if it will be appointed—that is a matter for the House to decide—but I should like to assure this House and specially the Opposition that as Minister for foreign affairs I should gladly welcome frequent consultations with them and talks with them about any matter appertaining to foreign affairs. We can think about it and evolve some method, not only to discuss the general international position, but to discuss specific problems as they arise.

Now, in the larger world today we have associated ourselves with the United Nations. Our association with the United Nations does not take away from our independence. But to a certain extent it does, if I may say so, as it does of every member country because once you limited your field of action by joining an organization like that, to that extent your independence is limited just as other alliances limit it. It is just a mutual limitation. It is a far greater limitation than our being vaguely associated with the Commonwealth of Nations—with England and others. There is nothing in that at all. In fact, it is almost an airy association because it is not written down on paper or Constitution or anywhere; so long as we wish to be there, we are there.

To come back to the United Nations, we associated ourselves with the United Nations because we felt that some such world organization was essential. The League of Nations had failed. Here was another attempt under wider and perhaps better auspices and we joined it. And I think that the Charter of the United Nations is still a very fine and noble document. An honourable Member used the words, "Go and scrap the Charter."⁹ I do not understand that. I think the Charter is a very fine thing. But it is true and I feel it more and more that the Charter is not being lived upto; that the United Nations somehow swerved away from the basic provisions of that Charter in theory as well as in practice. And I think that is a very serious matter for us and for other countries to consider.

There was the Atlantic Pact of certain Western Atlantic countries. It is not my concern as to what certain countries do for their defence. We cannot as a Government come into the picture or object to anything that they do. But there is one aspect of that Atlantic Pact which has been coming into evidence more and more. Whether it is the formal aspect of it or just an informal one, I do not know; but it began—this community of Atlantic nations—as a defence against aggression. Well, no one can object to that. It has extended itself apparently as a defence of the colonial possessions of those nations and that is a very serious matter so far as we are concerned. It means various countries giving assurances, whether formal or informal, for the protection and maintenance of colonial rule wherever it exists. Now, to colonial rule wherever it might exist, we are, as you know, unalterably opposed.

So I wish to point that out to honourable Members of this House that we have taken a serious view of this as we took a very serious view of the denial of a discussion in the Security Council on the Tunisian question.¹⁰ Apart from the merits of the Tunisian question, it is an amazing thing that nearly every country of Asia and many countries of Africa are wanting a discussion—a

9. M.S. Gurupadaswamy, a Member from Mysore representing the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party, felt that the UN Charter had failed to serve its purpose and needed to be revised.

10. See *post*, pp. 559-564.

consideration—of the Tunisian issue, apart from the determination of it, and this is being denied and denied by two countries voting against it. Now, that is a very extraordinary state of affairs. If the whole of Asia and Africa combined cannot get a subject discussed in the Security Council because two or three Great Powers object to it, well, then a time may well come when those countries of Asia and Africa might feel that they are happier in their own countries and not in the United Nations. That would be a tragic decision; because I do feel that in spite of these faults, the United Nations serve an essential purpose and if we did not have it today, undoubtedly countries will have to come together to build up something like it again. I do not want that to happen. I do attach the greatest importance to the United Nations, but I repeat the way the United Nations have swerved from its original moorings and become gradually a protector of colonialism in this indirect way is a dangerous deviation and also how slowly, instead of being a great organization for peace, some of the members have begun to think of it more and more as an organization for waging war. Now, that was not the conception behind the United Nations and though the old Charter remains, somehow facts begin to belie it more and more. We have ventured to point this out to the member countries of the United Nations and I think that our words have created some effect in their minds. I mention this to this House because inevitably the action we take from time to time, whether in regard to a particular issue, whatever it may be and whatever country might be involved, or whether it is the larger issue of world peace, is not shouted from the market place. We are a responsible Government dealing with other Governments and if we shout in public, the whole effect of our approach goes. That is not the way modern diplomacy is carried on. Because we do not shout, the honourable Members opposite might perhaps think that we remain supine; apparently their idea of diplomacy is the holding of public meetings and the passing of big resolutions—big banners and big flags of a particular type.

Yes, I mentioned just now a flag and my mind goes back to the incident that took place a few days ago. Honourable Members have referred to the putting up of the Union Jack some days ago over this Parliament building.¹¹ Some two or three years ago the matter came before us and we decided that as a matter of courtesy, on a certain day in the year, we would allow the Union Jack to be put up on one of our essential buildings like the Secretariat. It was no request to us from anybody else. It was a matter of courtesy. We gave instructions. There was no question at that time of putting up the flag on the Parliament House as the Parliament was not sitting and I must confess

11. When the Union Jack was hoisted over the Parliament House on 5 June to mark the twenty-seventh birthday of Queen Elizabeth, H.N. Mukerjee had said that the incident showed that India was "tied to the apron-strings of Britain and the United States."

that when I saw the flag on the Parliament House, I was myself a little surprised because I had expected it to be on the Secretariat building and not on Parliament House. But the instructions given two years ago were not properly understood by the person in charge and the flag was put up on the Parliament House. I do feel that while it is perfectly right for us to show courtesy and to put up the Union Jack, I do believe that over Parliament House no flag but the Indian flag should be put up and instructions have been issued to that effect.

May I also say one word about the situation in Korea? I am not at the moment referring to the truce negotiations which have gone on for such a long time, although they are exceedingly important and one might say that the future of not only the Far East but of the world depends on what turn those negotiations take; and it seems an amazing tragedy that we should get stuck up there month after month and year after year. So far as we are concerned we have not been completely out of the picture in the sense that we have tried to keep in touch with the major parties concerned. We had special opportunities of doing so and we had played some part in this in the hope that perhaps some way of bringing about peace might be found. But I should like to say that I have been deeply concerned at certain internal developments in South Korea. We have nothing to do with South Korea. We have never recognized the Government of South Korea. So it is not our concern. Nevertheless, indirectly, because we are members of the United Nations and the United Nations is functioning in South Korea, it is a matter of concern to us what happens there. And the recent developments connected with the activities of President Syngman Rhee¹² are not only very remarkable, but, I think, should make the United Nations and every country connected with it think of the undesirability of any association with a person like President Rhee who functions in that way. Any support of the regime of President Rhee means the support of the very things which the United Nations is supposed to stand against....¹³ The medical mission has not gone to President Rhee.

I am sorry that I cannot deal with the large number of matters referred to, but I hope, either in this House or elsewhere, to deal with other matters which honourable Members have mentioned here. I am grateful for the indulgence of the House.

12. Rhee, President of South Korea, in an apparent effort to perpetuate himself in power, proclaimed martial law on 24 May 1952 in several parts of the country and sanctioned the arrest of twelve members of the South Korean National Assembly. On 11 June, a rigid censorship was imposed on all newspapers and journals entering South Korea. Rhee's action evoked protest from Trygve Lie, UN Secretary-General, from the UN Commission for Relief and Rehabilitation of Korea, and from several Governments including those of the US, the UK, Australia and New Zealand,

13. K.A. Nambiar suggested that the medical mission sent by India should be withdrawn.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

II. Foreign Possessions in India

1. To B. Shiva Rao¹

New Delhi
June 13, 1952

My dear Shiva Rao,
Your letter of the 13th.²

We have considered this question of Goa on many occasions from the economic point of view. In the past, it was felt that any steps that we might take would bring more distress on the Goans in India than on the Goans in Goa. However, I agree with you that the time has come for us to revise our policy. As a matter of fact, we propose to stop the Portuguese Bank in Bombay from functioning, as we were not given permission to open our Bank in Goa.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Shiva Rao, a Congress Member of Parliament from Madras, stressed the need for an economic policy which would make the people in foreign possessions realize that foreign rule would not help them. He also drew Nehru's attention to the smuggling of consumer goods into India from Marmagao and Pondicherry as a result of loopholes in the existing regulations which caused considerable loss of revenue to the exchequer.

2. Cable to H.S. Malik¹

... The French Government must appreciate that there is great feeling in India over this issue.² As a matter of fact our Government has deliberately followed a moderate and soothing policy in spite of this feeling and continuous criticisms made to us about our policy. We desire friendly settlement with France about this and other matters, but we cannot ignore realities and we hope that the French Government will also appreciate these realities of the situation.

1. New Delhi, 16 June 1952. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Malik, Indian Ambassador in France, had reported on his talk on 14 June with Alexandre Parodi, Secretary-General in the French Foreign Ministry, on the question of the return of French Indian settlements to India.

3. To B. Shiva Rao¹

New Delhi
July 8, 1952

My dear Shiva Rao,
Your letter of July 5th about Goa.² I agree with you that we must take more stringent steps. I am having this matter examined.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. B. Shiva Rao Papers, NMML.
2. Shiva Rao suggested stiffening of economic measures, including the deployment of more armed launches and barbed wire fencing to put down smuggling.

4. Worsening Conditions in Goa¹

Some time ago I wrote a note² on the question of Goa and suggested that a note should be put up for the Foreign Affairs Committee. It appeared to be time that we should consider this question afresh with a view to taking some definite action. That action can only be economic and I wanted all the economic implications to be examined.

I was told that we had given notice to the Portuguese Government in Goa to wind up their Bank in Bombay because they had not allowed us to open our Bank in Goa. When does this notice expire?

Meanwhile conditions in Goa grow far worse. The attitude of our Government, though perhaps justifiable, is exceedingly demoralizing.³

I enclose a letter from Shri Shiva Rao.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 8 July 1952. JN Collection.
2. Not available.
3. In his letter of 5 July 1952, Shiva Rao wrote about the inability of the Government of India to do anything directly about Goan leaders sentenced to long terms of imprisonment under the Portuguese rule.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

III. Bilateral Relations

(i) Pakistan

PASSPORTS

1. Pakistan's Insistence on a Passport System¹

Although it does appear clear that Pakistan is bent on introducing a system of passports, I do not think we need surrender our position completely. The casual way Pakistan has dealt with us in this matter appears to me to be extraordinary. After their first letter to us, we immediately protested and asked for a conference.² They delayed their replies and now they tell us that they will give a definite reply after watching developments for the next week or two. This is a very odd position to take up. I suggest that we telegraph to our High Commissioner³ in Karachi that as this matter affects a very large number of people in both India and Pakistan it cannot possibly be decided casually in this way, and in any event a conference is necessary even if some kind of a passport system is to be introduced. Such a system cannot be introduced without discussing innumerable details and ways and means of making it workable without hardship to people from both sides of the border.

2. I do not understand what our High Commissioner means when he says that he needs some specific points of unchallengeable force to strengthen his argument. You may repeat what we have said already and add to it. It is patent to me that such a change requires careful discussion.

3. This telegram should be repeated to Shri C.C. Biswas⁴ and he should be asked for his views about the points mentioned above.⁵ I should have thought that the venue of the conference should be Delhi.

4. We should certainly go ahead with our preparations and the Home Ministry as well as the State Governments of East Punjab, Assam, West Bengal, Tripura, and Bihar should be kept fully informed and asked to make their preparations.

1. Note to Secretary-General, MEA, 23 April 1952. JN Collection.

2. When informed on 9 April 1952 of the Pakistan Government's decision to introduce a system of passports for travel between India and Pakistan, the Government of India pointed out to them that the freedom of movement between East Pakistan and India was a vital part of the Delhi Agreement of 8 April 1950; it had helped restore a sense of confidence and security among the minorities in both parts of Bengal and its withdrawal would adversely affect the normal life of the people there. It was also stressed that no change be made in the existing practice without full consultation between the two Governments.

3. Mohan Sinha Mehta.

4. Minister of State for Indo-Pakistan Agreement of 8 April 1950 at this time.

5. G.S. Bajpai had suggested that Biswas be asked for his views about: (1) points of detail for inclusion in the agenda; (2) the venue of the conference; and (3) composition of the Indian delegation.

2. To Mohan Sinha Mehta¹

New Delhi
May 9, 1952

My dear Mohan Sinhaji,

I have just read your letter of the 7th May addressed to R.K. Nehru.² Previously, I saw your telegram in which you have suggested that it was inappropriate for you to participate in the passport conference. The answer to that telegram was sent after consultation with me.

2. I do not understand at all why you are in any doubt about this matter. I am quite clear in my mind that whenever any question which we consider important arises, the head of our Foreign Mission, wherever this might be, should take a personal part in discussions and, if necessary, conferences. The importance of the occasion is judged by us, not by the opposite party, who may deal with it in a more casual manner.

3. This proposal to introduce the passport system is of the highest importance to us as it is going to affect millions of people. We have, therefore, to deal with it with the greatest care and to get, if possible, the most favourable arrangement so as to avoid difficulties and trouble in future. In fact, the way we deal with this proposal may well affect Indo-Pakistan relations in future.

4. It is not a question merely of discussing details, having agreed to the principle. We have to accept the principle because Pakistan wants to do it and we cannot prevent them. We have, therefore, to take measures on our side. But it is of great importance what these measures are and how they are likely to affect our people and the people of Pakistan. This matter requires broad vision and a deeper understanding of the Indo-Pakistan position, as well as all the possible consequences of any step that we might take. Indeed, if opportunity offered itself, I would like to discuss this myself with the Prime Minister of Pakistan. I cannot leave these questions entirely in the hands of junior Secretaries who probably do not have the broad aspects in view and, in any event, cannot deal with them with authority.

5. In the present case, Ray,³ the West Bengal Chief Secretary, is going, and one or two others. Ray is likely to emphasize the West Bengal point of view, rather forgetting some of the larger aspects. It is right that he should be there to put his point of view and to advise us. But it may not be right for

1. JN Collection.

2. Commonwealth Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, at this time.

3. S.N. Ray.

him to take the lead in our talks. Puri⁴ is going from here and he knows our Ministry's viewpoint. Nevertheless, I think our case should be put with greater authority.

6. I want to make it perfectly clear that this is not merely a question of the working of passport regulations. That advice can be obtained from any experienced officer.

7. You ask for Chandra⁵ to be sent. Chandra has not been in touch with recent developments and was not even included in the conference held in Delhi to consider these matters. This is not exactly a rehabilitation matter.

8. It is quite likely that Pakistan will be surprised to learn that our High Commissioner is going to lead our delegation.⁶ I want them to be surprised and to realize that we attach importance to this matter. When we are dealing with the fate of millions of people, with all kinds of possible repercussions, we cannot do so, or should not do so, on the Deputy Secretary and even Joint Secretary level. No doubt, petty administrative details can be thrashed out by others.

9. Your letter gives me the impression that the whole conference is to thrash out some details of the passport system. That is not so, so far as we are concerned, or rather that is only a minor part of what we have in view. In fact, the Deputy High Commissioners of Lahore⁷ and Karachi⁸ cannot be very helpful in this matter, though they may come for the conference. Puri can be helpful, because he has been dealing with this and, therefore, he should go.

10. You must remember that we are just on the eve of the formation of a new Government and all kinds of other changes. It has been exceedingly inconvenient for us even to have this conference at Karachi at this stage. But we have accepted it because we attach high importance to this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Y.K. Puri was Deputy Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, at this time.
5. Chaudhuri Nanak Chandra, Secretary, Ministry of Rehabilitation, 1948-1957.
6. At the passport conference between India and Pakistan held at Karachi from 16 to 19 May 1952, the Pakistan delegation was led by Itaat Hussain, Joint Secretary in Pakistan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
7. S.K. Banerji.
8. M. Atal.

3. Complexities of the Passport System¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: In regard to the passport system, so far the final agreement has not been arrived at. As a matter of fact, I think our High Commissioner at Karachi is coming here tomorrow—not for talks about passport system; he is coming in the normal course to report and possibly he may go on later to East Bengal—and we shall discuss the matter with him. But there has been a large measure of agreement; some matters, one or two, still remain.² Of course, we were not at all anxious to have this passport system but ultimately since Pakistan had decided to introduce it we had to take other measures. We cannot stop them from introducing the passport system. And then we discussed this matter with them and many of the things that we put forward were accepted by them chiefly relating to Eastern Pakistan and West Bengal because we did not wish to put any difficulties; and ultimately they agreed insofar as that is concerned but there will be considerable facilities of traffic, additional facilities. There are three passport systems—the international passport system which, of course, applies to Pakistan as to other countries; secondly, special facilities as between Pakistan and India; thirdly, more special facilities as between Eastern Pakistan and West Bengal, etc. Of course, this involves, among other things, the preparation of millions of passports. The passports we propose to issue will be simple, not the international passport which is rather expensive. This will be cheaper and prepared quicker.

Question: Is it a fact that a number of abducted women have been sent to Pakistan after the Simla High Court judgment?³

JN: I cannot tell you exactly, but I do not think that is true. A number of abducted women were being sent and maybe were in the last stage just before the judgment came. Obviously they did not do anything against the orders of the High Court.

Q: What do you propose to do now?

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 21 June 1952. PIB. For other parts of the press conference, see pp. 36-38, 76-80, 144-145, 169-170, 352-353, 405-410, 476-477, 515, 542-544 and 580-582.
2. At the passport conference held at Karachi in May 1952, agreement relating to traffic between West Pakistan and India was easily reached. However, as regards traffic between East Bengal and West Bengal, while India readily agreed to Pakistan's request for special facilities for her agrarian population in border areas, India's suggestion for similar facilities for Indian businessmen and people with immovable property interests in East Bengal was not acceptable to Pakistan.
3. See *ante*, p. 125.

JN: It is a question which we are considering. Obviously much can be said on the other side. It is, on the one hand, definitely a social problem; on the other hand, there are hard cases and we get numerous enquiries still from their families. How to do it is a matter for consideration. Meanwhile, as you know, an appeal has been lodged with the Supreme Court.

EVACUEE PROPERTY

1. To A.P. Jain¹

New Delhi
June 21, 1952

My dear Ajit,²

I enclose a letter from Maulana³ with which is attached a note from Dewan Chaman Lall.

I think there is some force in what Chaman Lall says about our trying to sell some of these properties.⁴ The moment we try to do so Pakistan will have a free hand to do what it chooses.

But I am rather apprehensive about the proposal to send some non-officials privately to Pakistan to discuss this matter.⁵ I need not give the reasons in this letter as you are fully acquainted with them.

I feel however that we must try to get out somehow of this deadlock. It is not much good blaming Pakistan and being blamed in return. Personally I think that we have been far too cautious about this matter and have always been a little afraid of a brave lead. Three years ago I suggested an invitation to Pakistan to refer this matter to arbitration either by a chosen individual or an International Court.⁶ But any mention of arbitration frightens us. Ultimately

1. File No. 29 (225)/50-PMS.

2. Union Minister for Rehabilitation at this time.

3. A.K. Azad.

4. In his note of 20 June 1952, Chaman Lall, a Congressman and formerly from district Shahpur in Pakistan, considered the contemplated sale of a few plots of land belonging to Muslim evacuees in order to gauge the price of similar properties as detrimental to national interest. He thought such an attempt would result in the immediate confiscation of property left behind by the displaced persons in West Pakistan which was much greater than the property left behind by Muslim evacuees in India.

5. Chaman Lall noted that Pakistan had for the last five years refused to agree to an exchange of evacuee property at the governmental level. He had information, he added, that if a non-official delegation "consisting of two or three of us" was sent to Pakistan without publicity, an agreement on the lines reached between the two Bengals could be achieved.

6. See *Selected Works* (second series), Volume 14 Part I, pp. 31-34.

we suggested, as you will remember, a joint tribunal in India. That was rejected by Pakistan.

Anyhow we should give full thought to this matter and discuss it in Cabinet Committee. We have to bear in mind also the reactions of the great majority of displaced persons. It is not enough for a few well-to-do displaced persons to give us their opinion.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To Chaman Lall¹

New Delhi
June 21, 1952

My dear Chaman Lall,

I have your note of the 20th June about the evacuee property problem. I agree that something should be done about it. We must get out of this deadlock. I do not see, however, how you are going to solve it by paying a visit to Karachi and having a talk there on an unofficial level. We must be quite clear in our minds what we want done and only then can a talk be held, official or unofficial.

I do not mind exploring any method, though I am still unconvinced about this business of private sales and exchanges.² However, I am prepared to consider this also, if necessary. But you will remember that in such matters it is not the opinion of a few well-to-do property owners that counts, but the opinion of the vast body of displaced persons.³

I shall be glad to have detailed suggestions from you. We shall give them every consideration in the Cabinet Committee on Rehabilitation.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 29(225)/50-PMS.
2. Chaman Lall suggested that advantage should be taken of Pakistan's willingness to permit private sales and exchanges as by adopting this method India would get much more than through the sale of Muslim evacuee property and the displaced persons also would be afforded adequate relief without any extra financial burden on the Government. The argument of "rich men getting away with it" was "fictitious", he added, "as none of the big properties is capable of being sold or exchanged easily, whereas the smaller ones find ready buyers."
3. Wondering what a private visit to Pakistan by non-officials could achieve unless they had some official backing, Nehru wrote to A.K. Azad on 21 June 1952, "It must be remembered that there is a vital difference in viewpoint between a small section of well-to-do displaced persons and the vast majority of others."

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

III. Bilateral Relations

(ii) China and Tibet

1. Cable to K.M. Panikkar¹

Your telegrams Nos 88 and 89 dated 6th April² and 96 dated 10th April.

2. Rice supplies. Government of India are grateful to the Chinese Government for offer of 100,000 tons of rice. Food Ministry is communicating with you on this subject directly. This question should be kept entirely separate from provision of transit facilities to Tibet through India.

3. Roche Victoria, formerly Food Minister of Madras, has made several misstatements which are being corrected by our Food Minister in a press statement.³ Roche Victoria is no longer in Madras Cabinet.

4. Tibet. We are surprised to learn of Chou En-lai's apparent reluctance to discuss general problem of our interests in Tibet. It was Chou En-lai himself who suggested, in September last, that this problem, as also boundary between India and Tibet, was one for discussion and settlement. We expressed readiness for this and subsequently you gave note to the Chinese Government defining our interests in Tibet. Chou En-lai's present excuse that the Chinese have been in Tibet only for a short time and have not yet studied problem thoroughly does not carry conviction.

5. We should distinguish between continuance of old border trade between India and Tibet and new proposals of trade in bulk between China and Tibet passing through India. Latter raises important problems of supply and transit which have to be considered by several Ministries. Burden on our transport system is already heavy and we have to consider carefully any additional burden. It must be remembered also that direct route from Calcutta to Darjeeling now passes through Pakistan territory, and this leads to political complications and is causing us continuous trouble. Any other route is a roundabout one. Indeed it has only recently become feasible by opening of narrow Assam railway link which is not enough even for our present requirements.

1. New Delhi, 12 April 1952. JN Collection.

2. Panikkar, the Indian Ambassador to China, stated that at his meeting with Chou En-lai on 5 April, the latter had expressed the view that for many years Tibet would have to depend on India for several daily necessities and desired facilities for transportation of food supplies to Tibet *via* Calcutta. Chou En-lai had also enquired about India's attitude to the construction of a road connecting India with Lhasa. Panikkar reported that Chou En-lai had agreed to continued supply of foodgrains to India for the whole year in exchange for certain commodities.

3. Munshi clarified on 12 April 1952 that at a meeting of the Food Ministers he had not said that China had refused to send any foodgrains to India as had been reported in the Madras Assembly on 22 March 1952 by J.L.P. Roche Victoria, the former Madras Food Minister. What he had said was that unlike the previous year, when the Chinese had helped India by sending foodgrains, they might not be able to send any rice in 1952 due to their own difficult food position.

6. We shall welcome continuation of border trade between India and Tibet, such trade originating from one of the two countries. This has been of benefit to people of both countries, specially in frontier regions.

7. The other proposal of China trade passing through India to Tibet raises, as we have pointed out above, very difficult problems of transport. Apart from this it has certain political implications. It would probably involve Chinese agencies operating transit and other arrangements at several points inside India. It means modifying existing pattern of trade and grant of transit facilities on a large and continuous scale. We are prepared to examine this matter but this would be a concession which we should retain as a bargaining counter for negotiations for an overall settlement between China and us. It is not advantageous to us to accept such proposals piecemeal and yet have no general settlement.

8. Road from Indian border to Lhasa would be of no particular advantage to us unless that road was continued within Indian territory and trade and contacts developed between India and Tibet. We welcome communication facilities but they have to be viewed as part of general problem and settlement and not in a one-sided way.

9. Transport facilities for relatively small quantities might be possible, though even these will involve a strain upon us, but this might become a precedent and an argument for continuation of such transit across India. Presumably these food supplies are meant for Chinese army in Tibet which, from all accounts, is in great need of them. We are not particularly anxious to facilitate movement and retention of large numbers of Chinese troops in Tibet.

10. Problems of security will arise if Chinese personnel is employed in moving supplies. We would not like this to become responsibility of Chinese Agencies in India. Transport facilities in mountains are difficult and there is no effective land custom cordon.

2. Desirability of Friendly Ties with China and Tibet¹

There will be no war in the world if every nation followed a policy of non-interference in the domestic affairs of sister countries. India's doors are open to all friends, but no door is open to her enemies. There is therefore a great

1. Speech at a public meeting, Kalimpong, 29 April 1952. From *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *The Hindustan Times* and *National Herald*, 30 April 1952.

need for ensuring border defence, maintaining national unity and increasing mutual understanding. The people living on the country's borders play an important role in determining her relations with the neighbouring countries. While they can ensure peace in their own country, they can also create troubles with the neighbouring countries. Nobody need get upset over the recent developments in Tibet.² I would like to repeat that one of the foremost interests of India is cultivation of friendly relations with her neighbours, especially China and Tibet.

2. Chinese Communist troops were reported to have entered Lhasa and established their headquarters in its eastern suburbs.

3. Cable to K.M. Panikkar¹

Reference your telegram Nos 178 and 179 of 23rd May.² We have agreed to grant transit facilities for foodgrains up to end of 1952 at the rate of 500 tons a month. Subject to weather and availability of mules we are willing to work for transport of target figure of 3,500 tons. We see little prospect, however, of achieving this, since first shipment is not likely to reach India before some time next month and bad weather may interrupt transit for a month on land journey. Two thousand five hundred tons is, therefore, the probable attainable target and it might be worthwhile explaining this to the Chinese so as to avoid future misunderstanding.

We have told you that any permanent or semi-permanent arrangements can be discussed only as part of general settlement of our interests in Tibet. (These interests, as you know, are not confined to trade relations but involve political interests such as affirmation of the Frontier). It would be preferable not to mention this in your proposed note. We had really intended this for your information only.

We are examining Chinese request for delivering at Phari instead of Yatung.

1. New Delhi, 24 May 1952. JN Collection.
2. Panikkar reported that it had been made clear to the Chinese that India could not guarantee transit of any fixed quantities but would try her best to transport five hundred tons per month subject to weather conditions and availability of mules from Tibet, but entirely at the risk and cost of the Chinese Government. He suggested that India might agree to transport three thousand five hundred tons by the end of 1952 subject to favourable conditions.

4. Cable to K.M. Panikkar¹

Your telegram 210 dated June 15th. Tibet.

We think it is rather odd that in discussing Tibet with you Chou En-lai did not refer at all to our Frontier.² For our part, we attach more importance to this than to other matters. We are interested, as you know, not only in our direct Frontier but also in Frontiers of Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim, and we have made it perfectly clear in Parliament that these Frontiers must remain. There is perhaps some advantage in our not ourselves raising this issue. On the other hand I do not quite like Chou En-lai's silence about it when discussing even minor matters.

Your reference to a connecting road *via* Assam³ must be due to some misunderstanding. The only feasible road from India to Tibet is in Sikkim *via* Gangtok to Gyantse. We have no proposals to make any roads in Assam towards Tibetan Frontier. It is true that in our Five Year Plan we intend developing communications in Assam towards Frontier for our internal purposes but these will take a long time.

The only road therefore which can be considered in this connection is *via* Gangtok. We have already built part of this and made it jeepable. We propose to extend this gradually towards Frontier. The region is mountainous and difficult. I understand that on the other side of the border also for many miles there is difficult mountain terrain. We have no objection to these roads being made; in fact we are making them gradually, but they will take time.

As for our Mission in Lhasa being converted into a Consulate-General we have no objection. We would also be agreeable to opening of Chinese Consulate in Bombay. We would like you to consider however how far it is desirable to

1. New Delhi, 16 June 1952. JN Collection.
2. Reporting on his talk with Chou En-lai on 14 June, Panikkar stated that "the question of boundary was not touched and no allusion made to any political problems." The Chinese Premier said "he presumed that India had no intention of claiming special rights arising from the unequal treaties of the past and was prepared to negotiate a new and permanent relationship safeguarding legitimate interests." Panikkar added that Chou En-lai "clearly wanted to convey the impression" that the only issues related to "an agreement in principle" about the "transformation" of the Indian Mission in Lhasa "into a proper Consulate-General" as an "immediate practical step" and negotiations for India's "special rights like military posts, trade marts and posts and telegraphs" at suitable times subsequently.
3. Chou En-lai had expressed Chinese preparedness to build a road from Lhasa up to their frontiers if India built one up to hers. Panikkar had replied that the project involved serious engineering problems and the question would have to be discussed with the Assam Government.

have these piecemeal arrangements. We would naturally prefer a general and comprehensive settlement which includes Frontier. In our instructions to you dated 25th January, you were asked to specify our interests including those on the Frontier. We presume you have done so. If so, we can presume that Chou En-lai's silence means some kind of acquiescence. It is not for us to suggest any reconsideration. At the same time I should like to be assured on this point. I leave it to you to exercise your discretion in this matter.⁴

4. In a clarification of Chou En-lai's conversation with Panikkar on 14 June, handed to T.N. Kaul, Indian Charge d'Affaires, on 10 July 1952, the Chinese Foreign Office stated that Chou En-lai had said that the "Chinese Government would like to state a principle at the same time solving specific problems and then follow this up with successive solution of other specific problems." The Chinese Government added that Chou En-lai felt "existing situation of Sino-Indian relationship in Tibetan China was scar left by Britain in course of their past aggression against China. For this Government of India was not responsible," and that the "relations between new China and new Government of India in Tibet should be built anew through negotiations."

5. Cable to K.M. Panikkar¹

Your telegram 212 dated June 17th.²

In view of what you say, it will be desirable not to raise the question of our Frontier at this stage.

I have already informed you that we agree to exchange of Consulates-General as suggested.

1. New Delhi, 18 June 1952. MEA.
2. Panikkar stated that India's vital interest in the integrity of Nepal had been made quite clear to Chou En-lai in early February and it had been "specifically mentioned that we had integrated our policy with Nepal." Chou En-lai had at that time not raised any question about it. Besides, Nehru had made frequent statements in and outside Parliament on the subject. Therefore, Panikkar had not mentioned Nepal in his note on India's interests in Tibet given to Peking; no reference to Sikkim and Bhutan was made either in view of the directions to him "that these areas are to be treated as part of India." He thought Chou En-lai's silence on the subject of the Frontier and his not having even indirectly alluded to Sikkim or Bhutan during his conversation would mean acquiescence in, if not acceptance of, India's position. He added that India must stick to the position that the Frontier had been defined and there was nothing to be discussed.

6. Negotiations on Tibet¹

Question: What about negotiations with China on Tibet?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Nothing very definite has taken place yet. In Tibet we have our Mission in Lhasa; we have a trade mission at Gyantse and we keep some guards to safeguard the route and the communications system to some extent. None of these things really are of any great difficulty. They are not difficult questions at all. Obviously once it is accepted and admitted that the Chinese Government is not only the suzerain power in Tibet but is exercising the suzerainty, then something will flow from it. Then you cannot treat Tibet as an independent country with an independent representation from us. Though our Representative remains, this changes his character somewhat, and the trade mission and other things also follow. I do not think there is any difficulty about it. It has to be negotiated with China and Tibet both.

Q: Has a change already taken place in the status of our Mission there?

JN: The fact of the matter is that the status of the Representative in Lhasa has never been defined for the last thirty years.

Q: Have the Chinese Government informed you to withdraw your forces?

JN: They have not informed us, but there is no doubt that we will withdraw, if necessary. It was laid down in our treaty with Tibet when it was signed that they will be there as long as the Tibetan Government did not take adequate provision for the safety of the trade route. It was a temporary provision even then, and when other arrangements are made, naturally there will be no necessity for us to keep a small force there.

Q: Has the trade between India and Tibet been affected by the recent changes?

JN: Not much. It was affected in between a little, of course, but it has not been affected on any big scale. But it has been affected in another way—not with India. Well, a large quantity of Tibetan wool used to go through India to

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 21 June 1952. PIB. Extracts. For other parts of the press conference, see pp. 36-38, 76-80, 144-145, 169-170, 352-353, 405-410, 466-467, 515, 542-544 and 580-582.

the United States, but now it is not going. In fact, in Kalimpong large quantities of Tibetan wool are piled up which normally would have gone to the United States. So in that sense the trade has been affected, not with India so much as with foreign countries.

Q: Is it a fact that you allowed rice to be sent to Tibet?

JN: Not in big quantities. We did allow a small quantity of rice, relatively small quantity, as an exceptional case. You know, it is a very difficult route; it is not easy to go to Tibet from Calcutta—mule tracks, difficult mountain terrain and the rest of it. It is not an easy matter, but because of their great need, we have allowed some quantity of rice to go through. And, as you know, China sent us one lakh tons of rice.² That is not a very great figure, but it merely was a generous gesture of the Chinese Government especially as this year has been a difficult year for them from the point of view of food. It was not easy for them to spare even this for us, nevertheless they did it.

Q: Is the arrangement on an *ad hoc* basis?

JN: Yes, completely.

Q: Did you receive any request from the Chinese Government to allow some transit facilities for the transport of some industrial equipment such as radio and other things to Tibet along with rice?

JN: I cannot quite remember. There have been some small items here and there possibly, but nothing big.

Q: But nothing of military nature?

JN: No, absolutely nothing of that kind. They were only some small implements and other things.

Q: And you have acceded to their request?

JN: I think we said that if they were available we will let them have them. I do not think anything has gone actually but they were very limited in quantity....

2. A contract for the purchase of 100,000 metric tons of rice on cash basis was signed in Peking on 26 May 1952. The rice was to be shipped in the course of the next three months.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

III. Bilateral Relations

(iii) Nepal

1. Record of Talks with the Nepal Ministers¹

The proposal made in the letter dated the 4th of April from the Prime Minister of Nepal to the Prime Minister of India regarding the loan of services of Indian officers for the reorganization of the civil administration of Nepal² was the main subject discussed. The Prime Minister began by saying that the proposal had important administrative, political and financial aspects. The policy of the Indian Government, he said, had always been to help Nepal without interfering and, in accordance with this policy, the Government of India would gladly give such help as is necessary and possible in carrying on the civil administration of Nepal and in training Nepalese officers. The Nepalese proposal, although carefully worked out, presented a theoretical or academic picture and it was necessary that a small committee of experts should study conditions at Kathmandu and at selected district headquarters and produce a practical scheme. According to the information given by the honourable Mr S.P. Upadhyaya, the Nepal Government had drawn up a scheme for the Central Secretariat which they now wished to implement. A scheme for the district administration has still to be worked out.

As regards the political aspect, Shri Upadhyaya expressed the view that there would be no repercussions amongst the people except for the few interested people who will try to make capital out of this proposal for political motives.

As regards the financial aspect, it was realized that financial arrangements will depend largely upon the number of civil officers which we may send to Nepal and the period of their employment.

It was decided that a small team of three or four Indian experts on secretariat work, district administration, police and judiciary should be selected to make a survey and report to the Governments of India and Nepal. The Nepal Government will attach two or three of their own officers to this team. The team will make a quick survey of local conditions by a visit to Kathmandu and a few selected district headquarters and make recommendations regarding the reorganization of the Secretariat and the district administration of Nepal,

1. New Delhi, 21 April 1952. File No. N/53/11916/3, MEA. Subarna Shamsher, Finance Minister, S.P. Upadhyaya, Home Minister, Kaiser Shamsher, Defence Minister, Bijaya Shumsher, Nepalese Ambassador in India, and Govind Narain, Adviser-cum-Secretary to the King, represented Nepal.
2. M.P. Koirala, the Prime Minister of Nepal, had asked for the services of some civilian officials from India to help the Government of Nepal remodel their newly created Secretariat and smoothly run the administration.

the number and qualifications of officers required from outside and the period for which their service will be needed.

Without waiting for the expert report, the Government of India will set on foot enquiries from the States regarding the availability of personnel. It was considered that the most suitable officers for deputation to Nepal would be those from the bordering States of Bengal, Bihar and UP. Retired officers should also be considered.

As regards the training of Nepalese officers, the Government of India, as stated above, agree to it in principle. Plans will be made on getting details from the Government of Nepal regarding the number of trainees, posts for which they are to be trained, educational qualifications, previous experience, etc.

There was also some discussion regarding the development schemes of Nepal.³ Major-General Subarna stated that, besides the Kathmandu airport and the Kathmandu-Raxaul road, the only scheme which was ready was the Kosi project.⁴ This they would like to execute if that phase of the Kosi project which interests Nepal was not taken up without delay. General Subarna stated that of the two crores of rupees originally earmarked, a sum of rupees one crore was still forthcoming as the first instalment of Nepal's contribution to the expenditure on Kosi project. The Prime Minister pointed out that experience in India had shown the dangers of taking up projects haphazardly and the need for an overall balanced plan, which takes into account not only the needs but also the resources. In India, it was stated, a number of projects had to be abandoned after work had begun and substantial sums spent on them. It was necessary, therefore, for Nepal to have planning experts to draw a development plan. The Prime Minister also stated that in planning the emphasis should be on small projects which do not cost enormous sums and yield quick results.

3. The ministerial mission from Nepal also held negotiations for a loan for Rs 15 crore from the Government of India to finance part of Nepal's development plans.
4. It was a multi-purpose project envisaging a dam 750 feet high, a power plant to generate upto 1.8 million KWs of power, and two barrages of which one was to be in Nepal across the Kosi and the other near the Nepal-Bihar border.

2. To M.P. Koirala¹

New Delhi
April 23, 1952

My dear Maitrika Prasad,

Thank you for your letter of the 20th April² which Suraj Prasad Upadhyaya handed over to me. I have also had a talk with him as well as some of your other Ministers here.

We have had one or two conferences here to discuss the requests made by your Government. These requests, as you know, are far-reaching and involve a great deal of thought and preparation. I cannot say offhand that we shall be able to fulfil them as a whole. But we have accepted the principle of helping you in this matter to the utmost of our capacity.

After some discussion, we have come to the conclusion that the best course would be for four or five of our officers to go to Nepal and to discuss these matters with your Government in some detail. The officers we send will probably include a senior executive officer, a policeman and a judicial officer. Possibly also a planning officer. The list of officers that you require and that you have sent me is comprehensive enough but is rather vague.³ We should like to have a clearer view of the picture, both to determine the number required and the quality of officers to be sent. The small deputation we shall send you will be able to help you and us to draw up a clearer picture. It would be desirable if you could associate two or three of your officers with our delegation. I should like all of them to visit some of your district headquarters. That will make them understand the nature of the problem more than mere discussions at Kathmandu. If you agree, we shall take early steps to send this small group.

It is clear that any officers that we send you will have to come probably from our States adjoining Nepal. This for linguistic as well as perhaps other reasons. This is a peculiarly difficult time for any of our States to spare their senior officers as new Governments are being formed in every State as a result of the elections. However, we shall try to do our best.

1. JN Collection.
2. Referring to the Nepal Government's decision to seek Indian assistance to reorganize their civil administration, Koirala wrote to Nehru that "one or two colleagues of mine were insisting that this was the only remedy to get out of the present anomaly, and my King also held the same opinion."
3. The services of about 150 officers besides service personnel of various other categories from India were sought for reorganizing the civil administration in Nepal. Among the officers required were: seven officers for the Secretariat, Commissioners and Deputy Inspectors General of Police for three divisions, District Officers and Superintendents of Police for 16 districts, two District and Sessions Judges, one officer for the Public Service Commission and one Auditor-General.

Meanwhile we shall communicate with the State Governments to find out what officers they can spare. Probably it will take us about a month to find out. By that time our delegation to Nepal might also come back.

The planning officer that we are sending will discuss such schemes as you have in mind. So far as I can see, you have to concentrate almost entirely on communications, that is, roads. Without proper roads, it is difficult to make any progress or even to have any constructive project. We have learnt from bitter experience that it is harmful to try to do more than we can manage. It is far better to concentrate on some things and produce results.

A very great deal depends upon the Central Cabinet. If that Cabinet functions harmoniously and efficiently, then the whole administration is toned up. Otherwise it will be difficult to build up an efficient administration. It is also necessary that decisions arrived at should be implemented with speed. Non-implementation or delay in implementing affects the prestige of Government and indeed reduces the topmost authority to a position of impotence.

It is not for me to advise you in regard to domestic matters but, if I may say so, it might be possible to introduce some simple reforms with great speed. These reforms may relate to the judicial system which, I understand, is very primitive. They should also relate more specially to strict financial scrutiny of expenditure. No expenditure should be incurred unless properly examined and sanctioned. These are the foundations of any administration.

Appointments should also naturally come from some kind of an impartial Commission.

May I also say that it would be desirable if the King⁴ as well as Ministers did not frequently go out of Nepal, more specially to big cities like Calcutta? It is important to create an impression in the public mind that hard work is being done. If such an impression is not created at the top, then others will not work.

I am going in two days' time to Darjeeling and Gangtok. I shall be very near the eastern Nepal border there. I hope to return to Delhi on the 30th evening.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. King Tribhuvan.

3. To M.P. Koirala¹

New Delhi
April 23, 1952

My dear Maitrika Prasad,

In your letter of the 20th April,² you have referred to your talks with Jayaprakash Narayan and B.P. Koirala. I have read these with interest. I am quite sure that you did right to withdraw from the contest for the presidentship. Yours is at present a leading position in Nepal and it matters little what other offices you may or may not hold. The responsibility will largely remain with you. That responsibility can often be exercised more easily through others than directly.

I realize fully the complicated and delicate situation which you have to face. I am sure however that you will be equal to this great task and will be able to carry with you your colleagues and the great majority of the people of Nepal. In particular, I have been sure for a long time that it is quite essential for you and B.P. Koirala to work in harmony. B.P. is full of energy, and sometimes over-exuberant. These are good qualities if used in the right way. I am sure that you can direct his activities in the right channels, if there is full cooperation between you two.

In another letter³ to you I have said something about the King's visit to Calcutta, etc. This is rather a delicate subject but I am writing to you about it because I feel that the good of Nepal requires it. The King or any Head of State must maintain a certain dignity and a certain aloofness. That aloofness does not mean that he should not mix with his people in the normal way. But nothing should be done which detracts from that dignity. The King and his family should always bear this in mind whether in Nepal or outside. The high position brings its own responsibilities and restraints. If the restraints are not observed the authority suffers.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Koirala wrote that B.P. Koirala, the leader of the non-ministerial group in the Nepali Congress, and his followers had been disrupting the unity in the party. However, following their meeting with Jayaprakash Narayan in Calcutta earlier in the month, it had been agreed that the Government would adhere to the ideology and programme of the party. He added that he had also decided to step down in favour of B.P. Koirala in the election for party presidentship.

3. See the preceding item.

4. To M.P. Koirala¹

New Delhi
April 25, 1952

My dear Maitrika Prasadji,

I have already written two or three letters to you which our Ambassador² will carry. Your Ministers, I understand, have finished their work here and some of them have returned.

There is one matter I should like to put to you. I have not referred to this in my other letters. This is in regard to the foreign contacts of the Nepal Government. I write this because I understand that your Government has approached the United States Government for a gift or loan or something of the kind. I do not exactly know what it is. I am told that some of your Ministers saw the American Ambassador here and discussed this matter with him. I do not know what his reply was. But I gather that he asked many questions which it was a little difficult to answer. He mentioned that the matter will have to go to the Senate of the US.

We would be happy if you can get help of any kind from the US. But this is an exceedingly complicated matter. There are all kinds of laws in the United States governing help to foreign countries and wanting something in exchange for them. We have been dealing with the US for a long time past and we have made it perfectly clear that while help is welcome, we will not have any political or other strings attached to it. Even so, all kinds of difficulties arise which we have to consider from day to day. I am sure that none of these difficulties are before you. The result is that a direct approach to the US Government by your Government is likely to create a good deal of confusion and might even put your Government in an embarrassing position. As a matter of fact, it is quite likely that the matter would be referred to us by the US Government.

Hence, it is far more desirable that before any such request be made to the US or any other foreign Government, some kind of a reference might be made to us on the subject and we could advise you as to how best you could make an approach in the matter or what you should do. We have considerable experience of this kind of thing.

Again, it does introduce an element of confusion if, at the same time, requests for loans or help are made to our Government as well as to the US Government.

You will remember that we had agreed at the last meeting we had here³

1. JN Collection.

2. C.P.N. Singh.

3. During the visit of M.P. Koirala to New Delhi from 6 to 9 January 1952, it was agreed that the defence and foreign policies of India and Nepal should be closely coordinated.

and, indeed, previously in an exchange of letters between Governments, that in regard to foreign matters there will be every attempt at coordination. I suggest that this might be put into practice so as to avoid embarrassment to either party.

May I also suggest that in the matter of employing foreign nationals we might be consulted? Your Government's knowledge of foreign nationals is bound to be limited. We have far greater resources and knowledge. Before we employ any foreign national, we make many enquiries here as well as in the country of his origin. It is only then that we employ them, having made sure of who and what they are. There are far too many undesirable and suspicious people about for us to take them for granted.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. To King Tribhuvan¹

New Delhi
April 25, 1952

My dear friend,

I hope you will forgive me for the delay in acknowledging your letter of April 4th which you had sent to me by our Ambassador in Kathmandu. That letter, together with a letter from your Prime Minister, reached me on April 12th.

In these letters, requests were made for a large civil mission to be sent by India to Nepal for the reorganization of various Services there and generally for helping the administration. The demands made upon us were considerable and it was difficult for us to send any answer without full consideration and enquiry about our own available resources. There were also certain political considerations to be borne in mind. For this reason I delayed sending Your Majesty an answer. It had also been decided that some Ministers of the Nepalese Government should come to Delhi to discuss these various matters with us. I thought that we would be in a better position to reply to your Majesty and to your Prime Minister after this discussion.

We have now had these discussions. As a result, we have accepted in principle the idea of sending a mission to help in the reorganization of the administration and the governmental apparatus of Nepal. Before finalizing this, however, it is necessary that we should have some more precise knowledge of

1. JN Collection.

what is required. We have also to find out how many people we can spare. It is proposed, therefore, to send to Nepal, as soon as possible, a few of our officers, probably four or five, who could discuss these matters in detail with representatives of your Government and then forward their specific proposals both to your Government and to ours. I should like this group of officers to visit some of the district towns of Nepal also. We propose to take these steps as early as possible. We are also, meanwhile, enquiring from some of our State Governments about the availability of officers and others. Probably, these processes will take about a month. After that we hope to send the officers required by Your Majesty's Government, or, at any rate, such as we can spare. I need not tell Your Majesty that we are very anxious to give every help in our power to the Nepalese Government and people. May I point out, however, that the mere sending by us of a mission of this kind will not go far unless conditions are created in Nepal so that they can be of real service to your Government. It would be a great pity if they were not effectively used during their stay in Nepal. I have ventured to write to your Prime Minister about this matter.²

There is one other subject to which I should like to draw Your Majesty's attention. At the time of our last treaty with Nepal,³ we exchanged some letters in which it was stated that in matters of foreign policy there would be consultation and coordination between us. Your Majesty will remember that you wrote to me on this subject also and the Prime Minister of Nepal also came here and we fully agreed about the necessity for coordinating our foreign policies. Like you, we attach great importance to this. I suggest, therefore, that any approaches to foreign Governments might be made in future after consultation with us. Otherwise, a certain confusion might arise and a position created which is embarrassing both to Your Majesty's Government and to our Government. In the matter of employing foreign nationals too, previous consultation would be helpful. I mention this as there have been some recent instances where some steps of this kind were taken without any reference to us.⁴

With my regards and good wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. See *ante*, pp. 483-484.

3. A treaty of peace and friendship between India and Nepal was signed on 31 July 1950.

4. Three foreigners had been employed by the Nepalese Government without reference to the Government of India. C.P.N. Singh reported on 3 May that M.P. Koirala had told him that one of them was sent by Bijaya Shumsher, Nepalese Ambassador in India, without consulting him. Besides he had also been sending many foreign visitors which Koirala did not like. Singh added, "The King told him that as Prime Minister he should have shown guts either to refuse permission or to tell Bijaya not to do so."

6. US Assistance for Nepal¹

I agree generally with FS. I do not at all like the look of the proposals made by the Nepalese Government. If they want to get some things from the United States and we cannot supply them, then we can hardly prevent them from getting them. But if they are to deal with the US, it is not proper or wise to begin in this rather small and piecemeal way. The whole question should be considered from the point of view of any plan that they might evolve. They might then find out what we can do and what still remains to be done. To get piecemeal help in a small way comes in the way of greater and more organized help. If considerable help is needed, then the matter should be carefully considered in regard to terms, etc.

2. Obviously the first thing to do is to have some kind of a plan, if not for five years then for three. Otherwise they will waste such resources as they have on secondary and unimportant matters and even their capacity to get help from India or abroad will become more limited.

3. The question of getting technical assistance only arises when we have the projects and schemes for which such assistance is required. It cannot be asked for vaguely and rather in the air. No technical assistance is required from the US for such a thing as making a road, which many engineers in India can easily make.

4. The two major items in the programme are the construction of a road and the installation of a cement plant. We have undertaken to construct the main road from India to Nepal. Is reference made to this same road or to some other?

5. A cement plant would no doubt be useful. But I doubt if a high priority can be given to it in the present condition of Nepal. There must be many other projects which are more important and which are likely to bring greater dividends.

6. I imagine that any grant amounting to three crores of rupees or more will have to go through Congress in America and quite inevitably various conditions of technical aid will be attached. It is rather naive to think this can come without any conditions or strings being attached to it. India takes a risk in taking aid. She does so because, on the whole, she is strong enough to stick to her position and to her policy. But it is nevertheless a risk. Nepal cannot take up that strong attitude which India might, if once this process of aid starts.

7. I think that the intrusion of American engineers and technical personnel in Nepal is likely to prove highly embarrassing to the Nepalese Government.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 28 May 1952. JN Collection.

As it is, there is the belief among the Chinese in Tibet, encouraged by Dr K.I. Singh² and his followers, that American personnel are swarming over Nepal. That is untrue at present. But if a number of American engineers and others go to Nepal, then I have no doubt that the Chinese will become firmly convinced that America is gradually gaining a hold over Nepal. This will have rather far-reaching consequences and all kinds of new difficulties will arise.

8. I think that these various considerations should be pointed out to the Nepalese Government in a friendly way. In the main it should be said that the first step must necessarily be some kind of a plan. We do not wish to come in the way of any real help that they need and that they can get from abroad. But that help can only be usefully asked for when there is a plan and it should be coordinated with such help as India might be in a position to give. Always the political implications should be borne in mind, as these are important and likely to have far-reaching consequences.

2. Singh, who led an uprising against the Government of Nepal in 1950 and 1951, was reported to have been intercepted at Gyantse in Tibet by Chinese and Tibetan authorities in April 1952. He subsequently took asylum in China.

7. To C.P.N. Singh¹

New Delhi
June 3, 1952

My dear Chandreshwar,

I have been anxiously following reports from Kathmandu about developments there.² I do not at all like the look of things and I am loth to get entangled in the internal affairs of Nepal. The King had intended staying here two or three days more because of his throat trouble but, at my request, he decided to go yesterday morning. I find from your telegram just received that he had some difficulty and in fact did not land yesterday.³

Among the various complicating features of the Nepal situation is the growing discontent between Tarai and the rest of Nepal. I think this is a bad thing as all destructive tendencies are. Your position at the present moment is

1. JN Collection.
2. The lower grade Government employees in Nepal struck work from 1 June to press their long-standing demand for increased pay and better working conditions, greatly affecting the public services. Besides, dissensions within the Nepali Congress, temporarily resolved at the Janakpur Conference in the last week of May 1952 with the uncontested election of B.P. Koirala as the president of the party, erupted again with the non-ministerial group charging M.P. Koirala with running the Government contrary to the programme and policy of the party.
3. King Tribhuvan returned to Kathmandu on 3 June after two weeks' private visit to India.

one of peculiar delicacy. In view of the experience of the Nepalese Ministers and others good advice is needed. At the same time, any false or over-zealous step will involve us in difficulties and the responsibility for much that happens might become ours. I am rather worried about this.

I had a fairly long talk with the King before he went but these talks do not carry one very far. Still I think it did some good and he will probably prove of some help in stabilizing the situation.

From the accounts we have had, from you and other sources, it appears to me that no one behaved with restraint at the Nepali Congress meeting and the principal persons showed too much zeal for some particular matter, forgetting the larger outlook. I shall await fuller accounts before forming an opinion. For the moment I do not like what B.P. Koirala did and I still like what Bhadrakali Mishra did.⁴ But then these are only initial reactions and I cannot base any judgement upon them.

I had a letter from B.P. Koirala saying that he would like to see me. I told him that he can come here after a few days and I would see him then.

When the King was going away from Delhi a difficulty arose about the supply of aviation petrol for his aircraft. We are strictly limiting the supply of aviation petrol to all our air companies and others. I understand that a certain quantity, I think it was 250 gallons, had been supplied for the King's aircraft up to the end of June. But this has been practically exhausted and so we had to give him some more against our own rules. I do not like breaking our own rules and specially when our supplies are very limited. I enquired as to how his aircraft managed to consume his previous supply so quickly. I was told that the aircraft had done many trips for you between Kathmandu and Delhi and Kathmandu and Patna and this was partially the reason why more petrol had been consumed.

For the moment we gave some more aviation spirit but we shall have to be strict in future.

I think you should avoid travelling by the King's aircraft except in cases of extreme urgency. This is of course against our normal rules. But apart from this I should not like this to be done because of its reactions in Nepal.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Mishra, Minister for Transport and Forests in the M.P. Koirala Ministry, wanted the presidentship of Nepali Congress and the prime ministership to be vested in one person only and presented a draft Constitution for the party proposing a four-tier organization with primary committees at the bottom and a central committee as an apex body and election of the president through secret ballot. The conference of the Nepali Congress at Janakpur rejected his proposal and passed a resolution with 400 out of 514 delegates voting for his expulsion from the party.

8. To M.P. Koirala¹

New Delhi
June 21, 1952

My dear Maitrika Prasad,

I have not written to you for a considerable time, nor have I heard from you during this lengthy period. But I need hardly tell you that I have been following recent developments in Nepal and I have been troubled by them. Many of the reports that may reach me may not be quite correct or may be exaggerated. I am not interested in the accuracy of some particular detail. I am interested in the broad aspects of the situation that has been developing in Nepal.

I have hesitated to write to you because it is none of my business to interfere in any way in the internal politics of Nepal. But, as those internal politics have significance outside also and may produce results in which we might somehow get involved, I have to follow them closely.

During the last eighteen months or so many changes have taken place in Nepal. Throughout this period we attached importance to two elements in Nepal as giving stability and promise of progress, which the country required so badly. These two elements were: the King and the Nepali Congress. Even when the Nepali Congress was not functioning satisfactorily we still thought that that was the only organization which could hold the country together in some kind of political cement and prepare it for the next step towards democracy. An essential condition appeared to us to be for a suitable administration to grow up: a harmonious Cabinet, an efficient administration, an impartial judicial system, an impartial public service commission, etc. Above all, the elimination of nepotism, favouritism and corruption. You will remember that I advised you and your colleagues to develop close contacts with the people. Government could only be effective if it drew its strength and sanctions from the people.

We had hoped that elections to a Constituent Assembly will take place within a year or so and that meanwhile an Advisory Council would be set up. So far as I know, no progress has been made towards the calling of the Constituent Assembly and the Advisory Council has not functioned at all.²

Looking back at this period and at the present state of affairs, I cannot

1. JN Collection.

2. After a meeting with Nehru on 16 May 1951, the Nepali Congress and the Ranas had agreed to the setting up of a nominated Advisory Assembly which was to meet at least twice a year and to serve as an interim Parliament pending the convening of a Constituent Assembly. The King nominated 35 members to the Advisory Assembly on 2 October 1951 and another 21 members in April 1952 before it was formally inaugurated by him on 4 July 1952.

help feeling that instead of making progress there has been progressive deterioration and that the situation at present is highly unsatisfactory. The Nepali Congress, which I have always looked upon as the strongest pillar of stability and organized progress in Nepal, appears to have rapidly lost hold of the public mind. Distintegrating processes continue to work and all kinds of petty and personal groups fight for mastery. Contacts with the people grow less and less and thus the real sanction behind the Nepali Congress and the present Government diminishes. Even within the ranks of the Congress there is no homogeneity. Politics in Nepal are becoming more and more individualistic or small group conflicts. That is a bad sign.

I cannot judge from here about internal conditions, but the recent strikes in Nepal indicate that the services were dissatisfied and so were the students and the younger elements.³ It is reported that there have been resignations from the State troops.

All this indicates a process of dissolution going on and I do not see any rival process of consolidation. If this proceeds, the result can only be disastrous, however long it may be delayed. Any attempt to progress on democratic lines becomes doomed and ultimately some relatively small group may hold power for a time, till another group pushes it away. This may be done politically or by other means.

We have tried deliberately not to interfere in these internal matters. It was only when our advice was sought or our help asked for in any particular matter that we gave that advice or help. In spite of this, however, the Government of India are continually blamed for all the troubles of Nepal. We are supposed to interfere and intervene.⁴ You have asked us for all kinds of help from time to time and we have been reluctant to give it because of our desire not to intervene internally. It troubles me therefore that the Government of India should be supposed to bear the responsibility for some of these happenings in Nepal. If we had been responsible or if we had considered ourselves responsible, we would have functioned very differently. As a matter of fact, looking back at the last few months, I find that our advice has seldom been followed, although it has often been accepted when given.

At the present moment, at your request, we have undertaken certain responsibilities, such as building your aerodrome and the Raxual-Kathmandu

3. Students held demonstrations and meetings in Kathmandu in sympathy with the striking lower-grade Government employees. The strike was called off following the King's proclamation on 6 June providing for revision of pay scales.
4. The presence of Indian officers in Cabinet meetings, the arrival of an Indian military mission and the activities of the Indian Ambassador were viewed with suspicion. The opponents of the Kosi project agreement accused the Government of bartering away Nepal's future. The presence of Indian officers for air services also created misgivings.

road.⁵ We have sent a military mission to Nepal⁶ and we are considering, again at your request, the sending of a considerable number of civil officers. All this has been done at considerable cost to ourselves at a moment of grave financial stringency. And yet the result of all this has been only condemnation of the Government of India for interfering in the affairs of Nepal. I confess that I do not appreciate this kind of reaction. If any major power had treated us so casually, we would have taken strong exception to it. But, knowing conditions in Nepal, we have remained more or less silent.

On several occasions we have received urgent requests from you. Because of our desire to help you, we have agreed and then something has happened on your side to prevent implementation and we have been hung up. We are now waiting for some kind of consent from your Government about the Raxual-Kathmandu road. We are completely ready to start it, but your consent has not come. Our last message to you was that this should be undertaken by our military engineers.

You will remember that there is a clear understanding between India and Nepal about the use of foreign non-Indian personnel in Nepal. It was agreed that this should only take place after reference to us and with our consent. I find, however, that an increasing number of foreigners are pouring into Nepal without reference to us. When we draw attention to this, some kind of an excuse is put forward, but the process goes on. I understand that some of these foreigners indulge in anti-Indian propaganda in Nepal and also interfere in internal politics.

I am mentioning some matters which have come to my notice in recent times. These developments appear to me to be bad for Nepal and they are certainly neither fair nor courteous to us. It is only right therefore that we should review the situation as between these two countries and come to a clear understanding as to where we are. We have no desire to waste our money and energy in helping Nepal and get ill-will and condemnation in return. We have no desire to send our officers to Nepal when they have no opportunity of doing good work and have to function in an atmosphere which is hostile to them and to India. I have a feeling that the Nepal Government is not playing fair with us. Promises made are not kept and what we are told is not done. I am not used to this kind of politics in a Government or elsewhere. If I say that I shall do something for Nepal, I shall do it and keep my promise. I expect similar treatment from Nepal. If the Nepalese Government does not

5. The Government of India agreed to build an airport on the meadow of Gaucher, five miles from Kathmandu, and a road linking Kathmandu with Raxual. The construction work on both projects began in 1953.
6. In compliance with the request of King Tribhuvan, a military mission led by Major-General Y.S. Paranjpe was sent to Kathmandu on 27 February 1952 with the objective of reorganizing the Nepalese army in order to maintain stability in the country.

wish to act up to its previous undertakings to us, then the sooner we revised those undertakings the better.

I repeat that my interest in Nepal is to see progress and stability there. It is not my concern what kind of Government the Nepalese people would like to have themselves. But if something happens in Nepal which endangers our own security, then of course this is a matter of great consequences to us. Also, if a continuous campaign, supported in high quarters, of vilification of India continues, that is also a matter of concern to us. History and geography have thrown India and Nepal together. We cannot forget that history or change geography. Those governing factors continue and will inevitably influence action both in India and Nepal. But within those limits there can be much variation and it is for your Government and for us to consider what exactly our relations should be.

I hope I have made my meaning clear. This is a personal letter, but it deals with public matters and you can show it to your colleagues, should you so wish. These matters are of vital importance to all of you as to us. Events rush past us and we cannot supinely watch them go.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. Anglo-American Activities in Nepal¹

I have written a letter² to the Prime Minister of Nepal which I am sending him through our Ambassador in Kathmandu. I am sending you a copy of this letter.

2. From all accounts conditions in Nepal are rapidly heading towards a crisis. The process of disintegration continues. That is why I thought I ought to write to the Prime Minister. We shall have to consider the question of Nepal very carefully in the near future.

3. I do not know what has happened to the small mission we sent there headed by Shri Buch to find out how far we could accede to the request of the Nepalese Government to send civil officers.³ Has this mission returned? If so, what is its report?

4. I continue to get complaints about the behaviour of the British Embassy and certain UK officials in Nepal. In one paper attached sent by our Ambassador

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 21 June 1952. JN Collection.

2. See the preceding item.

3. A three-man mission, headed by N.M. Buch, at this time Joint Secretary in the Ministry of States, returned to India on 8 June after studying the working of the Secretariat at Kathmandu and visiting various district headquarters.

in Nepal to you, there is reference to a certain American. It is quite possible that some Nepalese elements go to the British Embassy and the Americans and tell them all kinds of false stories about us or about our Ambassador.

5. Reports have reached me also about considerable sums of money changing hands in Kathmandu, that is, payments being made by the Americans and sometimes even by the British Embassy. I cannot verify these reports. But there is a widespread impression to this effect.

6. I think you should send for the UK High Commissioner or rather the Acting High Commissioner and the American Ambassador or his substitute. Tell them that the situation in Nepal is causing us a good deal of concern. According to our fixed policy we do not wish to interfere in internal matters and in fact we have avoided doing so although complaint is made by some groups in Nepal about it. Our Ambassador has been strictly enjoined not to interfere. It is only when his advice is sought that he gives it. Nevertheless we are obviously greatly interested in conditions of stability and security in Nepal and we would view with great disfavour any development there which would endanger these conditions. The only result of any disintegration will be that some small groups of Communists and the like would be able to profit by it.

7. They should be told that it is a matter of agreement between India and Nepal that the foreign policy of that country should be closely coordinated with that of India. Also that any employment there of foreign personnel, other than Indian, should be with the consent of the Government of India. The position of India in regard to Nepal is very special and this has been made clear repeatedly on previous occasions. Both history and geography have resulted in giving India their special position in Nepal. We are sure that other countries, and you can mention the UK or the USA as the case may be, recognize this special position.

8. You should tell them that we have been distressed by hearing accounts of officers of the UK Embassy or American officers in Nepal taking part in activities which can only be considered as directed against India. There is occasional encouragement given to small reactionary groups which have given trouble in the past and an attempt appears to be made to discredit India in the eyes of the people of Nepal. We had not paid much attention to such reports but as they have continued coming in we have thought it necessary to draw the attention of the High Commissioner or the Ambassador as the case may be.

9. We know that Nepalese politics are in a fluid condition and there are all kinds of small groups and individuals who have a habit of spreading false stories. It is quite possible that the UK or the US representatives there hear these stories about India or our Ambassador there and are influenced by them.

10. We are putting this matter to them quite frankly because we do not wish any misunderstandings to arise between the Government of India and the UK or the USA in regard to Nepal.

10. To M.P. Koirala¹

New Delhi
24 June 1952

My dear Maitrika Prasad,

I have noticed with great regret the trend of events in Nepal and, in particular, the attitude taken up by the Nepalese Government towards the Government of India.² It appears to me that the terms of our treaty with Nepal and the assurances that were attached to that treaty are not being fully observed by the Government of Nepal. Because of our earnest desire to maintain friendly and cooperative relations with Nepal the Government of India have endeavoured to give assistance in various ways. We were anxious to assist in the progress and development of Nepal. I have been disturbed by recent developments in Nepal and some days ago I addressed to you a personal letter³ on this broader issue. I preferred writing to you personally rather than an official communication and wanted to wait for your reply. That letter has probably been delayed by stoppage of air services.

Since then I have received through our Ambassador in Kathmandu a message giving the contents of your letter to him in regard to air services.⁴ Our Government had already expressed their regret for any discourtesy to you or to the Nepal Government by any officer of the air company and assured you that suitable action would be taken in this matter. Further that it advised the INA to have a trial flight of the aircraft as desired by you.

That particular incident therefore is closed so far as our Government was

1. JN Collection. The letter was sent through C.P.N. Singh who was asked to keep the King informed of it.
2. C.P.N. Singh informed Nehru on 24 June that Ministers under the advice of the new Working Committee of the Nepali Congress were believed to have been told "to stage some kind of differences" to exploit the propaganda of Indian interference in order to improve the sagging image of the party. He added that foreigners had reportedly been telling the Nepalese that they could get more help from them than from India. He further informed Nehru on 25 June that Subarna Shamsher had told him about a decision taken at M.P. Koirala's house to make every effort to get Himalaya Airways owned by Mahabir replace INA in Nepal.
3. See *ante*, pp. 492-495.
4. After the Nepal Government ordered on 21 June the suspension of INA flights to and from Kathmandu because of alleged show of discourtesy by a ground engineer, C.P.N. Singh, in a letter to M.P. Koirala on 23 June, regretting the incident, asserted that the matter could have been sorted out without banning the flights. Singh also informed Koirala of the Indian Government's decision to disallow flights to Kathmandu by other companies. In his reply on the same day, Koirala alleged that INA personnel had repeatedly violated various regulations and also been misbehaving. Maintaining that the matter could be settled between the Nepal Government and INA, Koirala wondered why the Indian Government should ban flights by other companies.

concerned. It does not appear from your letter to the Ambassador what further steps you intend to take in the matter. In the circumstances, the Government of India cannot encourage any aircraft flying to Kathmandu from India. I realize that this will inconvenience intending passengers by air, but this is a natural consequence of the action taken by the Nepal Government.

I regret that the friendly relations that have subsisted between our Governments should be affected in any way. I am deeply concerned about this because our entire policy has been based on giving every possible assistance in the development of Nepal without interfering in any way in its internal administration. It was only on repeated requests from the Nepal Government that we sent our officers from time to time. Even now a request from your Government to send a large number of civil officers is pending before us and our Government have undertaken to build the aerodrome and the road from India to Kathmandu. It is clear that it will become increasingly difficult for us to render assistance if the Nepal Government's attitude towards the Government of India and its officers is not governed by the friendly sentiments which have thus far actuated our respective Governments and if the assurances repeatedly given by the Nepal Government to us are not observed. In view of recent developments, it is essential that both Governments should clearly understand each other's policies. Hence my letter to you. The Government of India will have to decide about their policy on receiving your reply.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

11. India's Assistance for Administrative Reforms¹

I have read your notes on the Buch Committee's report on Nepal.² I have not read the report itself, though I have glanced through it. It appears to be a good piece of work.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 10 July 1952. File No. N/53/11916/3, MEA.
2. The Buch Committee recommended reduction in the number of Ministries from 17 to 11, delegation of financial powers by the Finance Ministry, a higher status to Bara Hakim, the principal representative of the Government in a district, appointment of patwaris, setting up of a revenue board and borrowing of the services of about 30 officers from India. It also emphasized the need for consulting Nepal's Public Service Commission in the matter of appointments and the importance of training to Government servants of all ranks. The Committee also suggested, as a temporary measure, the training in India of two or three fresh appointees to the post of Bara Hakim and the appointment of experienced Indian officers to reorganize the administration of two or three Nepalese districts.

2. I agree that copies of this report should be sent to the Nepal Government through our Ambassador. I understand that one copy has already been sent to our Ambassador. Some more copies should now be sent and he should be asked to hand them over to the Nepal Government.

3. There is, of course, the question of our shortage of manpower and the availability of the men required. The Ministry of Home Affairs can certainly look into this matter.

4. But the real question is a much larger one involving our relations with Nepal. As you know, I have been in correspondence with the Prime Minister of Nepal on this larger issue. I have just received his reply, and the Ambassador has also sent me some notes, including some notes of Govind Narain.³ I shall send all these papers on to you as soon as I have read them.

5. Because of this larger issue, I do not wish to make any commitment to the Nepal Government. Indeed I wanted to make it perfectly clear to them that till we are clear about the internal conditions in Nepal, we cannot make any promises. It is, therefore, not enough to agree in the manner suggested by JS,⁴ that is, merely to refer the report to the Nepal Government and ask them to let us know how many Indian officers they require. The report will be sent to them for their consideration. As to what we will do in regard to it, will be a matter for us to determine later, not only on the basis of their demands, but our own estimate of the requirements and, more especially, keeping in view what our relations are with the Nepal Government.

6. We have also to consider the question of sending a new Ambassador to Kathmandu. We had come to this conclusion some months ago and informed the Nepal Government. Both the King and the Prime Minister asked us then to delay this change as they were anxious to keep Shri C.P.N. Singh there for some time longer because of his intimate knowledge of conditions in Nepal. I agreed to their request to the extent that we might delay the change for a short while till this question of our lending officers had been settled. Later, the Prime Minister of Nepal seems to have changed his mind and suggested that we might expedite this change. In my brief answer to him I told him that all these matters will be considered together after he had replied to my detailed letter about our future relations. The reply he has sent is not very satisfactory.

7. In any event, we shall have to change the Ambassador and I think this should be done without great delay. We had thought of Shri Gokhale⁵ in this

3. (b. 1917); joined ICS, 1939; Home Secretary, UP Government, 1948-51, and Chief Secretary, 1958-61; Adviser-cum-Secretary to the King of Nepal, 1951-54; Managing Director, State Trading Corporation of India, 1961-63; Chairman, Minerals and Metals Trading Corporation of India, 1963-66; Union Home Secretary, 1971-73; Defence Secretary, 1973-75; Governor of Karnataka, 1977-83.

4. Joint Secretary, S.N. Haksar.

5. B.K. Gokhale.

connection. He is good, but I rather fear whether, in the confused and complicated and rather dangerous situation in Nepal, it would be fair on our part to send him there. I should like to discuss these matters with you.

12. The Situation in Nepal¹

I enclose a sheaf of letters and papers received from our Ambassador in Kathmandu. These include a letter from the King of Nepal, a letter from the Prime Minister of Nepal and several letters from the Ambassador with enclosures.

2. The King in his letter has asked for advice. The Prime Minister has suggested his coming to Delhi for a personal discussion. Before I send answers to these letters, I think that we should have a full discussion in Foreign Affairs Committee of the Cabinet. These papers need not be circulated.

3. The situation in Nepal appears to me to be wholly unsatisfactory. I do not myself see what good it will do for the Prime Minister of Nepal to visit Delhi. But if he wants to come, I cannot stop him. At the same time I do not wish to encourage him too much.

4. I should like a brief note to be prepared from the attached papers and others about the various matters which might be referred to in the course of a discussion with the Nepalese PM. This note should contain instances of internal happenings of Nepal. Some of these are given in Govind Narain's note. I do not want to write about them to the PM of Nepal but if he comes here I can speak to him about them.

5. A separate and briefer note can be prepared of matters I can write to him about.

6. I do not know what has happened to Inderjit Singh, our Ambassador's PA. Very serious charges had been brought against him² and we had asked for his immediate transfer to Delhi. Has he come here? The Ambassador apparently has not lost faith in him yet though he admits that Inderjit Singh indulges in very loose talk.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 10 July 1952. JN Collection.

2. He was alleged to have received Rs. 10,000 for providing to S.P. Upadhyaya a copy of C.P.N. Singh's letter to Nehru in which he had written adversely against the Government of Nepal. He was also held responsible for the loss of the key to the iron safe containing the Ambassador's confidential papers.

13. Cable to C.P.N. Singh¹

Your telegram 252 dated 14th July.²

It is not proper for us to deal directly and officially with representatives of Nepali Congress or dissident members of Cabinet. Our official contacts should be with the King and the Prime Minister. Nor can we give any advice, in an off-hand manner, on being approached by some members of Cabinet. If ultimately we decide to give advice, it will only be after full consideration of all aspects and the advice will be given to the Prime Minister and communicated to the King. We should not function officially as mediators between different groups and thus take responsibility upon ourselves of future developments.

We are at present giving consideration to entire situation in Nepal and, more specially, to my correspondence with Prime Minister whose reply to my letter was vague and not very satisfactory. We shall communicate to you soon the result of our consideration. Prime Minister suggested his coming to Delhi for consultation. If he so wishes, he can of course do so. But in view of possible developments in Kathmandu it appears better that for the present he should remain there. His absence from Kathmandu might itself create fresh complications.

You should see Prime Minister as well as King and, without committing yourself in any way and without making any proposals on your behalf, inform them tactfully of approaches made to you and ask for their appraisal of situation.

I understand that the King has expressed a wish to go to Switzerland with his daughter, Vijayalakshmi. I would strongly advise the King not to leave Nepal at all even for a brief period as situation there necessitates his continuous presence. His visit to foreign countries will undoubtedly hasten crisis and, perhaps, weaken his position to deal with it. Situation is too grave to be trifled with or for any risks to be taken. Please convey this message to the King.

1. New Delhi, 15 July 1952. JN Collection.

2. Singh reported that B.P. Koirala, Subarna Shamsher and S.P. Upadhyaya had met him on 14 July and spoken to him about the "irreconcilable" differences within the Nepal Cabinet and in the Nepali Congress. They also said that if M.P. Koirala did not form a Government as decided by the Working Committee of the Nepali Congress, a few ministers would resign from the Cabinet. They wished to know the Indian Government's reaction to their talk with the Ambassador.

14. Cable to C.P.N. Singh¹

Continuation of my telegram 21309.² We have given further consideration to situation in Nepal. We shall await further message from you after you have seen the King and Prime Minister. Our provisional reactions are as follows.

2. It is clear that present position cannot continue for long. A Cabinet in which members work against each other and against Prime Minister is negation of Cabinet Government. Therefore clear understanding has to be arrived at between members of Cabinet to pull together. If this is not possible, then inevitably some other and more harmonious Cabinet has to be formed. We are not prepared to make any suggestions about necessity for this change or personnel of Cabinet, if changed. We do not wish to assume any responsibility for that and it is for people concerned to decide amongst themselves. We shall determine our attitude to changing circumstances from time to time, keeping in view our basic policy in regard to Nepal.

3. If Cabinet system of Government fails, then only alternative appears to be for King to take charge of Government himself and carry it on with help of advisers, till such time as a proper Cabinet can be formed which can be relied upon to work efficiently and harmoniously. The extent of our help, if such developments take place, would depend on circumstances then prevailing.

4. If, on failure of Cabinet system of Government, King takes over charge, it is essential that very early arrangements be made for convening of Constituent Assembly and immediate reforms in administration be given effect to.

5. You may indicate these provisional views of ours to King and Prime Minister. This will indicate to them our general approach to this problem. We shall await their own views before we can offer our advice, if it is asked for.

6. If dissident members of Cabinet approach you again, you should tell them that we do not propose to get entangled in internal conflicts of Government or to take responsibility on ourselves for any changes. If King or Prime Minister ask us for advice, we shall tender it.

7. With reference to Nepal Government's enquiry about additional American experts going to Nepal, please inform them that in view of rather fluid political situation, it would be undesirable to invite any foreign officers at present. Even otherwise experts should be invited only for specific work or projects and not vaguely to give advice.

8. Regarding our sending civil officers to Nepal on invitation of Nepalese Government and Buch Committee's report, we cannot take any decisions till we are clear about situation in Nepal.

1. New Delhi, 15 July 1952. JN Collection.

2. See the preceding item.

11

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

III. Bilateral Relations

(iv) Sri Lanka

1. Instructions to High Commissioner in Sri Lanka¹

I agree with SG.² Mr Kesava Menon's appreciation of the position and his conception of his duty are both unsatisfactory. I think that Secretary, CR, might confirm his conversation on the telephone by sending a telegram to him in which he might say that the matter was referred to me and that I am surprised at the delay in taking proper action as suggested by us. Whatever the views of the Ceylon Government might be, we have to take firm action according to our own views. We have been following a consistent policy for many years in regard to Indians in Ceylon and we are not going to vary it because some people do not like it. This is a serious matter and immediate and firm action is necessary.

1. Note, 16 April 1952. File No. C/52/6434/5, MEA.
2. Kesava Menon, Indian High Commissioner in Sri Lanka, was directed on 9 April to make a strong representation to the Government of Sri Lanka on the disfranchisement of Indians in the coming elections and to suggest that all Indians whose names appeared in the 1949 register might be given voting rights. On 16 April, R.K. Nehru, Secretary, Commonwealth Relations, learnt that the representation had not yet been made as Kesava Menon was reluctant to do so on account of the party in power, the United National Party, being bitterly opposed to giving voting rights to Indians. G.S. Bajpai, Secretary-General, Ministry of External Affairs, doubted Kesava Menon's ability to deal with the matter.
3. K.P. Kesava Menon; Barrister-at-law; edited *Mathrubhumi* (Calicut); High Commissioner in Sri Lanka, June 1951-September 1952.

2. Sri Lanka's Stand on the Right of Franchise to Indian Residents¹

...It is clear that the Ceylon Government have made a mistake in not granting voting rights to Indian residents there.² In my opinion this decision of the Ceylon Government is wrong from every point of view. I hope they will eventually realize this mistake after coolly deliberating upon it and grant voting rights to Indians there because they are citizens of Ceylon and not citizens of India.

I am referring to the Ceylon question on the occasion of Labour Day because it has been suggested here that India should take strong action against the Ceylon Government.³ The speaker has quoted the British method in dealing with such situations which according to him meant use of British guns against a country which threatened the honour of any Briton.

There is an implication in this remark that India should also follow the British example in dealing with the Ceylon Government over the question of voting rights of Indian residents there. The idea is completely unacceptable to me and I am not at all prepared to follow a method which the Britishers in olden times used to adopt in such matters. The Britishers were an imperialist power in those times and they spread their authority through their might. They tried to maintain it as long as they could. But India is not an imperialist country and would not follow any imperialist method to solve any dispute. I do not favour use of force in solving this problem—or for that matter any problem. Resort to force, I am convinced, never solves any problem. While India will defend her freedom with all her might, she does not want to attack any country. This principle she will apply in also solving the question of Indian residents in Ceylon.

India has sympathy for the cause of Indian residents in Ceylon. The Indian Government is interested in their cause because they are of Indian origin. The

1. Speech at a Labour Day rally organized by pro-Congress trade unions, New Delhi, 1 May 1952. From *The Hindustan Times*, *The Statesman* and *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 2 May 1952. Extracts.
2. The Government of Sri Lanka laid down that only those Indians who applied for citizenship before 6 August 1951 would be eligible to vote in the general elections scheduled to take place in May 1952. Although about 237,000 applications, covering nearly 659,000 persons of Indian origin, were handed in, only about 9,000 of these were dealt with before the elections. The electoral registers for 1949 however showed the names of 165,000 persons as of Indian origin.
3. Nehru was presented a "charter of labour rights" and urged to use all possible methods to secure the rights of citizenship to Indians in Sri Lanka.

Indians there were either born in India or born there. It must be clearly understood that they are citizens of Ceylon today and not citizens of India. There could be no question of franchise rights for them if they were Indian nationals. In my opinion they are entitled to get voting rights. But we will not ensure them this right through force. We will not start a fight over this issue because that will not solve the problem. It may, on the other hand, give rise to new and more difficult problems between our country and Ceylon.

We have always considered Ceylon as our younger brother. Even though some people there might have raised their voice against us or made mistakes, we shall continue to treat Ceylon as such. We always remember them as younger to us not because the size of Ceylon is small—it is smaller than an Indian State—but because of the fact that Ceylon's culture and civilization and language flower from India's culture and civilization. So with a younger brother no compulsion should be used. That kind of treatment would not be an intelligent approach. We have to make him understand through love and sometimes by formal pressure and formal protest but not by fight. The younger brother has to be treated with affection and consideration....

3. Cable to K.P. Kesava Menon¹

Your telegram 48 dated June 3rd.

Prime Minister has not yet received letter of the Ceylon Indian Congress. But the gist of the letter that you have sent leads us to think that the Ceylon National Congress think that the Government of India has changed its attitude ,in regard to the Indian question in Ceylon.² There has been no such change in our attitude. The Ceylon Indian Congress undertook satyagraha at their own instance and not because of our advice because in such matters we cannot give advice and the responsibility must be on them for any action they

1. Drafted by Nehru and sent by Commonwealth Secretary, New Delhi, 4 June 1952. File No. C/52/6435/5, MEA.
2. The Action Council of the Ceylon Indian Congress in its letter of 2 June described as unrealistic Kesava Menon's advice to them to temporarily suspend the satyagraha launched by the Congress since 28 April 1952 so as to give the new Government of Dudley Senanayake a chance to formulate and execute its policy on the question of Indian residents. The Action Council wondered whether Kesava Menon's opinion reflected a change in the attitude of the Government of India.

undertake.³ Having taken a certain course of action on their own responsibility, we cannot ask them either to stop it or continue it. The decision must be theirs keeping in view all the factors. On the main issue our views continue to be the same, that is, Indians in Ceylon have been very unjustly treated by the Ceylon Government in the matter of franchise and we shall continue to press this in ways open to us. We suggest to you therefore not to tender any further advice to Congress leaders on this subject and leave it to them to decide upon their course of action. In particular, it must not be made to appear to the Ceylon Government that there are differences between us and that our advice has not been accepted by the Ceylon Congress.

We are not interested in nominations of one or two Indians of Ceylon Government's choice.⁴ This is a matter of inherent rights of citizens and cannot be disposed of by nomination.

You have not informed us of the nature of your informal contacts with the Ceylon Government or the basis of any proposed negotiations.⁵ Please do so. We do not advise you to take the initiative in any formal negotiations at this stage. If the Ceylon Government want such negotiations we shall be prepared to have them but any proposals they make should be communicated and no commitments should be made.

3. The Ceylon Indian Congress had resolved on 19 April 1952 to launch a campaign of civil disobedience by observing fasts outside the House of Representatives and the offices of the Prime Minister and Ministers of Justice, Home Affairs and Food in order "to appeal to the country's conscience."
4. Kesava Menon had mentioned the possibility of the Sri Lanka Government considering one nominated seat for the Indian mercantile community and one or two such seats for the Ceylon Indian Congress. He feared that the Congress might be ignored if they persisted in their present attitude and instead other Indians might be nominated.
5. Kesava Menon stated that he was preparing the ground for formal negotiations with the Government of Sri Lanka.

4. To K.P. Kesava Menon¹

New Delhi
June 6th, 1952

My dear Kesava Menon,

I have today received your letter of the 4th June. Also its enclosure, a letter from the Ceylon Indian Congress dated the 2nd June.

I have already sent you a telegram² which is in the nature of an answer to your letter.

The attitude that the Government of India has taken up in regard to the question of Indians in Ceylon has been throughout of supporting their legitimate rights of citizenship and pressing in a friendly way upon the Ceylon Government to recognize them. During the past few years, we have repeatedly had meetings and conferences with Ceylon representatives on various issues concerning Indians in Ceylon. It was as long ago as 1939, I think, that I went to Ceylon,³ on behalf of the Indian National Congress, especially to discuss the issues which existed then. We had friendly conversations but with no result.

Subsequently, I have discussed these matters in Ceylon and in Delhi with the late Mr Senanayake and I carried on a correspondence with him.⁴ Although we came near to agreement on one or two occasions, finally we did not agree. Naturally we considered these questions from the larger point of view both of the interests of the Indians settled and resident in Ceylon as well as the self-respect of India.

We could not agree to any kind of settlement which involved a surrender on these essential principles. At the same time we are convinced that we must endeavour to seek a friendly settlement. The mere fact that Ceylon is a small country and is a little apprehensive of India's bigness and strength made it incumbent on us not to use any language of threats. We want to win them over and we want them to realize that we have no intention of harming them in any way.

Unfortunately, the Ceylonese Government has looked upon this question in a narrow way without vision and their leaders have often made remarks which have been deeply resented in India. As a Government, we have, even so, avoided strong language and we have indeed tried to induce our press also to maintain a friendly tone.

1. JN Collection.

2. See the preceding item.

3. Nehru visited Sri Lanka for nine days during July 1939.

4. For Nehru's correspondence with Don Stephen Senanayake, Prime Minister of Sri Lanka from 1948 to March 1952, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 6, pp. 479 and 483, Vol. 7, pp. 634-647, and Vol. 8, pp. 389-390.

The question of Indians in Ceylon, like the question of Indians in South Africa, has long been a national issue for us, in which the honour of our country was involved, apart from the fate of the several hundred thousand Indians settled in Ceylon. Hence we cannot afford to compromise on any essential matter, even though this might involve friction and difficulty for the moment.

Whenever we have discussed this matter with the Ceylon Government, we have always kept in touch with and consulted informally the Ceylon Indian Congress. For this purpose, we have recognized them as representatives of the great mass of Indians in Ceylon. They have acted sometimes quite wrongly in our opinion. Nevertheless, as they were a representative organization, we thought it only right that we should always consult them. I might mention that I was partly instrumental many years ago in bringing together various sections of the Ceylon Indian Congress together in one organization.⁵

While we have kept in touch with the Ceylon Indian Congress, we have made it clear to them always that, as a Government, we cannot entangle ourselves with any action that they might take or even any decisions that they might take. That was their responsibility, as they would have to face the consequences. Naturally, sometimes, in private, we have given them some advice. But, on the whole, we have avoided this and left it to them to decide, telling them that the Government would take such steps as it thinks proper.

In regard to the recent and present satyagraha in Ceylon, I can form no opinion.⁶ It may have been misconceived or the methods adopted may not have been the right ones. But having started it on behalf of the Indian community, the satyagraha itself becomes an important factor in the situation. It may be, as you say, that it is wiser to stop it. But I would not take the responsibility to advise them to do so. Because once I do that, I become responsible for the consequence of that advice. At the most, if I were in Ceylon and my advice was sought, I would discuss the pros and cons and point out the consequences of the various possible courses of action and might slightly throw my weight on a particular course of action. But, even so, I would leave it to them to decide and take no responsibility whatever for that decision. For us to advise them now, as you have done, to stop the satyagraha, is to assume that responsibility.

There is no question of our underrating the satyagraha just as there is no question of our condemning it. We, as a Government, remain apart from it.

5. During his visit to Sri Lanka in 1939 Nehru had suggested the formation of a Ceylon Indian Congress to deal with the problems of Indian workers. This organization came into existence in 1940 with its inauguration in Gampola near Kandy.
6. Kesava Menon thought that the satyagraha, besides having failed to create any impression, was almost a travesty of the term. He also believed that the leadership of the Congress lacked the necessary moral strength to carry on a satyagraha successfully.

We have to think not only of the problem in Ceylon but of its repercussions in India and these are considerable. Whether facts justify those repercussions or not, does not matter very much.

We have had long dealings with the Ceylon Government and they had not been satisfactory. I cannot, therefore, assume that any fresh dealings with them are likely to lead to any fruitful results.⁷ I would therefore prefer not to take the initiative at all, unless some special circumstance happens which necessitates this. If we take the initiative, we are likely to put ourselves in an embarrassing position. We cannot, as a Government, support satyagraha, etc. If we condemn it directly or indirectly, that would also be wrong and would lead to resentment not only among Indians in Ceylon but in India also. If, on the other hand, the Ceylon Government takes the initiative and wants to discuss anything with us, we are always prepared to do so. In such a case, it is for them to make proposals which should be transmitted to us. Even in informal talks, this position should be generally maintained. Our approach should always be friendly but firm.

We should be careful not to get identified in any way with the Indian mercantile community in Ceylon in this matter. In business matters it is our duty to help them. But in a matter concerning hundreds of thousands of Indians in Ceylon, the Indian mercantile community cannot be treated as representative and, because it has certain vested interests of its own, it is likely to take a narrow view, which concerns itself mostly with those vested interests.

We are not interested in nominations of one or two or more Indians, whoever they might be. We are interested in the fate of large numbers of persons. If we cannot reach a satisfactory settlement soon, we would rather wait.

I am not sending a direct answer to the Ceylon Indian Congress. But I would like you to convey a message from me to them. I give separately this message.⁸ This message should not be given in writing to any of them. It should be read out and it should be made perfectly clear that we do not want any publicity to be given to it or any reference in the press.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. Kesava Menon wrote that the Ceylon Indian Congress was not a fit body to further the cause of the Sri Lankan Indians and the only alternative was direct negotiations at the diplomatic level. He added that it would be a tactical error to regard the attitude of the Government of Sri Lanka as hostile as Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake was "by no means the bigoted anti-Indian as was his father." Dudley had succeeded his father, D.S. Senanayake, as Prime Minister following the latter's death in March 1952.

8. See the next item.

5. Message to the Ceylon Indian Congress¹

The Prime Minister has received the letter of the Ceylon Indian Congress dated the 2nd June. As the Ceylon Indian Congress must know, the Government of India has viewed with anxious concern the denial of voting rights to large numbers of Indian citizens of Ceylon. Normally, the Government of India would not interfere with the domestic policies of another Government. But the case of Indians long resident in Ceylon is a special one and in the past there have been many agreements and assurances in regard to these Indians, who have been, for all practical purposes, citizens of Ceylon. Because of these agreements and assurances in the past, the Government of India has felt it its duty to represent to the Ceylon Government from time to time that the rights and privileges as well as the obligations of citizenship should be granted to these Indians in Ceylon. That has been the policy of the Government of India throughout these years and there has been no change in that policy. That policy is going to continue in future also.

In regard to any action that representatives of Indians might take in Ceylon, this is a matter for them to decide, as the responsibility for such action must necessarily be shouldered by them. The Government of India cannot make itself responsible for the continuation or for the discontinuation of any action. But they have expressed themselves in the past that if any kind of action is taken, it must necessarily be peaceful and courteous. Indians in Ceylon are entitled to claim the rights of citizenship, but together with these rights go the obligations of citizenship also. They must remember that future progress of Ceylon and her people is as much their concern as that of others. They must, therefore, live in friendship with other citizens of Ceylon and always offer their cooperation in all good causes for the advancement of Ceylon. In claiming citizenship, they have to act also as good citizens.

The Government of India are not interested in one or more nominations of some individual Indians to the Ceylon Parliament. They are interested in the fate of hundreds of thousands of Indians settled there and nominations do not affect the position at all.

The Government of India will continue the policy they have so far pursued and seek a friendly settlement of these problems. In doing so, they will adhere to the principles that have governed their views and actions in the past.

So far as the Ceylon Indian Congress is concerned, it is for it to decide on its own responsibility what course of action it pursues.

1. New Delhi, 6 June 1952. File No. C/52/6435/5. MEA. The Indian High Commissioner was asked to orally convey this message to representatives of the Ceylon Indian Congress. See the preceding item.

6. To K.P. Kesava Menon¹

New Delhi
June 16, 1952

My dear Kesava Menon,

I have seen your letter of the 11th June to R.K. Nehru.² Also R.K. Nehru's reply to you of the 15th June.

Senanayake's³ proposal that we should send a goodwill mission to see how well Indians are being treated in Ceylon, far from being a friendly gesture appears to me to be the reverse of it. As a matter of fact even if the proposal was made in a much more friendly manner, I would not accept that. As it is, there is no question of our considering it even. We have endeavoured to treat the Ceylon Government with all courtesy and friendliness. We have had little of these in return from them and I have no intention of taking the initiative in dealing with them in any way for some time at least. Their only excuse is that they are a small and an inexperienced country and a little afraid of India. That is not an adequate excuse for all that they have done. Their references in public on Indian questions had been discourteous in the extreme, to say the least of them.⁴ We are not used to such treatment from any country however big it may be.

I do not want you to go to the Government and tell them specifically of our displeasure but I do want them to realize that they have been behaving badly in every way and we are not at all pleased with this kind of thing. I have therefore told you previously that for the present there must be no initiative on your part in dealing with the Ceylon Government, formally or informally. If they take the initiative, you will of course talk to them but with every reserve and making it clear that your Government has viewed recent events⁵

1. JN Collection.
2. He was the Foreign Secretary at this time.
3. Dudley Senanayake (1911-1973); Minister of Agriculture and Lands, Government of Sri Lanka, 1947; Prime Minister, 1952-53, March-July 1960 and 1965-70.
4. For example, *The Hindustan Times* commented on 1 May that Senanayake was indulging in a raging, tearing election campaign, trying to whip up Sinhalese hatred against India and Indian settlers. He had charged India of refusing supply of rice to Sri Lanka unless Indian demands were met. At an election meeting at Kurunegala, he had damned the four members of the State Council belonging to the Ceylon Indian Congress as "outsiders" and threatened that such a state of affairs could not be allowed to continue.
5. The police, while forcibly removing the members of the Ceylon Indian Congress squatting outside the Indian High Commissioner's office on 9 June, caused injuries to five protestors. Earlier, on 28 April 1952, when the satyagraha was launched by the Congress, Oliver Goontilleke, the then Home Minister, had stated that he would not be responsible for the safety of the Indian population in the event of disturbances as the entire force was engaged in coping with the movement.

with great regret and is not at all pleased with them. If they have any proposal to make, you can forward it to us. In the circumstances you can tell them that you are not in a position to give any reply without reference to us as the matter has now to be considered at the highest level in India.

From your letters it appears that you are in favour of an accommodating attitude on our behalf towards the Ceylon Government and you refer that if we do not adopt that attitude, we may not even get what otherwise might come to us. This attitude does not represent our views which are firm and clear on this subject. We shall not deal with the Ceylon Government till they approach us properly. Nor will we interfere in any way with the activities of the Ceylon Indian Congress unless we see some other definite approach by the Ceylon Government. I see no reason why we should take the responsibility upon ourselves to stop any activity of the Ceylon Indian Congress when we are not in a position to take any other effective action.

We take a long view and we are prepared to suffer some inconvenience with great regret and is not at all pleased with them. If they have any proposal to make, you can forward it to us. In the circumstances you can tell them that you are not in a position to give any reply without reference to us as the matter has now to be considered at the highest level in India.

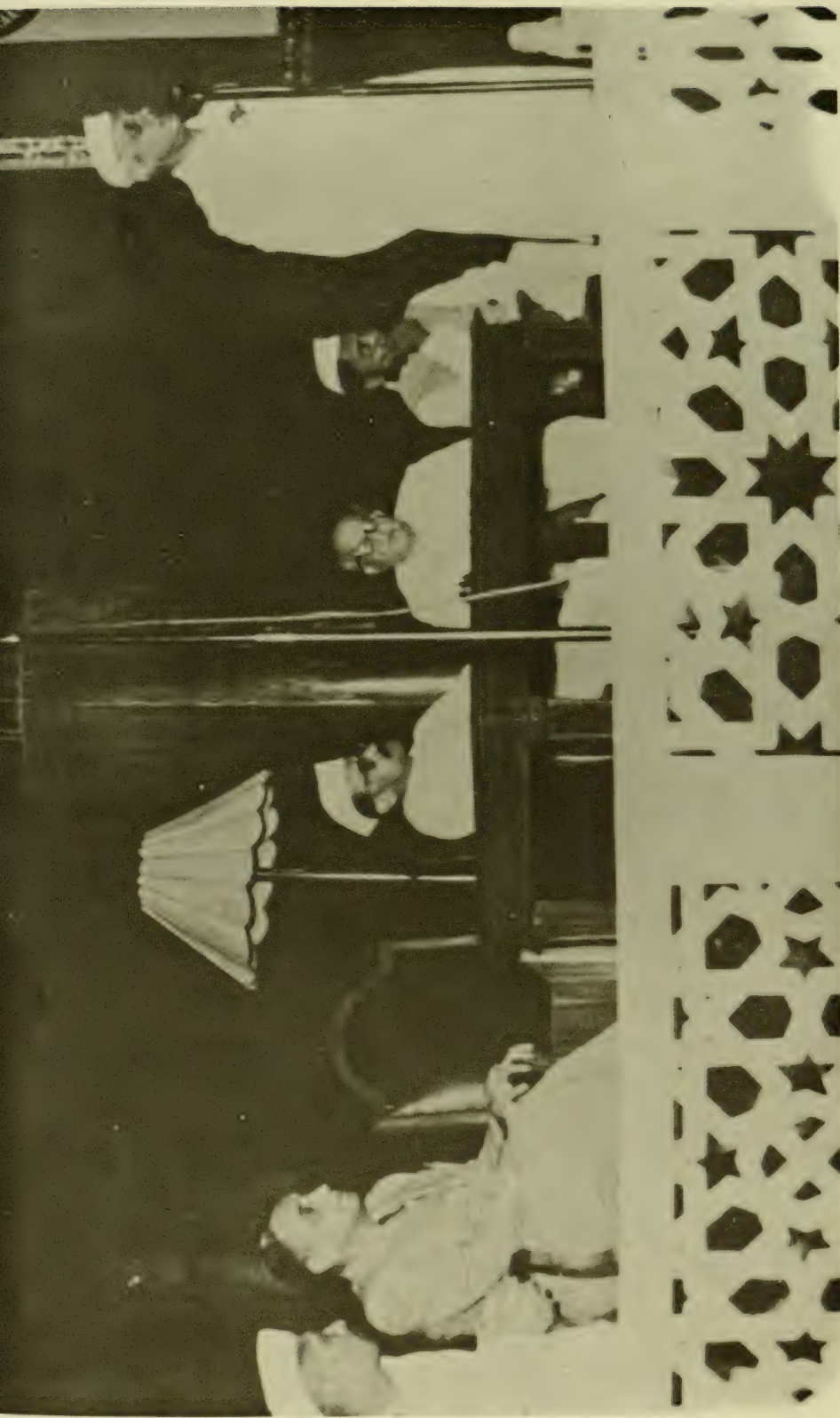
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We take a long view and we are prepared to suffer some inconvenience and discomfort for some time. But we are not prepared to suffer willingly the attitude of the Ceylon Government has taken up on this Indian question. Apart from the views of the Government of India, the views of the Indian people are strong on this subject and any action taken by us may be interpreted as accommodating and giving up the basic claims of the Indians and will meet with great criticism here.

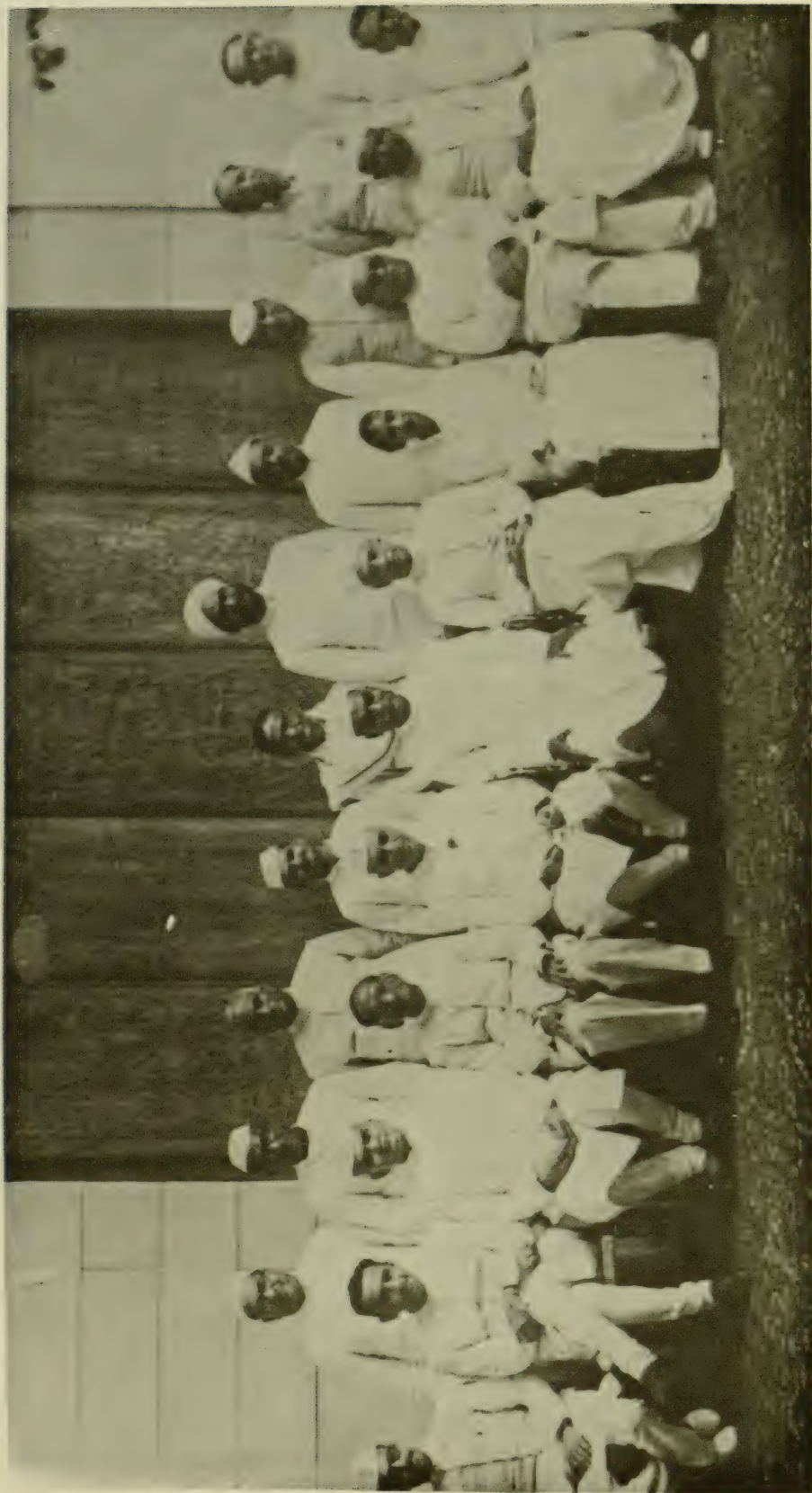
You should like you therefore to bear this background in mind and to deal with the Ceylon Government in accordance with it.

The Ceylon Indian Congress has approached the Ceylon Government for amendment of the law.⁶ I understand that Vythilingam⁷ is, in his own support, reporting this demand. We should await developments. Meanwhile, you should report to us what, if any, steps the Ceylon Government is likely to take and what assurances it has given to the Ceylon Indian Congress leaders or to Vythilingam.

Yours sincerely,



ADDRESSING A CONFERENCE ON COMMUNITY PROJECTS, NEW DELHI, 13 MAY 1952



WITH THE PRESIDENT, THE VICE-PRESIDENT AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, MAY 1952

7. Investigation into the Treatment of Indians¹

Question: Have you seen the invitation of Mr Dudley Senanayake to send a goodwill cultural mission to Ceylon to study the situation there?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have seen it in the newspapers. Fortunately, we are very well acquainted in a friendly way with each other's culture. Our problems are not such as to require a cultural investigation. There is our High Commissioner there and we know exactly what the situation is. There is no lack of knowledge about it; both parties know it, and so there is no particular point in our sending any kind of a mission for investigation. I do not understand that at all....

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 21 June 1952. PIB. Extracts. For other parts of the press conference, see pp. 36-38, 76-80, 144-145, 169-170, 352-353, 405-410, 466-467, 476-477, 542-544 and 580-582.

8. Attitude towards the Sri Lanka Government¹

Please deal with the attached letter from our High Commissioner in Ceylon.

There is no question of our suspecting the bona fides of the Ceylon Government. The question of bona fides does not arise. Our attitude has been consistently friendly and non-provocative to Ceylon in spite of considerable provocation being given to us. Feeling in India has been high and we have kept it in check.

The matter is essentially between the Ceylon Government and the Indians there. We are only concerned with principles. If the Indians there come to an agreement, we accept it unless it infringes some basic principle. We should not function as the representatives of the Indians there. We are however interested in their welfare and in the honour of India being maintained.

It is not wholly correct to say that we should carry the Ceylon Indian Congress with us in our dealings with the Government of Ceylon. Where the interests of India are concerned, we are the sole judge. Where the interests of the Indians in Ceylon are concerned, it is for them and their representatives to deal with the Government of Ceylon, though we are naturally interested and wish to help right moves quietly.

I still think that, as a Government, we should not take any step in this matter at present. If a suitable opportunity comes, we can consider them.

1. Note to Commonwealth Secretary, 4 July 1952. JN Collection.

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EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

III. Bilateral Relations

(v) United States of America

1. Need for Greater Mutual Understanding¹

Sidney Hertzberg: Are you satisfied with the status of relations between India and the United States?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not satisfied with the relations of any country with another today. Everywhere there appears to be fear, suspicion and sometimes anger and acute dislike. Fear is not a good companion, nor does anger help clarity of thought. Because of these tensions all of us live in an abnormal atmosphere and cannot take advantage of the great progress that the world has made. There can be no doubt that the world has resources today to rid itself of many of the evils it suffers from.

In this matter the United States has necessarily to play a very important role because their position in the world and their resources are very great. Our relations with the United States are friendly, even though we differ in some matters. I should like them to grow more friendly still with more of understanding of each other.

SH: How do you think democracy in Asia can best be protected and developed?

JN: Democracy has two aspects—political and economic. More and more they depend upon each other. The first step in Asia was to gain political freedom and democracy. The next, rapidly following, should be economic progress leading to an ever-increasing measure of economic democracy. Political democracy can only come if all elements of colonial rule are eliminated and the people of each country are enabled to function democratically according to their own wishes. There must be, of course, international cooperation but the less there is of interference by one country in another's destiny the more cooperation there is likely to be.

At present many of the countries of Asia are under-developed and economically backward. They are heavily populated and though their potential wealth is great, their actual resources are very limited. Millions of their people suffer economic distress and live on the verge of destitution. If political democracy is to survive, this economic distress must go and there should be

1. Tentative answers sent on 21 May 1952 to Sidney Hertzberg (1910-1984), American political activist and journalist sympathetic to India since the time of the Quit India Movement and correspondent of *The Hindustan Times*, 1950-56, for his reactions before the recording of an interview for television on 24 May 1952. JN Collection.

rapid development and a raising of the standards of living of the masses of the people. If this takes place, then democracy becomes stable and secure. The strength of each democracy must ultimately come from its own people.

SH: How are your plans going for economic development in India?

JN: We have framed a Five Year Plan for our development and this is being finalized now. It takes in its scope industrial and agricultural development as well as cultural growth. This growth can only come by greater production all round—production of food as well as growth of industry. But above all we want to build up the men and women of this country and the communities they live in. Ultimately it is the human beings that count.

We have under construction great river valley schemes as well as innumerable minor works.² Believing science as we do, we have set up a large number of great national laboratories for scientific research. Certain basic industries are also growing up. But above all we think of the vast number of our people living in villages and try to develop small and cottage industries for them apart from improving their methods of agriculture. It is on these people that the future of India depends. We welcome external help but we realize that the strength of a nation depends upon its own work and self-reliance. We try to develop these.

SH: I believe the American people would like to help. How do you think they could best do it?

JN: I am sure that the American people would like to help us not only because they are generous but because they realize that such help is in the larger interests of the world. Indeed we have received substantial help from them already and we are grateful for it. But the best possible help that one country can give to another is to understand it, because out of this mutual understanding grows respect for each other and this leads to avenues of cooperation. I hope that this understanding of India of America and of America of India will grow. We represent both in geography and in history different worlds. We have different backgrounds and yet we have a great deal in common. I think that it is of great importance from the larger point of view that these two Republics should have this understanding of each other.

Other forms of help are well known—food, machinery and technical help.

2. Altogether there were under execution 135 river valley projects, of which eleven were multi-purpose, sixty irrigation and sixty-four power projects only. When completed they were estimated to cost about 5,900 million rupees. Some of the major river valley projects were Bhakra-Nangal in the Punjab, Hirakud in Orissa and Tungabhadra near Mallapuram in South India.

2. Negotiations for a Commercial Treaty¹

A question has been put in the House of the People regarding the treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation between India and USA.² In the note put up for this question, it is stated that negotiations have advanced far and many of the major obstructions have been removed. These negotiations are still proceeding and it is now hoped that an agreement will be reached.

This treaty raises many important issues in regard to the investment of foreign capital in India. Indeed, it was because of these issues that no agreement has been arrived at for all these four years. How far we have got over these difficulties now, is not clear to me. The matter is so important that I should be kept in touch with these developments and indeed the Economic Committee and the Cabinet should be kept in constant touch. It would be very embarrassing indeed if provisional agreements are arrived at which the Cabinet finds it cannot accept later on.³

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 9 June 1952. File No. S/52/1841/70, Vol. I, MEA.
2. R. Velayudhan, an Independent Member of Parliament from Kerala, had wanted to know whether India and the US had reached agreement on the fundamental terms of a treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation.
3. It was clarified that an aide memoire, containing India's views on various issues relating to a treaty of commerce with the US and approved by the Economic Committee of the Cabinet, was sent to the US on 7 February 1950 and the American reply received about a year later was circulated to members of the Economic Committee. Thereafter negotiations were going on with the US within the framework of the general policy of the Government and it was explained to American officials that Indian proposals represented the views of the officials which were subject to approval of the Government.

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EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

III. Bilateral Relations

(vi) Other Countries

1. Relations with Iran¹

Dr Tara Chand² in his natural desire for us to help Iran forgets completely what India and her resources are at present. We are naturally desirous of cultivating Iran and having friendly relations with her. At the same time we wish to avoid getting entangled in their present conflict with the UK.³ We have expressed our sympathy in public for Iran,⁴ but we cannot go much further unless some new developments take place.

2. For the rest, our desire to cultivate Iran is limited by our resources. We cannot afford to spend much money there. We are too tied up with our other commitments with countries nearer to us.

3. Certainly we can stimulate greater and more lively interest on Iran but how, it is not quite clear to me except through the cultural organization⁵ which has been set up by the Education Ministry. I do not think we can at present go far in training Iranians in our military and naval establishments. We can cooperate to some extent in the UNO, subject to what I have said above. I do not know what obstacles there are in the way of communications or travel. This matter can be considered and as far as possible these obstacles should be removed.

4. Then there is the question of reorganizing our Embassy which presumably means adding to it. Again this has to be looked at from the point of view of our capacity to spend more. If some minor reorganization yields effective result, we might consider it.

1. Note to Secretary-General and Foreign Secretary, MEA, 21 May 1952. JN Collection.
2. He was India's Ambassador in Iran at this time.
3. Great Britain had complained to the International Court of Justice against the nationalization of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in 1951 by the Government of Iran.
4. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 16 Part I, pp. 450-452.
5. The Indian Council for Cultural Relations was set up in 1950 as an autonomous body to promote cultural relations between India and other countries.

2. To U Nu¹

New Delhi
June 1, 1952

My dear Maung Nu,

Since you have dropped "Thakin",² I must perforce address you otherwise,

I have just received your letter of the 29th May about doctors.³ I did not know that your Government have been negotiating with the Government of India for Indian doctors to go on contract to Burma. I shall enquire into this matter and shall certainly do all I can to help you.

I was happy to receive your letter, although it is a brief one and deals with a specific issue. It is always a pleasure to hear from you.

I have been having a very heavy time here. At first, there were the general elections all over the country and then the new Parliament. We have a very considerable majority in Parliament, but the Opposition is strong and, for the first time, the Communists have come there in a sizable group.

We have been trying, in our own quiet way, to help in removing the difficulties in the way of a truce in Korea. I think we have done some good in this respect, though I do not know what the ultimate result will be. As it happens, we are the principal contacts of the two parties concerned.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. U Nu, Prime Minister of Burma, hitherto signed himself as Thakin Nu. In his letter of 29 May 1952, however, he signed as Maung Nu. Thakin, literally meaning lord, is a title assumed by the Burmese nationalists as a form of address. Maung, meaning brother, is a title used for younger men or in referring to one's self.

3. U Nu wrote that a recruiting team would be visiting India to appoint doctors on a contract basis for serving in Burma, where there was an acute shortage of doctors.

3. Recruitment of Gurkhas for the British Army¹

I was not aware of this. If, at any time, this question of British recruiting centres in India for Gurkha Units in the British Army was brought before me, I have completely forgotten it. In any event, this must have taken place in 1947 or thereabouts. A great deal has happened since then and the Indian Republic has come into existence. It seems to me improper for any foreign agency to recruit soldiers, even though they might be of foreign nationality, in India.

My own impression was that all that we had agreed to was to permit Gurkhas, who had been recruited for the British Army, to pass through India in civilian dress. The question of recruitment was really one for the British Government and the Nepal Government to determine. We only came into the picture for passage facilities which we could hardly refuse, more especially when the men were in civilian dress.

For a foreign Government, even though it is a Commonwealth Government, to have recruiting centres in India is a serious matter and if publicity is given to it, there is no doubt that strong objections will be raised. As a matter of fact, I denied in Parliament that there are such recruiting centres in India. This is an embarrassing position.

Even in Nepal there is some agitation for stopping the recruitment of Gurkhas for the British Army. I do not know if there are any British recruiting centres in Nepal at all. In any event, our responsibility becomes very great, if we have the recruiting centres in India. It may be that the Nepal Government might decide not to encourage this recruiting by British authorities. If so, we will be put in a still more false position.

I do not understand the argument put forward on behalf of the Defence Ministry that recruitment of Gurkhas for the British Army in India is helpful to the recruitment of Gurkhas to the Indian Army. However that may be, on larger consideration, we must not encourage any British recruiting centre in India and we should, therefore, inform the UK High Commission that we wish this present arrangement to be ended as soon as possible. We may, to some extent, suit their convenience in the matter in regard to timing. But the decision that we do not wish to have their recruiting centres in India should be clearly conveyed to them.

Before doing so, the Defence Ministry should be informed. If they have any suggestion to make in this matter, it should be placed before me.²

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 8 July 1952. JN Collection.

2. See also *ante*, p. 203.

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EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

IV. The Korean War

1. Cable to K.M. Panikkar¹

Your telegram No. 87 dated 6th April. Chou En-lai's suggestions² do not in fact take us much further. They amount in effect to appointment of an inquiry committee either by the Peace Council or by the Chinese Government. If the Chinese Government object, as they do, to any commission with which the UN or the US are associated, the US would be equally entitled to object to an inquiry sponsored by the Peace Council or the Chinese Government. The only other course would have been a joint inquiry with which both parties are associated through neutrals. This too is not accepted by the Chinese Government. I do not for the present see any way out of this impasse.

As for the Chinese Government inviting qualified men from countries like India, Burma, Indonesia, etc., I doubt if Burma and Indonesia have any qualified men for this purpose. Even in India it will not be easy to find such men of international reputation. But apart from this, our association in such an inquiry, sponsored by the Chinese Government, would entangle us in controversy and prove embarrassing to us. Any worthwhile inquiry must have the approval of parties concerned.

You have explained our position fully to Chou En-lai and we had better leave the matter at that....

1. New Delhi, 7 April 1952. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Chou En-lai told Panikkar on 5 April that the Chinese Government were prepared to invite, through the Communist-sponsored World Peace Council, scientists and other eminent persons including those not associated with Communist front organizations to enquire into their charges of large-scale bacteriological warfare by the US in North Korea and Manchuria. They were also agreeable to the Indian suggestion of an impartial investigation by neutrals but would invite qualified people only from friendly countries like India, Burma and Indonesia.

2. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your letter of 2nd April regarding allegations of bacteriological warfare in Korea and China.

2. We have been in constant touch with Panikkar who informs us that intensive propaganda against Americans is being carried on all over China.

1. New Delhi, 10 April 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Extracts.

There is little doubt that mass of Chinese people believe in the allegations and hence feeling against America is very great. I sent personal message to Chou En-lai² suggesting some kind of neutral and impartial investigation and pointed out that investigations thus carried out, however good, could not convince neutrals. Just as China had objected to the UN or the Red Cross as sponsoring agency for investigation, the US and other countries would equally object to communist-sponsored agencies. We made various suggestions for some kind of impartial investigation including nominees of both parties concerned. But while Chou En-lai discussed matters fully and in friendly manner, he did not accept any proposal and insisted on saying that American guilt was proved. In these circumstances we can do no more....

2. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 17, pp. 511-514.

3. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
April 21, 1952

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for sending me Chester Bowles' letter² to you. I do not quite know what you wish me to do with it. Chester Bowles suggests sending it to the press. I think it will be much better if he issued a statement to the press himself if he so wished, instead of a copy of a letter to you.

There is much in what Chester Bowles says in his letter. But there are many people in America, and some of them quite prominent ones, who have in the course of the past year or so advocated bacteriological warfare in Korea. This gives material to others to show how people in America think and it is then a fairly easy step to suggest that this has actually been done. The whole thing is a very bad business.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.
2. In his letter of 15 April 1952, Chester Bowles called Chinese allegations about the US resorting to germ warfare in North Korea and China as absurd and ridiculous and regretted that a man like Joliet-Curie should have endorsed the charges. He wrote that while "the whole Communist world-wide propaganda machinery has been turned loose on the subject", China was consistently refusing to allow investigation by a neutral agency. Bowles added that it was illogical to assume that UN forces would embark on germ warfare when they had been making every conceivable compromise to secure a truce agreement.

4. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

Your telegram 143 of May 6th.²

Your talk with Chou En-lai is encouraging. We are prepared to help to the best of our ability. In anything that we do in this direction we would like to feel assured that we have the confidence and goodwill of the Chinese Government. We do not propose to mediate but rather to use our influence and good offices and to urge on UK Government a new approach and our concern for settlement of any or all issues. You will appreciate however that a false step creates further difficulties and formal approaches lead to formal and rather rigid answers. Krishna Menon is here at present and will be returning to London in about one week's time. We are advising him to make personal approaches there, in particular about prisoners of war which, according to Chou En-lai, is the sole stumbling block for peace. Meanwhile we shall await result of your talks with Mao Tse-tung³ which will assist us in our approach to the United Kingdom. We would like to feel assured that Chinese Government fully understands our position, that is, that we are trying to use our good offices with concerned parties.

2. We appreciate objection of Chinese to retention of considerable number of Chinese and Korean prisoners by Americans. According to Americans these prisoners are unwilling to go back. It is not clear to me how fixing some odd number, though it may ease situation, gets over difficulty.⁴ Some way out has to be found honourable to parties concerned and at the same time giving full opportunity to those prisoners to return. We do not wish to make any new proposal to meet this difficulty either to Chinese Government or to UK, because rejection of proposal made by us would add to difficulties. We would therefore

1. New Delhi, 7 May 1952. JN Collection.

2. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, who was at this time leading an Indian cultural delegation to China, reported that Chou En-lai, whom she met on 5 May, had told her that the Chinese Government regarded Nehru as one statesman who had unwaveringly and constantly spoken for them and they were anxious to invite him to China immediately after the conclusion of the Korean war and honour him in a befitting manner. Chou En-lai also suggested that India could use her influence with the British Government for pressing the US to take a reasonable attitude on the question of the repatriation of prisoners of war and for admission of China in the UN.

3. The interview with Mao Tse-tung was scheduled for 9 May.

4. Chou En-lai told Vijayalakshmi Pandit that the original figure of North Korean and Chinese POWs was 170,000 but the US claimed the number to be 130,000 and were offering to repatriate only 70,000. China was prepared to compromise but would not accept any figure less than 100,000.

prefer suggestions to be made by Chinese or UK for consideration by other Governments. Possibly a proposal for reciprocity of treatment in regard to prisoners might help though we do not wish to put this forward. There is also possibility of Chinese and North Koreans being allowed full opportunity to meet prisoners with UN forces under neutral supervision or even on a neutral zone. These suggestions are not to be made on our behalf.

3. We shall certainly take up matter as strongly as we can with British Government⁵ and I am sure that the UK and even the USA are anxious for some settlement. But psychological and other factors come in the way. We should try to find some way out. Hence without your making any proposal yourself you might encourage Mao to make suggestions, informally and without committing yourself.

4. As regards China's admission to United Nations our position has been clear and definite throughout and we shall continue to press for it with the UK and other countries. But this question can hardly be taken up before there is truce in Korea.

5. Panikkar's suggestion that I should make public statement soon appears to me to be unwise and likely to prejudice prospects of our success. I would therefore ask that no publicity or public reference to our possible intervention should be made as it would tend to prejudice our efforts with others.

6. I shall await your report of interview with Mao. Please convey to him my greetings and our thanks for cordiality of reception accorded to our cultural mission.⁶ Also our earnest desire for cooperation in interests of world peace.

5. On 8 May 1952, Nehru sent a message to Anthony Eden, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, suggesting that UK Government might use their influence with the US to settle the question of POWs.

6. A fourteen-member Indian cultural delegation visited China from 27 April to 7 June 1952. It visited Peking and several other important places like Manchuria, Tientsin, Nanking, Shanghai, Canton and Hanchow and organized mobile Indian art exhibitions in Peking, Nanking and Shanghai.

5. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

Panikkar's telegram 161 and your telegram 162 of May 14th.² While I must accept Panikkar's and your reading of situation in China, I think that view taken of Eden's statement is hardly justified. Eden's statement of 7th May was made a few hours after Truman's. Naturally in public strong statements are made on both sides, including Chinese. It does not follow that all doors are closed. Indeed, I feel convinced that there is no expectation of war in the UK or even the USA.³ In the UK there is the strongest desire to avoid war and in the USA nothing can happen till after Presidential election.

I have today received a reply from Eden. This is quite friendly and expresses his earnest desire to explore every possible way of solving question of exchange of prisoners. He asks me specially for my views for some kind of independent investigation which China would accept. Obviously therefore he has not closed door and is anxious to reach some settlement.

Eden, after pointing out that efforts have been made for any suitable international body to investigate the question of prisoners, says: "At the same time this has become such a crucial question that I feel we should spare no pains to clear up any genuine doubts there may be in the mind of Peking about the voluntary nature of the decisions taken by those who have opted against repatriation. This is something which suitably qualified independent investigators should be able to establish without undue difficulty⁴ and the problem is whether any independent investigation can in fact be devised the results of which the Communists would be induced to accept. I would welcome your comments on this point in particular."

It is clear from this that door for compromise is not closed and we should not give up hope.

I should like you to speak to Chou En-lai on these lines and as indicated by me in my telegram of 8th May.⁵ Krishna Menon is going to London tomorrow and will see Eden soon after arrival.

1. New Delhi, 15 May 1952. JN Collection.
2. Panikkar and Vijayalakshmi Pandit said that statements by Truman and Eden, describing the offer made on 7 May by General Matthew B. Ridgway, Commander of UN forces, of 70,000 North Korean and Chinese POWs in exchange for 12,000 UN personnel as the utmost limits of concession, might lead to a breakdown of truce negotiations as North Korea and China would not agree to leave nearly 100,000 men in UN hands, and a situation much more serious than at any time since Chinese intervention in November 1950 might arise.
3. Panikkar stated that the US military authorities were reportedly discussing with Chiang Kai-shek the use of Taipeh forces in case of renewed large-scale hostilities.
4. Ridgway had offered on 7 May an impartial interrogation of POWs refusing repatriation by any suitable body or joint Red Cross teams with observers from both sides.
5. Not available.

6. Cable to K.M. Panikkar¹

Please refer to my personal telegram² sent last night. I feel that every day that passes without some constructive approach towards resolving deadlock over question of prisoners might make compromise more difficult, with all the grave consequences of which you are aware. There is, therefore, urgency about an approach to Chou En-lai on lines already indicated. While manner and timing of approach must be left to you with due regard to local atmosphere, I think the sooner this is done, the better.

1. New Delhi, 19 May 1952. JN Collection.
2. Nehru reported to Panikkar the US assessment, as conveyed to him by Chester Bowles on 18 May, about the huge military build up in North Korea and the inevitability of the sphere of war widening in case of a major offensive by China or North Korea. Bowles had also told Nehru that the US could never agree to compelling unwilling prisoners to return to China but any method which could be devised to induce these prisoners to return or gave them fullest opportunities of returning would be acceptable to them. Nehru told Panikkar that he was personally convinced about the anxiety of both the US and the UK to get over this impasse and thought the issue could be resolved if some principle was agreed to on a reciprocal basis.

7. To Reginald Sorensen¹

New Delhi
May 19, 1952

My dear Sorensen,²

Thank you for your letter of the 5th May.

We have all been troubled greatly by the charges that germ warfare was being used by the Americans in Korea and China. This allegation seems hardly credible and yet some evidence has been produced which cannot be wholly discarded. I entirely agree with you that it would have been desirable for a real impartial investigation to take place. The suggestion you make however does not appear to me to be feasible. For us to take the initiative in appointing Indian scientists and lawyers will probably not be welcomed either by China

1. JN Collection.
2. Reginald William Sorensen (1891-1971); Labour Member of British Parliament, 1929-31 and 1935-64; was Chairman, India League and World Congress of Faiths.

or by the USA and we would get badly entangled in this business without pleasing anybody. If, however, some proposal of impartial investigation was agreed to by China and the USA we would gladly help. As a matter of fact we have been exploring possibilities of doing something in this matter and approaching the Governments concerned informally. The response has not been helpful.

We are informed that the intensive propaganda in China about bacteriological warfare has now considerably toned down. The biggest issue at present is the question of exchange of prisoners and this has reached a deadlock. Here again it should be possible for impartial investigation to help. We are trying our best to suggest some such approach.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. Cable to K.M. Panikkar¹

Your telegram No. 172 dated 21st May.² Since his return to London, Krishna Menon has had two conversations, the upshot of which is that the British would be prepared to put something on the following lines to Americans and accept it themselves: UN Command would agree to any fair and reasonable arrangement for ascertaining views of prisoners about returning to their own countries and also accept that such arrangement should apply to prisoners held by both sides. The broad principles should be:³

1. New Delhi, 22 May 1952. JN Collection.
2. Panikkar stated that the Chinese considered the reported reluctance of prisoners to be repatriated the result of intense propaganda backed by force and torture and were insistent that if the American public would not agree to forcible repatriation, the Chinese public also could not agree to a single Chinese being left in American hands. He added that as the Chinese looked upon the conflict as a civil war, they might agree to Korean prisoners opting to remain in South Korea. So for them the problem mainly related to 15,000 out of 25,000 Chinese prisoners who had opted to remain in South Korea.
3. According to Krishna Menon, these were noted down by Eden himself on 21 May as forming the outcome of his talks with him. Eden also observed that the wording would need more thought before he could commit himself to any particular draft.

- (a) that as an integral part of the armistice settlement all prisoners should be set at liberty. No prisoner should be sent to any destination against his will;
- (b) that facilities should be offered to all prisoners to return home;
- (c) that an agreed independent body, which may be accompanied by representatives of both sides and observers, should be allowed to interview all prisoners who do not take advantage of the facilities to return to their own country;
- (d) that no compulsion shall be used by either side to influence the prisoners;
- (e) that the results of the enquiry shall be binding on both sides.

You will observe:

- (1) that all arrangements—(a) to (e)— are reciprocal and applicable to both sides;
- (2) that (a), being integral part of armistice settlement, provides for all prisoners being set at liberty as soon as armistice comes into force and not at some later stage;
- (3) that (c) contemplates that Chinese and Korean representatives on the one side and an equal number of UN representatives on the other, with a chairman selected by the two sides, should, if desired, be allowed to interview all prisoners who do not immediately take advantage of facilities to return to their own country. This is substitute for idea that commission of nationals of neutral nations should do this if Chinese would prefer it. Also “interview” is a general term used to avoid the word “interrogation”;
- (4) that (d) does not exclude appeal in the form of broadcasts but only refers to physical and mental compulsion in camps;
- (5) that the purpose of (e) is to say that when time comes, Chinese should not go back on settlement if inquiry proceeds and results do not conform to their wishes.

2. Broad principles set out and explained above are not to be regarded as British proposals or quoted as such, but, in your discretion, you can use them in conversations with Chang Han-fu⁴ and/or Chou En-lai to elicit Chinese reaction.

4. (b. 1905); allegedly deported from the US for leftist activities, 1929; joined the Communist Party of China, 1938; joined the staff of the Communist daily, *Hsin-hua jih-pao*, 1939, and became its editor-in-chief, 1942; became Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, 1949.

3. Eden has also indicated:

- (a) that, if necessity should arise, it can be stated that, once armistice is arranged, Formosa and Security Council issues can be considered with some hope of satisfactory settlement, and
- (b) that China's war psychosis, namely, that Allies would attack China or desire to do so, is without foundation.

This has been conveyed to the Chinese already but there would be no objection to your repeating this if you think it would help in settling problem of prisoners of war and bringing about armistice. As regards (a), however, it must be understood that these issues cannot be tied up with that of prisoners of war.

4. As regards the question whether Chinese prisoners are to be repatriated or to be handed over to Formosa, our information is that the latter has never been envisaged.

9. Screening of Prisoners of War¹

With reference to the letter from the UK Acting High Commissioner² attached, I think we should tell him how we feel about this matter.

2. The UK Government can of course give such answer as they think proper to a question put to them in Parliament. So far as we are concerned, however, we are not agreeable to participating in any screening of prisoners of war in Koje Island.³ It is not quite clear to us how 70,000 prisoners can be effectively screened. This process, in the best of circumstances, will take months. Recent incidents in Koje Island indicate how extremely difficult it is

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 18 June 1952. JN Collection.
2. J.J.S. Garner informed K.P.S. Menon on 18 June that Eden, who was to be asked in Parliament that day whether the UK Government would consider proposing to the UN that representatives of India and Pakistan should take part in the rescreening of POWs in Koje Island, would probably reply that the Chinese and the North Koreans, who had hitherto maintained an uncompromising opposition to the principle of screening, had not given any indication that they would accept the validity of a further screening carried out under Indo-Pakistan supervision.
3. Guarded by American troops, more than 70,000 POWs were confined in a number of prison camps in Koje, situated about twenty miles off the coast from Pusan.

even to approach the prisoners.⁴ They also throw doubts as to the previous screening. In an article appearing in the American *Time* magazine of June 3rd, certain facts are given which go to show that the previous screening could only have been a very casual affair.

3. Presumably the suggestion that there should be rescreening is meant to facilitate the settlement on the question of exchange of POWs. If that is the objective then there must be some agreement between the two parties concerned in regard to the procedure to be adopted. Any unilateral action will not yield results. The US Government invited us, together with some other countries, to inspect the POWs camp, presumably in Koje Island. We have sent them an answer expressing our inability to do so.⁵ (This answer might be shown to the UK Acting High Commissioner, if he has not already seen it).

4. Recently we communicated to the UK Government certain suggestions received from the Chinese Government in regard to exchange of prisoners of war.⁶ These suggestions appear to us to be very helpful and worthy of every consideration. They indicate that the attitude of the Chinese Government is not one of obstruction. They appear to be eager to find a solution.

5. The above may be read out to the Acting High Commissioner. I presume that the two proposals which the Chinese Government sent to us have already been communicated to him. The full telegram from our Ambassador in Peking should not be shown to him. Only the two proposals should be read out.

4. Many POWs were killed or injured in two outbreaks of rioting on Koje Island in February and March 1952 before US guards succeeded in restoring order. On 7 May, Francis T. Dodd, the Camp Commandant, was seized by the inmates and held as a hostage till his successor, C.F. Colson, acceded to a number of their demands.

5. In reply to a message of 13 June 1952 from the US State Department, the Government of India expressed on 16 June their inability to send a military observer as they thought any unilateral inspection and reporting on the prisoners' camps would not help very much in deciding on the larger issue of exchange of POWs. They, however, added that they would gladly consider any other proposal seeking their services towards establishment of peace in East Asia.

6. At his meeting with Panikkar on 14 June, Chou En-lai, while expressing himself against the principle of voluntary repatriation or of screening, doubted that the proposals presented to him (see *ante*, pp. 537-539) could lead to agreement. On his part, Chou En-lai suggested a round figure of about 110,000 prisoners, including 20,000 Chinese, for repatriation. As an alternative, however, he was willing to discuss the Anglo-American proposals if the US agreed that *prima facie* all prisoners must be assumed to desire repatriation and those resisting repatriation might be brought to Panmunjom, but not under military escort, and interviewed by a committee of eighty personnel from four neutral countries and the Red Cross teams of both sides. These suggestions were conveyed to the UK Government through Krishna Menon on 16 June 1952.

10. To U Nu¹

New Delhi
June 19, 1952

My dear Maung Nu,

I have just received your letter of the 14th June.² In this, you ask me about a peace conference.

I do not remember any definite request to us from the Yugoslav Government or Ambassador to hold a peace conference in India. Perhaps he might have mentioned it rather casually. In any event, we would not have encouraged him insofar as India was concerned.

I do not myself see the point of holding what is called a peace conference in India or elsewhere. Any such conference is bound to be some kind of a party or one-sided affair. Apart from this, Governments do not hold such conferences. Public bodies may. Governments function on a different level. I can meet you and discuss the question of peace and what steps our Governments might take. But if there was a peace conference, I could not attend it. Any such conference is bound to deviate from the policy of neutrality which we have pursued.

As a matter of fact, we are passing through very critical times and a great deal depends upon developments in Korea during the next month or two. To some extent, we are playing our part in trying to bring the parties together. We cannot talk much about it because that will spoil the effort we are making. Even a peace conference would not help at all. You must remember that Yugoslavia is very much tied up with the Western bloc, even though its internal policy is different. It seems to me that Burma and India can play an important part in influencing China on the one hand and the UK and perhaps the USA on the other.

The USA invited us to go and inspect the prison camps at Kojima. We have not accepted this invitation.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. U Nu wrote that in view of Burma's declared policy of strict neutrality in international relations, he was against its attending a peace conference to be convened by the Yugoslav Government, but Burma would participate if the conference was held in India. He noted that the Yugoslav Ambassador had informed him that the Indian Government had not agreed to his Government's suggestion to hold the conference in India.

11. Seeking Peace in Korea¹

Question: Did the Government of India receive any invitation to send an observer to the Kojé Camp?

Jawaharlal Nehru: We received an invitation suggesting that a military observer might be sent to the prisoners-of-war camp. In our reply we stated that we would be very happy to help in any way but it was not clear to us what a military observer could do. If it is merely seeing the camp, well, normally it is the function of the Red Cross. They know more about it and can report. If the military observer is supposed to enquire into past events, it is a complicated enquiry and we do not see the desirability or feasibility of it. We asked for some clarification but we added that we felt that all this was part really of the larger and far more important problem of the exchange of war prisoners which has been discussed at Panmunjom armistice conference² and which was the real stumbling block. If in any way we could help in finding some way out, we should be very happy to offer our services. It is clear that it must be a way which is accepted and agreed to by the major parties concerned and therefore one has to explore an avenue which will be agreed to, which will lead to an agreed settlement of the problem. If we can help in that matter, we shall eagerly do so. This has been more or less the purport of our reply.

Q: Does it mean that if India were formally asked to mediate in this problem, she will accept that role?

JN: That is a hypothetical question. Normally this type of approach is hardly made. There is no question, when great countries are involved, of mediation in that way. It does not take place. It is not the right approach. But India is favourably situated because we have good, friendly relations with the parties concerned. It is the chief virtue of India coming into the picture that we can approach in a friendly way all the parties concerned. So we might be of some use.

Q: Supposing that the suggestion is that some outstanding statesmen including yourself should be asked to investigate the communist charges of germ warfare, what will be your reaction?

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 21 June 1952. PIB. Extracts. For other parts of the press conference, see pp. 36-38, 76-80, 144-145, 169-170, 352-353, 405-410, 466-467, 476-477, 515 and 580-582.
2. Korean peace talks opened on 10 July 1951 at Kaesong, a small town located about three miles south of the 38th Parallel. From 25 October 1951, the venue of the talks was changed to the nearby village of Panmunjom.

JN: Some similar suggestion was also made, I believe, by the Chinese Government. I did not myself see it. First of all, any proper investigation should be by a method which is accepted and approved by the parties concerned. There cannot be any unilateral enquiry from one side or the other. If the other party does not agree with it, that will have no effect. However that might be, this, I suggest, is a matter for the scientists. I do not know how anybody else who cannot understand these things can investigate it properly as I find it a little difficult to understand how any investigation can lead to any worthwhile results so long after. It may, of course; I am only speaking as a layman. Anyhow, the point is that if any investigation is made, it should be by a proper impartial authority acceptable to all the parties concerned. Only then it will have some value. Apart from that, our approach is that peace should be sought, if I may say so, in a peaceful manner. That is, if you seek peace in a warlike manner, the outcome is not usually peace. The real approach should be by a procedure or action by the consent of all the parties and not a unilateral approach.

Q: The civilian situation is deteriorating in South Korea as a result of Dr Syngman Rhee's activities.³

JN: I know nothing about it. I can hardly go into the internal political situation in Korea.

Q: About this germ warfare, the Soviet Union suggested in the Security Council that all countries who have not ratified the convention relating to germ warfare should ratify it at an early date, while America and some other countries have said that this will not serve any purpose.

JN: I do not know the details, but I would certainly welcome ratification, if you like, complete renunciation of the use of such methods of warfare by all countries, whatever method is adopted to effect it.

Q: Since some American Senators have suggested that India should appoint a commission to investigate the germ warfare charges, don't you think that you should proceed on this suggestion?⁴

3. See *ante*, p. 456.

4. In an appeal to Nehru on 19 June 1952, Alexander Wiley, a Republican member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, suggested that an impartial commission, preferably all-Asiatic in membership, should investigate the Communist charges of germ warfare by the UN in Korea.

JN: I have great respect for the Senators and others. But the Government of India does not start moving because somebody else delivered a speech somewhere. We deal with Governments, not with any individuals.

Q: You may have seen some reports about the communist charge of germ warfare. Was there any actual warfare of that type?

JN: I believe there have been some committees appointed by the Chinese Government to investigate it. I have seen some extracts from the reports, but naturally, if I may say so, they are unilateral committees, one-sided committees.

Q: Our Indian cultural mission to China were shown certain exhibits proving the germ warfare charges. Have they submitted any report?

JN: Nothing at all. How can they? They have not even mentioned any thing except that they were shown museums full of exhibits. No final conclusions can be drawn except by a careful analysis by scientists.

Q: Can you say something about your conversations with Lord Alexander⁵ about Korea, etc.

JN: There is not much that I can tell you. We discussed various matters and the main thing was, he was going there to find out the conditions. He was very anxious that truce negotiations should succeed.

Q: There is a report in London papers, particularly in the *Daily Worker*, that you have intervened in the Korean situation.

JN: I remember to have seen that report. It was not a correct report. What do you mean by intervening? I have not put forward any suggestions. We discussed this matter; we tried to explore possibilities; we discussed it with the various countries concerned. We did not take up an attitude. It is an exploring attitude so that if we find something solid to which parties agree, then we proceed on that basis....

5. Nehru met Harold, Earl Alexander of Tunis, the British Minister of Defence, on 8 June 1952 during the latter's stopover at Delhi on his way to Korea.

12. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

I am waiting for your appraisal of situation created by Yalu bombings.² I think that you should draw Eden's attention to our distress at this latest attack by American planes on Yalu river as well as General Clark's³ recent aggressive expression of opinion.⁴ All this of course makes possibility of successful armistice much more difficult. But question is even more far-reaching. The UN are tied up with Korean operations. Grave developments are taking place in Korea without any reference to the UN or even to important Powers like the UK. Local military commanders apparently can do what they like and thus have discretion even to take a step which might entangle the UN in world war. This may possibly be due to US presidential campaign. But other countries cannot possibly ignore possibility of these very serious developments. India is not directly concerned with Korean operations but inevitably as member of the UN she is concerned.

Unless this aspect is strongly emphasized all countries may well be dragged into extension of war whether they want to or not. No doubt Eden realizes this and will impress this on Acheson⁵ who is in Europe now. Unless effective steps are taken there is grave danger of the UN disintegrating under this pressure.

You can put this in appropriate language to Eden.⁶

1. New Delhi, 26 June 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. The Suiho plant on the south bank of the Yalu river which supplied power to the industries of North Korea and to a large area of Manchuria and was the fourth largest power plant in the world was attacked by over five hundred UN fighter bombers on 23 June 1952.
3. Mark W. Clark (1896–1984); Commander-in-Chief, UN Command and US Far East Command, May 1952–53.
4. General Clark, in a message to his troops on the second anniversary of the Korean war, said on 24 June 1952, "We prefer to achieve an armistice at the conference table. But if the enemy prefers otherwise and forces a return to the bitter bloody fighting of 1950 and 1951, we are ready."
5. Dean Acheson, the US Secretary of State.
6. Eden told Krishna Menon on 26 June that the bombing of the power plant was regrettable and British resentment at not being consulted had been conveyed to the US. On 25 June, however, he had defended the air raids before the House of Commons, saying that the Yalu river power plants were "perfectly legitimate military targets."

13. Cable to Indian Embassy, Peking¹

American explanation of bombing of power stations is that it was purely defensive action as they had lost large number of troops. They say that the purpose of bombing was not to cut power from Manchuria, whatever its effects may have been. Both the UK and the USA categorically state that there is no relation of bombing to the truce and they are most anxious that truce negotiations should succeed.

2. In regard to exchange of prisoners issue, following suggestions might be borne in mind and proposed by you as coming from us. No other country should be committed:

(a) To the suggestion that prisoners may be interviewed by the commission and Red Crosses of both sides, there might be added additional provision that guards of Formosa Chinese or Rhee Koreans or indeed of any nationality other than UN countries should be removed.

(b) If the Chinese continue to object to escort, it might be proposed that prisoners be interviewed where they are or in convenient groupings where two camps are proximate.

(c) In regard to (b) above, we might further suggest that guards, interpreters in the prisons or other officials of Rhee or Formosa Chinese will be removed. Interpreters also can be commonly agreed.

(d) Legitimate propaganda exclusive of torture and physical pressure may be permitted. Such propaganda might even include indoctrination or reeducation over a period as desired.

3. This proposal presumably means that Poles and Czechs would go to South Korea side and on basis of reciprocity Swedes and Swiss will go to the North.

4. The UK is emphatic that public opinion will not permit forcible return of prisoners. If this is attempted by force, there may be suicides and there may even be repetition of incidents similar to what happened recently in communist camps. Subject to this principle, the UK is prepared to make any reasonable concession for adjustment.

5. A speedy reply will be appreciated.

1. New Delhi, 27 June 1952. JN Collection.



WITH KING TRIBHUVAN OF NEPAL, NEW DELHI, 17 MAY 1952



ON THE UP ZAMINDARI ABOLITION DAY, MODINAGAR, 1 JULY 1952

14. Bombing of Power Plants on the Yalu River¹

Yes.² Air raids took place on power plants near and on the Korean-Manchurian border.

Government are not associated in any way with the military operations in Korea. They are anxious, however, that these operations should cease and that there should be a ceasefire leading to a settlement of the various problems at issue. Any possible extension of these military operations might imperil world peace. As is well known, attempts are being made to arrive at a satisfactory solution in regard to a ceasefire and truce in Korea and a good deal of progress in this direction has been made, though there still remain one or two problems to be solved. Any step taken that might come in the way of this settlement is most unfortunate and to be regretted.

Although Government are not participants in the Korean war, as a member nation of the United Nations an indirect responsibility rests upon them also in regard to any operations conducted in the name of the United Nations, more especially when such operations might lead to an extension of the area of conflict. Government are disturbed at the thought that the future of the United Nations and of war and peace might be decided without proper consultation³ and might depend ultimately on the discretion of military commanders, who will naturally think much more of local military objectives than of large questions affecting the world. The primary consideration, in the view of Government, should be the maintenance of world peace and, in Korea, a successful conclusion of the present talks on ceasefire and truce.

1. 28 June 1952. *Parliamentary Debates: House of the People, Official Report*, Vol. I, Part I, cols 1315–1316.
2. Nehru was asked to make a statement on whether UN forces in Korea had launched air raids on power plants on the Korean-Manchurian border and the consequences thereof on world peace.
3. Justifying as a military step an attack on the big enemy installations, a senior UN official described on 25 June the bombing by US aircraft of the power plants at the Yalu river without consultation with other allies as purely a military matter. Earlier, Robert A. Lovett, the US Defence Secretary, stated that in an extreme emergency, US Chiefs of Staff could authorize bombing of Manchurian bases without reference to the United Nations.

15. Withdrawing Moral Support to UN Forces¹

The recent developments in Korea, that is, the bombing of the Yalu power house, have created a new and very serious situation just when there was some hope of a truce settlement. We have expressed ourselves mildly against this bombing. But the feeling against it is strong not only in India but in many other countries. The military commanders of the American or UN forces in Korea apparently do just what they like regardless of consequences. This is a situation which can hardly be tolerated.

We are not of course directly concerned with this fighting going on there. But we have sent an ambulance unit. We may have to consider the withdrawal of this unit. That question does not immediately arise. I am writing to you, however, so that no further step might be taken to replenish this unit or to replace it.

1. Note to the Minister for Defence, New Delhi, 30 June 1952. JN Collection.

16. Cable to Indian Embassy, Peking¹

Please refer to my last telegram² about exchange of prisoners in Korea. Our suggestions were put forward many days ago, but no response has been received from the Chinese Government yet. UK Government has gone very far in accepting proposals made on behalf of the Chinese Government.³ They are anxious to have a settlement. There is danger that if no further step is taken soon, situation may deteriorate and make settlement more difficult. Please, therefore, try to expedite answer of the Chinese Government. Only question

1. New Delhi, 1 July 1952. JN Collection.
2. See *ante*, p. 546.
3. Eden conveyed to Krishna Menon on 20 June the acceptance by the UK and the US of the second suggestion of Chou En-lai (see *ante*, p. 540), but wanted clarification about prisoners being brought to Panmunjom without military escort.

remaining is that of escort.⁴ I feel sure that total absence of escort will create great difficulties and misunderstandings. In my last telegram I made some further suggestions.

I suggest that you might point out to the Chinese Government that we have come very near an agreement and it would be a great pity if we allowed this opportunity to lapse. It should be realized that delay is dangerous.

4. In his telegram of 22 June, Nehru asked Panikkar to seek clarification regarding military escort to prisoners as "without escort, many of them may disperse and then charge might well be made that this was a trick to prevent them from returning."

17. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

I sent telegram² to our Peking Embassy yesterday urging speedy answer of the Chinese Government to our suggestions. This has crossed a message from our Embassy which has just reached me which says that interview had been asked from Chang Han-fu but no date had been fixed yet. Neither he nor Chou En-lai were present at two important functions for the retiring Soviet Ambassador³ who was doyen of diplomatic corps. Message goes on to say:

Repeated American heavy bombings on Yalu plants and rest of North Korea have worsened situation and are looked upon here as deliberate provocation to Chinese and North Koreans. Unless Americans stop their provocative bombings I see little hope of success in truce talks. As Chang Han-fu said last time, "war and truce go ill together." Your two statements in Parliament on June 26⁴ and June 28⁵ on the Yalu bombings have been greatly appreciated and publicized. Some kind of final warning is likely and even counter offensive is possible though I still believe all avenues of peaceful settlement will first be exhausted.

1. New Delhi, 2 July 1952. JN Collection.
2. See the preceding item.
3. Major-General Nikolai Roschin.
4. See *ante*, p. 411.
5. See *ante*, p. 547.

18. Cable to T.N. Kaul¹

Your² telegram No. 246 dated July 5th.³ So far as Chen Chia-kang's⁴ questions are concerned, the replies given by you are in general conformity with our views.

Escorts are meant for journeys as clearly large numbers of prisoners cannot be transported to an area for purposes of interview without proper guard.⁵ The question of supervisory personnel in camps is different and need not be mixed up with escorting of prisoners to the camps of interview. In regard to question two,⁶ our idea is that Formosan and Rhee personnel should be excluded from escorts also.

With reference to question three⁷ we would suggest that the camps in neutral area should be supervised by representatives of the four neutral Powers plus Red Cross in both sides. Regarding item four,⁸ convenient groupings were suggested by us to avoid the problem of escorts.

It may be impressed on the Chinese Government that the suggestion (a) of a central interviewing camp; (b) neutral supervision of such a camp; and (c) reasonable access by Chinese and North Koreans to the camp, would remove the prisoners from any form of duress, enable them to express their opinion freely and are important gains which should not be overlooked.⁹

1. New Delhi, 6 July 1952. JN Collection.
2. Triloki Nath Kaul (b. 1913); joined ICS, 1936; Counsellor, Indian Embassy, Peking, 1950-52, Minister, 1952-53; Joint Secretary, MEA, 1953-56; Chairman, International Commission for Supervision and Control, Vietnam, 1957-58; Ambassador to Iran, 1958-60; Deputy and Acting High Commissioner in London, 1960-62; Ambassador to USSR, 1962-66 and 1986-89; Foreign Secretary, 1968-72; Ambassador to USA, 1973-76; India's Representative to Unesco, 1980-85.
3. Kaul communicated the replies given by him to the queries put by the Chinese Foreign Office on India's suggestions (see *ante*, p. 546). K.M. Panikkar had returned to India the previous month on the completion of his term.
4. Assistant Director, Asian Department in the Chinese Foreign Office, 1949; became its Director, 1952; appointed Ambassador to the United Arab Republic, 1956.
5. Chen had asked whether military escort was meant for journeys from POW camps to the neutral area or for the neutral area only.
6. It was asked whether the removal of Formosan and South Korean guards applied only to places of interview by the neutral commission or to escorts also.
7. Chen also asked whether the UN countries whose guards were acceptable included countries not involved in the fighting in Korea.
8. Clarification was sought as to what was meant by convenient groupings where two camps were near each other.
9. Chen, on getting the clarification on 9 July, expressed his Government's appreciation of Nehru's efforts but said Chou En-lai had agreed only to the principle of a neutral camp and not to its details. He added that Chou En-lai laid great emphasis on first settling the question of reclassification of prisoners according to their nationality and home.

19. US Proposal for Inspection of POW Camps¹

In our reply dated 16th June to the US Government's request to us to send a military observer to the war camps in Korea, we asked for some clarification,² but we made it clear that we could not accept any such request so long as it was unilateral.

The US reply contained in the attached telegram No. 336 of July 9th attempts to give that clarification.³ It does not answer or deal with the other points raised by us. I do not think, therefore, that any further reply from us is needed.

Since the original message was sent to us, the old prisoners of war camps have been, according to report, split up into many smaller camps. Any investigation, therefore, would be of the new camps and of present conditions there. This could not deal with the old charges. For the representatives of five nations going to Korea just to see the new POW camps and report on them appears to me to be totally uncalled for.

Apart from this, however, we had pointed out that the real problem was one of exchange of prisoners of war. Secret and apparently hopeful discussions are going on at Panmunjom now. At this moment, for a commission to go to look into the camps would raise fresh issues and come in the way of a settlement at Panmunjom.

We know that the Indonesian Government have turned down the US invitation. I am told that the Pakistan Government, having accepted the invitation, later withdrew their acceptance.

1. Note, 10 July 1952. File Nos. F-12/62/NGO-52 (Vols.I-VI) and F-12/64/NGO-52, MEA.
2. The Government of India had doubted the feasibility as also the desirability of inspecting the POW camps as proposed by the US Government. See *ante*, pp. 540 and 542.
3. Rejecting the Communist charges of brutal treatment of POWs by the UN Command, the US Government expressed the view that an impartial inspection of the POW camps and findings by a five-nation commission would prove the falsity of these charges and their proposal would strengthen the efforts towards the settlement of the conflict.

20. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

I am sending you separately the text of a long telegram received today from Kaul, Peking. He was invited to the Chinese Foreign Office and given two notes, one relating to Tibet² and the other about Korea.³ The latter note is very surprising and completely out of tune with recent assurance given to us. The whole tone and approach is different and hardly leaves any room for argument. You will remember that the original approach to us came from Chou En-lai two months ago when you were here.⁴ After some correspondence Chou En-lai made certain proposals. These were orally made, but taken down by Panikkar and repeated to Chou En-lai. It appears that Chou En-lai has probably been overruled by higher authorities there. For the present I do not see what we can do.

1. New Delhi, 11 July 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. It contained the Chinese version of Chou En-lai's conversation on 14 June 1952 with K.M. Panikkar relating to Tibet. See *ante*, p. 475.
3. The note, handed on 10 July, *inter alia*, (i) opposed voluntary repatriation as well as any form of screening; (ii) called for complete repatriation of all POWs to their homes; and (iii) asserted that the visits by neutral representatives and Red Cross teams to which Chou En-lai had agreed were not for ascertaining the wishes of the prisoners for repatriation but to assure them that they could return home to lead a peaceful life. It added that the joint visits to the POWs could take place only after they had been handed over and received by both sides. The note also said that the first suggestion of Chou En-lai (see *ante*, p. 540), namely, complete repatriation of 20,000 Chinese and 90,000 Korean prisoners, was more expedient and feasible than the second alternative.
4. See *ante*, p. 533.

21. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegrams 14018 and 14022, dated July 12th.

There is no question of our rushing into any decisions or taking any step which might come in the way of further negotiations.² I have discussed this matter fully and repeatedly with Panikkar during the last two days. He is naturally somewhat taken aback by recent developments, but he does not take

1. New Delhi, 13 July 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. Krishna Menon thought that worse situations than the one created by the recent Chinese attitude on the Korean armistice negotiations could turn better "by patient effort and faith" and suggested that India should do her best to retrieve the situation without giving out any sign of failure or new deadlock.

too tragic a view. When presenting written notes, the Chinese Government are likely to adopt much stiffer and uncompromising line than in talks. Undoubtedly there appears some change in their approach which is governed by many factors, including reactions of North Korean leaders.

In any event, we shall certainly not give up hope and shall continue our efforts at conciliation and finding way out. But Panikkar and I are clearly of opinion that we must not at this stage take any further diplomatic step. We should only express our sense of disappointment and embarrassment at the turn events have taken, but add that we still hope that way out will be found and our good offices are still there to be taken advantage of.

Panikkar's return to China immediately appears to me and to him undesirable.³ This would be extremely dramatic and would attract world attention. Chinese Government do not like to be hustled. Apart from this, what exactly would Panikkar say or do at this stage? It is conceivable that, if other developments take place, it might be desirable for Panikkar to go back, but not otherwise.

When Kher was here, we informed him of Korean developments to date. Please have full talks with him and keep him posted up-to-date. I am suggesting to him to associate you with him in any further negotiations in regard to this matter.⁴ After his taking charge, responsibility will be his and, therefore, it would be desirable for you to keep in close touch with him.

Separately, I am sending you Panikkar's views about Chinese proposal for reclassification.⁵

I am sending brief account of your interview with Selwyn Lloyd⁶ to Kaul in Peking.

3. "Very strongly and without reservation", Krishna Menon urged Nehru to temporarily send Panikkar back to Peking even at the risk of embarrassment. He noted, "I was very disturbed to find that you were fairly content to leave matters in the hands of Mr Kaul. He is no doubt very good and all else. These matters, where everything is fluid, and where there is much interim initiative to be taken, an official is inadequate. Much depends on handling. Please accept this advice which is not hasty or arising from prejudices. Whatever the inconvenience or embarrassments Panikkar should go back at once, more particularly so if position worsens. We cannot afford the consequences to occur without doing our utmost to prevent them."
4. See the next item. B.G. Kher was to take charge on 14 July 1952 as the new High Commissioner of India in the UK in place of Krishna Menon.
5. See *post*, pp. 554-555.
6. (1904-1978); Conservative Member of British Parliament, 1945-76; Minister of State, Foreign Office, 1951-54; Minister of Defence, 1955; Foreign Secretary, 1955-60; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1960-62; Speaker, House of Commons, 1971-76; created life peer, 1976; wrote *Mr Speaker Sir* (1976) and *Suez 1956* (1978). Krishna Menon reported some advance on the issue of neutral zone at his meeting with Lloyd on 11 July.

22. Cable to B.G. Kher¹

Before your departure, Bajpai,² at my request, informed you of the latest developments in Korean situation. Since then, many other developments have taken place both in Peking and London. Krishna Menon has been having long interviews with British Ministers. You will be informed of all these from telegrams we have sent to Hicomind.

Recent Chinese note to our Embassy in Peking has made position somewhat more difficult though we need not give up hope and we intend to continue using our good offices to help a settlement. I suggest that you have full talk about this matter with Krishna Menon so that you may know what the position is now. Conversations with British Ministers are likely to continue on this issue. You will naturally be in charge of these delicate negotiations. But as Krishna Menon has been intimately connected with them on ministerial level, it would be desirable for you to associate him in these negotiations. Krishna Menon may also have informal interviews with Ministers on your behalf. Any message that Krishna Menon would like to send us could be sent through you.

1. New Delhi, 13 July 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.

2. G.S. Bajpai was Governor of Bombay at this time.

23. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegram No. 14022, dated July 12. I agree with your general view that we should not consider the changed Chinese attitude amounting to a complete reversal of the previous position and a way may still be found to proceed with the negotiations. But, for the present, I do not see that anything is to be gained by pressing the Chinese to discuss details regarding escorts, etc., when the basic issue of interviewing reluctant prisoners by neutrals to ascertain their willingness to be repatriated remains unsettled.

So far as the question of reclassification is concerned, you may, if you consider it necessary, give the following elucidation:

1. New Delhi, 13 July 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.

Reclassification was discussed at private executive sessions of the truce negotiators in March, when by a process of elimination the number of prisoners in United Nations hands was calculated by Admiral Joy² to be only 112,000, while by Chinese calculations they numbered 116,000. Admiral Joy's figures were not accepted by American High Command. Attempt at reclassification was meant to get back to original figures. Principles of reclassification were: (a) to include among prisoners of war only those who were in arms against the enemy, a suggestion meant to exclude civilian prisoners of Korean nationality on both sides; and (b) to make a separate category of Korean prisoners with domicile in the areas where they are held as prisoners. By this, the number of prisoners was sought to be reduced to something over 110,000.

The emphasis on reclassification is nothing new. It is part of Chinese demand that it is best to agree on a specified figure and reclassification is the method they had always suggested. In original proposals to Panikkar also, Chou En-lai emphasized this as the most suitable method and agreed to a modified version of our suggestions only as a second alternative.³

I am instructing Kaul to convey orally our regret that the attitude of the Chinese Government should have been so unhelpful, especially as the initiative had proceeded from them. He is however being asked to keep in contact and to express our willingness to be of assistance if the Chinese are ready to discuss matters on the basis of their original suggestion.

2. Vice-Admiral Charles Turner Joy (1895-1956), Commander, US Naval Forces in the Far East, led the UN delegation at truce talks at Panmunjom at the time.
3. See *ante*, p. 540.

24. To Anthony Eden¹

New Delhi
15 July 1952

My dear Eden,

Your Acting High Commissioner in New Delhi has delivered to me today your personal message about the Korean armistice talks.² I am grateful to you for this message.

1. JN Collection.
2. Eden, while thanking Nehru for taking personal interest in the Korean armistice negotiations, expressed concern over the Chinese refusal to pursue Chou En-lai's proposal for a neutral screening of the POWs unwilling to return, and their insistence on the return of all the Chinese prisoners. Eden stated that prisoners could not be forced to return at the point of the bayonet and wanted Nehru to request the Chinese to reconsider their stand.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I realize fully, as you do, the extreme importance of a truce in Korea paving the way to a further settlement. As the principal barrier to this truce was the return of prisoners of war, we have been trying our utmost to find some way out of this difficulty. It appeared, at one time, that we were very near an agreement. Unfortunately the aerial bombing of the Yalu power stations, occurring at a critical moment during the negotiations, stiffened very much the Chinese attitude. We have not, however, lost hope and I still think that a way out might be found. We shall continue our efforts to this end and keep you informed if any significant development takes place.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

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EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

V. Africa

(i) Tunisia

1. Message to Tunisian Leaders¹

Prime Minister thanks you for your message.² The Government and the people of India, steadfast in their policy of support of all peoples to secure independence, view with profound sympathy the efforts of the Tunisian people for fulfilment of their national aspirations. The Government of India have, as you must be aware, associated themselves actively with the efforts of Arab and Asian nations to bring the Tunisian dispute before the Security Council³ and, diplomatically, they have also made representations to Powers in a position to exercise effective influence for an honourable and peaceful settlement. Since India is no longer a member of the Security Council, a special personal message from Mr Nehru to the Council would not be appropriate. You can rest assured, however, of the Government of India's continuous and energetic support.

1. New Delhi, 9 April 1952. File No. 6(21)-UN II/52, MEA.
2. Salah Ben Youssef and Mohammed Badra, former Ministers of the Tunisian Government, had requested Nehru, through the Indian Ambassador in Cairo, to personally ask the Security Council to consider the Tunisian case favourably.
3. The Tunisian Government through a letter on 12 January 1952 informed the Security Council that the prejudiced attitude of the French Government over the grant of internal autonomy to Tunisia had rendered a settlement of the dispute through negotiations impossible. The refusal to withdraw the letter to the Council resulted in the Government's dismissal on 28 March 1952, preceded by violent clashes for two months. Bringing the situation in Tunisia to the notice of the Security Council, eleven Afro-Asian countries including India asked on 2 April 1952 for a discussion of the question under Article 35 of the UN Charter.

2. Manipulation of the UN by the Anglo-US Bloc¹

I have just seen Dayal's telegram about Tunisia and the possibility of a special session of the UN being convened.²

2. This has led me to a trend of thought which takes me a little beyond Tunis. It seems to me that the whole tendency in the UN encouraged chiefly by the USA and UK is to convert the UN into a solid block of countries saying yes to them even at the risk of pushing out others. That is, I think, basically opposed to the whole conception of the UN. From an organ of collective security it is being converted into an assembly of some embattled nations against others which may or may not be in the United Nations. The ultimate result may well be the splitting up of the UN completely. This process started by China not being admitted; subsequent steps confirmed that.

3. Now this Tunisian affair, although entirely separate from the other questions, is a further indication of that drift or tendency.

4. I think this is a definitely bad direction for the UN to go and it can only end in the ending of the UN as it was conceived. With all its faults, the UN still is a platform where, if disputes are not settled, they are at least talked about and thus tension is lessened. For the UN to fade away or undergo a change into something else, would be unfortunate indeed, and would mean the giving up of the entire conception of collective security. War would be the inevitable result. Indeed, the words 'collective security' are now used in a sense which is very different from their original meaning. They refer now to a number of countries only arming themselves as against another group of countries.

5. The Tunisian question shows how little value the USA, the UK, etc., attach even to a united expression of the countries of Asia and Africa.³ They either do not attach any importance to this opinion or they think that it can be ignored because it is weak. This will have powerful reactions in Asia and

1. Note to Secretary-General, MEA, 18 April 1952. JN Collection.

2. Rajeshwar Dayal telegraphed on 17 April that the Afro-Asian group at the UN was proposing to call a special session of the General Assembly to discuss the Tunisian question. Earlier, on 14 April, the Security Council had rejected the inclusion of the question in its agenda, with the UK and France opposing it and the US, Netherlands, Greece and Turkey abstaining from voting.

3. Hoping that France would bring about "far-sighted and genuine reforms", the US stressed that there were still possibilities that the parties might by direct negotiations reach a fair agreement. The UK also considered that a satisfactory solution was possible through peaceful negotiations only and regarded the matter as falling within France's domestic jurisdiction.

Africa. It appears that it is having some such reaction in the Latin American countries⁴ and perhaps some other small countries. This reaction is good and I think that we should encourage it.

6. I have been thinking as to what further step we should take in this matter, that is, not merely Tunisia but the larger issue as further exemplified by the recent developments in regard to Tunis. I think it would be a good thing for us to send an aide-memoire to a number of countries on this subject.⁵ This would begin with the Tunis issue and refer to the way united Asian and African opinion has been ignored, to a point of not even the subject being discussed, and go on to the effect this is bound to produce on the whole future of the United Nations. Reference might be made to other developments in the past year or two which tend to limit the United Nations and to shift it from its old moorings. We are going back to the old League of Nations to some extent. We can, in this aide-memoire, point out these dangerous drifts and the inevitable consequences and express our regret at them. We can express a hope that this drift will be stopped and the United Nations made to function more as the expression of the will of the world community and not merely as the voice of some dominating Powers.⁶

4. Brazil and Chile were among the members of the Security Council who favoured inclusion of the Tunisian question on the agenda of the Council.
5. On 20 April 1952, Rajeshwar Dayal was sent an aide-memoire to be communicated to representatives of the Member nations of the UN. It said that the Security Council's decision against placing the Tunisian dispute on its agenda was the latest example of a growing tendency to ignore the voice of a large number of nations in order to take care of "the convenience or interests of one or more of the major Powers." It added that new and unprecedented forces were astir in the world and the aspirations of subject peoples could not long be held in check. The aide-memoire concluded, "Every Member of the UN has a duty not only to itself but an even higher duty to the corporate well-being and strength of the UN. That duty calls for sacrifices from all, and far greater sacrifices from the Great Powers because they have more to give. In no spirit of hostility to them but from a sense of loyalty to the UN, it is the duty of one and all of us to do whatever we can to ensure that the UN, through all its organs, discharges its high duty to mankind with vision, understanding and even-handed justice."
6. Chester Bowles, while forwarding to the State Department the aide-memoire presented to him by G.S. Bajpai, suggested on 25 April, "Department should not underestimate bitter feeling this whole subject here in India.... Extremely important for us capture moral leadership which we formerly held and which we are now in danger of losing." On 6 May 1952, the State Department asked US Embassy in New Delhi to convey to the Government of India that "decision to abstain April 14 should not be interpreted as evidence that US any less dedicated to principle dependent peoples entitled decide own destiny. Decision was most difficult one.... This was issue which necessitated balancing of principles and policies which together with practical realities of situation were not all compatible one with the other."

3. French Colonialism Contrary to the Temper of the Age¹

The argument of the French Ambassador, and there is some truth in it, does not impress me in the least.² What happened seven hundred or a hundred years ago has no relevance except for the historian. Today we see France functioning in a way which we consider wrong in Indo-China, in bits of India, and in North-Africa. This is not only wrong in itself, considering the temper of the age, but is likely to affect the world situation in a bad way.

2. So far as the United Nations Charter is concerned,³ it is as it was, but the whole working of the United Nations has, in our opinion, moved away not only from the spirit but even the letter of the Charter. Also the way in which a large number of countries have been treated by the Security Council appears to us to be humiliating to them and to undermine the whole conception of the United Nations. It was because of this that we addressed our communication to those countries and others and we are greatly concerned at this progressive deterioration and the conversion of the United Nations into something other than it was intended to be. If this process continues, then there is no honourable place left for us and for some other countries in the United Nations.

1. Note to Secretary-General, MEA, 5 May 1952. JN Collection.
2. Stanislas Ostrorog, the French Ambassador, told G.S. Bajpai on 5 May that Tunisia had never been independent for the last seven hundred years and France, after taking it over in early nineteenth century, had rescued it from anarchy and chaos and made it a prosperous and advanced territory ensuring equal justice and equality to all before law. France therefore considered the Tunisian issue to be a purely domestic matter.
3. Ostrorog said that while his Government did not suggest that the UN Charter could not be amended they strongly felt that so long as it remained unamended, its provisions should be observed.

4. Calling a Special Session of the UN General Assembly¹

About the Tunisian question, while we should not take a lead in demanding a special session of the UN, we should not oppose it either. Indeed if others want if we should support that demand. This attempt by the US Government on the one hand and Trygve Lie on the other to go slow sounds very reasonable but is in fact meant to make the world forget this matter.² It is because we and others have insisted on talking about it that the US had to take this opinion somewhat. I think we should go full steam ahead.

1. Note to Secretary-General, MEA, 19 May 1952. JN Collection.
2. The State Department asked US Embassy in New Delhi on 6 May 1952 to inform the Government of India that in their view the situation in Tunisia justified allowing France and Tunisia at least a few weeks to negotiate and they were urging France strongly not to further delay the negotiations which were scheduled to commence on 24 April. If negotiations did not start within four or five weeks or proved unproductive, then the Security Council could be requested to review its earlier decision. The State Department thought that such a procedure would be preferable to any move for consideration of the Tunisian question in a special session of the General Assembly.

5. To Asoka Mehta¹

New Delhi
July 8, 1952

My dear Asoka,

Your letter of the 7th July about Taiyab Slim² of Tunisia.

In this matter we have expressed our full sympathy for the claims of Tunisia for freedom. As a Government, while we have supported Tunisian claims, we have not run down the French Government but have asked for a peaceful settlement of the problem in accordance with Tunisian wishes. We cannot as a Government give any material support. There is no reason, however, why on the popular level some support might not be given. In this matter Congressmen, Socialists and others can certainly cooperate.

I am writing to the President of the Bombay PCC on these lines.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Tunisian politician and diplomat.
3. See the next item.

6. To S.K. Patil¹

New Delhi
July 8, 1952

My dear Patil,

I enclose copy of a letter from Asoka Mehta to me and my reply to him.

We have been in contact through our Embassy in Cairo with Taiyab Slim of Tunisia. When he comes here, I shall meet him and give him such facilities as we can without associating Government too much with his activities. We have openly expressed our sympathy for Tunisian claims and we shall continue to do so.

Congress, as such, can go further. But it is not our policy to run down any country. Our support of Tunisian claims is indirectly a criticism of France.

This subject has assumed a wider significance ever since the Security Council refused to discuss it and, as you know, we have made an issue of this.

I think that the Congress in Bombay should give such help as it can to Taiyab Slim. In this it seems desirable that there should be cooperation with others like the Socialists.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

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EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

V. Africa

(ii) General

1. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegram No. 12972² dated 31st March about Seretse. Indian opinion has all along strongly disapproved treatment accorded to Seretse by the British Government. Newspapers have commented adversely. In view of our own conflicts on racial issue in South Africa we did not think it worthwhile to express our opinion on the subject to UK Government. Our own views are well known. Nevertheless you can informally express our concern and ask for information. The entire position in Africa is, in our opinion, drifting badly and, unless carefully handled, will lead to very serious consequences.

1. New Delhi, 2 April 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. There was indignation among the white community in southern Africa over the possibility of taking over of the chieftaincy of Bamangwato in Botswana by Seretse Khama, an heir-apparent, who married a white English girl during his studentship in London in 1948. Eventually the UK expelled Seretse from Botswana and excluded him from the chieftaincy. Krishna Menon enquired whether he should express concern to the UK Government and ask for information on the developments.

2. To Walter Francis White¹

New Delhi
April 17, 1952

Dear Walter,²

...There is a case which is not racial but yet not far removed from it—the Tunisian affair. It amazes me that the Security Council should even refuse a discussion of it, when practically all the countries of Asia and Africa demanded a discussion. I quite understand a difference in viewpoint in regard to it. But to refuse even a discussion is little short of an insult to a large number of countries who sponsored that motion. It leads people in Asia and Africa to think that the United Nations are a close preserve of a few Powers and the rest hardly count.

I am convinced that the racial issue, and more particularly that issue in Africa, is going to become one of the vital and difficult problems of the age.

1. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. (1893-1955); a Black leader from USA; Assistant Secretary and later Secretary, National Association for Advancement of Coloured People; member, American Commission on Economic Policy; consultant, US delegation to UN General Assembly, 1948.

It is so important that it has become very difficult to discuss it in an academic way. For us to discuss the American racial problem in India would be most embarrassing.³

The caste problem in India is not exactly racial, though it is important. We would welcome a discussion of it but I rather doubt if this would lead us very far. By law we have largely put an end to this business.

By convention and habit it continues, though it is slowly becoming less and less.

I have put some ideas before you. The world is so tense at present and drifts almost with the force of something like a Greek tragedy towards disaster, that it becomes difficult to be academic and philosophic....

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. White had suggested the convening of two international conferences in the coming months, one at New Delhi and the other in the USA, to consider the approach to the interconnected problems of colonial races. He attached greater importance to an expression of opinion of private and non-governmental organizations at the conference.

3. To C.D. Deshmukh¹

New Delhi
April 21, 1952

My dear Deshmukh,

Apa Pant, our Commissioner in East Africa, Rhodesia, etc., is here in Delhi for a few days. I should like you to meet him and discuss with him the situation in Africa and what we can do about it.

I do not know if you have previously met Apa Pant. He has done a very fine piece of work on our behalf in East Africa and I have a high opinion of him. I have known him for many years, ever since he came back from Oxford. He is the son of the Raja of Aundh² in Satara district. He is straight, full of ideas, hard working and enthusiastic. I would have promoted him in the Foreign Service, but I do not want to take him away from such an important place as East Africa where he has done such good work.

I think I once spoke to you or wrote to you about the vital problem that Africa is going to put before us in the world. We can already see this problem taking shape all over. If the African people become thoroughly frustrated,

1. JN Collection.
2. Balasaheb Pant.

then there is likely to be the biggest upheaval there against Europeans. Our policy has been to work for inter-racial unity and cooperation, that is, as between Africans, Indians, Europeans and others. In any event, we want to encourage cooperation between Indians and Africans. To some extent Africans look up to India for help and, I think, we should go some way in providing it. What these ways can be, we can consider.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Cultural Relations with Africa¹

I agree generally with the notes of Mr R.K. Nehru and Mr Tyabji.² As far as I can make 'out the necessary sanctions have been given and we have to go ahead with the work.

2. It is clear that External Affairs Ministry should be closely connected with this work both in regard to initiation and subsequent control of the cultural activities. The Indian Council for Cultural Relations should obviously have been the body to do it, but thus far it has not sufficiently developed and has few contacts, specially in Africa which I consider the most important continent of all for our purposes. The proper course would therefore be to appoint a committee consisting of representatives of Education and External Affairs (presumably Education will include the Indian Council for Cultural Relations). If it does not, then some representative of that might be included. This committee should work out its proposals and submit them to the President of the ICCR, that is, Maulana Azad. On his accepting the general proposals, the committee can go ahead with working it out and supervising it later.

3. As I have said previously, I attach the greatest importance to Africa in this respect, that is, to African Africa. Vast changes are taking place today in the minds of men and it is of the utmost importance that we should help in this process. I should like to give as many scholarships as possible to Africans.

4. I do not see the particular point of sending Kaka Saheb Kalelkar³ or Mr Ramachandran⁴ to East Africa. Kaka Saheb's visit did good. It would be

1. Note, 19 May 1952. File No. 40(86)/49-PMS.

2. Badruddin Tyabji was the Commonwealth Secretary at this time.

3. Kaka Kalelkar, a follower of Mahatma Gandhi, toured East Africa and Central Africa for six months in 1950.

4. G. Ramachandran, a Gandhian constructive worker.

better to send, if possible, competent young men to serve there for a year or so as doctors or teachers or in any other capacity. They must be prepared to live among the Africans as suggested by Reverend Michael Scott.⁵

5. Reverend G. Michael Scott (1907–1983); British clergyman; represented some tribes of South West Africa at the UN, 1946; expelled from South Africa, 1950; Director, Africa Bureau, London, 1952–68; member, Nagaland peace mission, 1964–66.

5. To G.V. Mavalankar¹

New Delhi
June 21, 1952

My dear Mr Mavalankar,²

Thank you for your letter of the 21st June.

I confess that I have not been able to reconcile myself to the wisdom of the decision we came to some two years ago about not helping, from the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, the starting of a college in East Africa.³ Very probably the legal objections were valid. But the effect of any help that we might have given would have been electric all over Africa and have the most far-reaching consequences for good. Africa is in a process of rapid transition and the people there are hungry and thirsty for help and they look to India most of all. They are in a formative stage and anything that we might do will produce an enduring effect. It would bring them nearer to India and nearer to Gandhiji's teachings. However this relates to the past.

As for the present application which you have sent, I doubt that we can offer any special help even if we wanted to, without much further enquiry into the matter. On the face of it the scheme appears to be good-intentioned. But we cannot send money to odd schemes like this started by some well-meaning people. We can only function through some official, well-recognized organization. In East Africa that was possible. That is not so in West Africa.

I would suggest, however, that the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi might well send a collection of Gandhiji's books to this library in Lagos, Nigeria.

I shall arrange to send them a National Flag.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 2(548)/50-PMS.
2. Mavalankar, Speaker of the House of the People, was also Chairman of the Gandhi Memorial Trust.
3. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 15 Part I, pp. 476–477.

6. Aiming at a Multi-racial Society in Africa¹

I like the general approach of Shri Apa Pant in regard to India and Africa. The right policy is to lay stress on what is called a multi-racial society in which Africans, Asians and Europeans should each have their proper place. In trying to realize this, however, inevitably we and others come up against the dominant European group which wants to preserve its dominance. That means that we cooperate with the Africans and possibly with individual Europeans against the dominant European group. That is almost inevitable. But it does make a lot of difference as to whether we aim at a multi-racial society as envisaged or merely aim at Indians and Africans cooperating together. In practice it would be much the same, but that practice will have a different tendency if we lay stress on a multi-racial society. Thus we can avoid to some extent racialism growing. We should, therefore, always stress the multi-racial society and thereby seek the cooperation of such Europeans as believe in it.

For the rest, our policy should be definitely to help Africans and to make it clear that we do not desire to preserve any Indian interests at the cost of African interests. Naturally we desire to preserve Indian interests, but where they come in conflict with African interests, we must be prepared to give them up. This has been our declared policy for a number of years and it has been much appreciated in Africa.

Africa is more important to us than the greater part of Europe or any other continent. We have to send our best men there. But each person must be chosen with care. That is to say that each person who is sent there must be sympathetic to the Africans and be able to work with them. This is not to be merely an intellectual approach but something much more.

The three suggestions made by Shri Apa Pant appear to me to be good and we should try to give effect to them. I think it is a good idea to have an officer in India to look after African students. I think also that we can do more real good and at the same time create good feeling in Africa by increasing our scholarships to African students for study in India. This is an even better way of using such resources as we have for this purpose than spending the money in Africa.

About the other proposal, that is, the appointment of additional officers in East Africa, I agree subject to finances, etc. But I would repeat that the First Secretary we may send to Nairobi must be a person who thoroughly appreciates our attitude towards the Africans.

1. Note to Commonwealth Secretary, 1 July 1952. JN Collection.

I am not sure of the urgency of the appointment of consuls in a number of places like the Belgian Congo, etc. We might have some priorities in this matter. This can only be done after reference to Shri Apa Pant. The Trade Commissioner at Mombasa should be given consular status.

I do not quite understand what Shri Pant means by direct contact with the Colonial Office. I do not want him to deal with the Colonial Office directly. But I agree that it will be a good thing for our Commissioner to visit London from time to time, probably once a year.

The split in the Indian community in East Africa need not alarm us much. It was expected and this kind of thing is likely to occur elsewhere too.

I agree with CS that we should reconsider our previous decision about Indian nationals in these places. That is to say, we should register Indian nationals so that we may know exactly who they are. We would probably have done this much earlier but for the reluctance shown by Shri Apa Pant. Any person of Indian origin who wants to register himself as an Indian national might be allowed to do so unless it is known that he is acting against Indian interests or India's policy. I agree that you should ascertain Shri Pant's reaction.

The fact that a person is an Indian national should not come in the way of his citizenship rights in East Africa.

Indian merchants in East Africa, as elsewhere abroad, have been in the habit of thinking of their own interests only and not the larger interests of India or of the country they are in. That is the way of most merchants and shopkeepers. But there has been a growing realization among Indians in Africa, East and South, that our policy is to befriend and help the Africans. This policy should be continually reiterated.

11

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

VI. Miscellaneous

1. Unsuitability of Louis Fischer for External Publicity¹

Mr Louis Fischer² has made a name for himself by exploiting Mahatma Gandhi a great deal. His political views in many respects are very objectionable and he often criticizes India in regard to our foreign policy. I have not read his book on Mahatma Gandhi nor do I propose to do so. But I am sure that his presentation of Mahatma Gandhi cannot be a very good one. In any event I see no reason why you should give publicity to Mr Louis Fischer in any way.³ I do not like the idea of Mahatma Gandhi being presented to Western readers through Mr Louis Fischer.

1. Note to S. Sen, Joint Secretary, MEA, 13 May 1952. File No. 15/27-XP(P)/52, MEA.
2. American author and journalist.
3. The Ministry of External Affairs proposed to purchase about five hundred copies of the Arabic version of Louis Fischer's book on Mahatma Gandhi for distribution among selected readers in West Asia with a view to make India better known in the region.

2. Discontinuance of Honorific Appellations¹

You must have received an Office Memorandum from the Ministry of Home Affairs on the subject of the discontinuance of honorific appellations. I hope you will immediately communicate it to all our Missions abroad and make it clear that in future our Ambassadors or other Heads of Missions should not normally use or be addressed by the title "His Excellency". That is to say, the staff of our Embassies should not address the Ambassadors, etc., as "His Excellency", nor should this honorific appellation be used in any communication sent to them.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary and Commonwealth Secretary, 14 May 1952. File No. 2(287)/48-PMS.

3. Elimination of Colonialism in Other Countries¹

Mustafa Momin: I would like your views with regard to the breaking down of negotiations between Egypt and Britain² and this problem generally.

Jawaharlal Nehru: As a general principle, we have always desired the elimination of foreign colonial rule in other countries. We are quite clear in our mind with regard to the principle that no country should rule any other by force or with compulsion.

MM: Does this mean that you want the evacuation of the British from the Suez?

JN: After laying down this principle as a policy the next approach to the subject should be as to how such a principle could be implemented. It is the implementation of this principle that requires a great deal of foresight and thought. We could certainly implement this principle by a great deal of bloodshed which is bad enough, but what is really worse is the creation of a great deal of ill will. This in any case must be carefully avoided. We would personally like to have this problem settled in a friendly way between Egypt and Britain.

MM: Do you desire that the will of the Sudanese people should prevail?

1. Interview to Mustafa Momin, Egyptian journalist, 29 May 1952. JN Collection. After seeing a note from MEA about Momin, Nehru wrote to Foreign Secretary the same day: "It is perfectly clear that such a person should not have been given an interview by me.... It is all right for other people to see him and I have no objection to his coming to India. But it makes all the difference for a man of this type to go and exploit the fact that he has been received by the Prime Minister." He added that in future he would not accept the recommendation of the External Publicity Division in this regard and would decide for himself or consider the recommendation by the Foreign Secretary only for meeting any foreigner.
2. Nahas Pasha, the Egyptian Premier, tabled four decrees on 8 October 1951 designed to abrogate the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936, under which British troops were stationed in the Suez Canal Zone, and the Anglo-Egyptian condominium agreement of 1899 relating to Sudan, envisaging internal autonomy for that territory with Egyptian control of its foreign relations, defence and finance. From then on the Egyptian Government began to encourage guerilla warfare against the British in the Canal Zone. No agreement was reached at discussions held between Egypt and Britain from 22 March to 20 May 1952.

JN: We certainly desire that the will of the Sudanese people should prevail.

MM: What are your reactions over the recent events in Tunisia?

JN: I have just told you that we believe in the principle that all foreign colonial domination should go. We also believe that the implementation of this principle should be carried out in a friendly way without any talk of war. In fact there is far too much talk of war as it is and we should, therefore, avoid this subject. However, we do feel that Tunisia should be free.

MM: I should like to know what you feel about the Kashmir issue, which has been going on now for two-three years.

JN: This problem has not gone on for two-three years but in fact for four years now. Obviously, as we have often repeated, it is for the people of Kashmir to ultimately take a decision. In fact long before this dispute with Pakistan arose, you will remember that Kashmir was under a feudal form of government and we had desired that it should be the people of Kashmir to decide what form of government they would have. We only went into Kashmir because the then Government and the largest popular political party of Kashmir wanted us to help them against the raiders. It was even at that stage that we made it clear that the best method of ultimately deciding this issue would be by a free plebiscite.

MM: So you believe that there should be a free plebiscite.

JN: Certainly, and having accepted this, we should now solve the next problem with regard to what arrangements should be made for the holding of such a free plebiscite. In fact, we had, even before the dispute, suggested that the first step should be of an election of an Assembly in Kashmir by a free adult vote and once this was done the Assembly could be given a free choice to make a decision. It was after this suggestion that the dispute arose. Even then we said that the final decision should be by either a freely elected Assembly or by a free plebiscite.

MM: Is it your intention to pursue any military operations in view of the present deadlock?

JN: When ceasefire took place, it was we who asked for it three years ago. We are not going to renew military operations at all. You must understand that we have come into this matter only indirectly—in view of the responsibility that arose over Kashmir's accession to India on the subjects of Defence,

Communications and Foreign Affairs. You must also realize that the internal government of Kashmir is being carried on by its own people. It is the Kashmir Government who make their laws many of which are different to ours. To quote, take the land reforms in Kashmir which are more far-reaching than what we have in India which of course is due to the fact of our having our own difficulties in this regard.

MM: Do you expect the Communist Government to become widespread in India in the next five years?

JN: This is a very difficult question. I am certainly no prophet. However, I do not think it will become much stronger than what it is now. This of course depends a great deal on world factors, such as war or peace or industrial reforms, etc. /

MM: The Communist Party at present is in opposition in your Parliament.

JN: In a manner of speaking, they are in opposition, but you must remember that out of over 400 Members only 27 of them belong to the Communist Party and in fact not all these 27 Members are really Communists, but include some who belong to allied parties. You will realize that this is a very small number indeed.

MM: It is said that you nominated Rajaji for the State Government of Madras as its Chief Minister.

JN: No, this is incorrect. It was the people of the biggest party elected in Madras—which is the Congress—who elected Rajaji as their party leader. It was only after this election that the Governor sent for him and asked him to form a Government.

MM: But I understand that only 61 or so Congress Members were elected out of a total of approximately 230 Members.

JN: I am not in a position to quote the exact figures, but I think the ones given by you are not correct. However, there is no doubt that the Congress Members—even though they were not in a majority—constituted the biggest group that was elected and it was, therefore, constitutionally correct for them to have elected their party leader.

MM: There are rumours that the Nizam³ is not a free agent and that all his money has been confiscated.

3. Mir Osman Ali, the Nizam of Hyderabad.

JN: This is incorrect. The Nizam's money is with the Nizam and has been placed in trusts of which the Nizam is the main trustee. Incidentally the Nizam moves about freely and meets everybody.

MM: In such a case it may be possible for me to meet him though I hear one has to obtain special permission to do so.

JN: I should imagine this is entirely upto the Nizam to choose whomsoever he desires to meet.

MM: What are your views with regard to the various problems that are arising between Afghanistan and Pakistan?

JN: Let me assure you that I am a responsible Foreign Minister and do not under any circumstances want to come into conflict with either Pakistan or Afghanistan, both of whom are friendly countries. I am, however, as a private individual, exercised a great deal over the continued imprisonment of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan who has now been in jail in Pakistan for the last four years.⁴ It is a pity that an individual like him should continue to remain in jail now, having spent long terms of imprisonment when the British were in India.

MM: But what about Rizvi of Hyderabad who is still in jail?

JN: Rizvi was openly tried and convicted in specific offences.⁵ In fact, he was even acquitted in some of them. I do not know for what exact term Rizvi is in jail, but I do know that he was afforded an open trial.

MM: What is your advice to the Arabs?

JN: Who am I to offer any advice?

MM: The advice may be given as a friend.

JN: Well, as a friend, I should suggest that they should keep together and go ahead.

4. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was arrested on 15 June 1948 by the Government of North-West Frontier Province on grounds of actively planning and fomenting open sedition against the State through his efforts to establish Pakhtunistan.

5. Syed Kasim Rizvi, former president, Ittihaad-ul-Muslimeen, and a leader of the Razakars, was tried before a special tribunal in Hyderabad during 1949-50 on charges of: (1) criminal conspiracy and abetment of the murder of a journalist; and (2) dacoity, arson and rioting. He was found guilty on 11 September 1950 and sentenced to imprisonment for life on the first charge and for seven years on the second.

4. To G.S. Bajpai¹

New Delhi
June 8, 1952

My dear Girja,

...I must confess that the more I look at our Foreign Service personnel as a whole, the less enthusiastic I feel. Many of them are good in their own way, but they seem to lack that special quality which a responsible diplomat should have in this complicated world of ours. Even Mohan Sinha Mehta at Karachi has got himself hopelessly entangled over the passport business. He did not know much of the background and has apparently made some commitments to Zafrullah² without understanding fully what we wanted him to say or do. We had to pull him up...

Now, this is entirely for your private ear. For the last ten days or so, the idea of visiting China has occurred to me, not immediately, but, of course, in the course of the next few months. Of course, if the armistice talks conclude successfully, that would be a good opportunity. If they drag on indefinitely, even then it might be worthwhile. I feel that such a visit might really be useful.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Zafrullah Khan, Foreign Minister of Pakistan, and Mehta met at Karachi from 3 to 9 June to resolve differences as regards traffic between East Bengal and West Bengal which had come up at the passport conference held at Karachi in May 1952.

5. Great Powers and the Perpetuation of Colonialism¹

Question: You made a reference in Parliament about NATO. Could you amplify it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It was a general statement² that I made the other day. I do

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 21 June 1952. PIB. Extracts. For other parts of the press conference, see *ante*, pp. 36-38, 76-80, 144-145, 169-170, 352-353, 405-410, 466-467, 476-477, 515 and 542-544.
2. See *ante*, p. 454.

not know if NATO³ affects India; may be very, very distantly. We are not worried about the Atlantic Pact. I was thinking of certain general trends, like the Atlantic Pact. It is based very rightly on self-defence, mutual defence against aggression. Obviously they have every right to do that. But geographically it spreads, I have no objection to that. Turkey and Greece come in which are hardly Atlantic countries. But what is more important was the tendency for the Pact to include in its scope the protection of colonial territories of Atlantic Powers. The Pact does not contain this but subsequent conversations between Foreign Ministers and others gradually bring that in, thus changing its character. With regard to that, I thought that there was something essentially opposed to the basic Charter of the United Nations.

Q: Do you have Indo-China in mind?

JN: Certainly. If you start with the basis of protecting a colonial territory, it is a wrong approach.

Q: You also mentioned about Asian powers being thwarted in their work in the UN.

JN: That was because, in the Tunisian affair, in spite of the efforts made by a very large number of Asian, African, and several South American countries, even a discussion was not allowed in the Security Council simply because two Powers did not want the discussion. That did show that the whole of Asia and Africa can be muzzled or can be kept out of the picture, because somebody does not like to discuss something. Well, there is something wrong about the functioning of the United Nations and naturally the Asian countries and others feel a little less enthusiastic about the United Nations.

Q: What are your views about the Pacific Pact?⁴

JN: I am not particularly interested. There are some countries associated with each other, independent countries associating themselves for self-defence, etc.

3. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, established under a treaty signed in Washington on 4 April 1949 by the foreign ministers of Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the UK and the USA, aimed at safeguarding the freedom of the Atlantic community. Greece and Turkey joined the alliance in 1952.

4. The Pacific Security Treaty between Australia, New Zealand and the US (ANZUS) was signed on 1 September 1951 and came into operation on 20 April 1953.

It does not develop in the same way as the other. If the Pacific Pact also has the same trends, that is, in regard to colonialism, in regard to other matters, then it is not good....

Q: Has Government issued any order with a view to discouraging the sale of Soviet literature in railway book stalls?

JN: I have heard something about it. I do not know the details. So far as I know, it was not so much a question of discouraging any particular national literature but rather what they considered highly propagandist literature, containing all kinds of insinuations—that type of literature only. I do not know the details. At least something like that was issued.

Q: Tolstoy's⁵ and other such literature are considered as classics?

JN: Obviously they are very good....

5. Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910); Russian author and philosopher; among his works are *War and Peace* (1869) and *Anna Karenina* (1877).

6. To S.B.H. Zaidi¹

New Delhi

June 22, 1952

My dear Zaidi,²

A few days ago, you sent me a note about External Affairs. In this note you point out that External Affairs is greatly understaffed. I agree entirely.

You suggest something in the nature of a Planning Section to formulate high policies as is done in the USA or Switzerland. The examples you give are not very bright. No country in the world has been so unutterably foolish in its foreign policy than the USA. Switzerland does not count. The policy must inevitably be made by the Cabinet on advice of course from the permanent staff.

You are entirely wrong in thinking that more importance is attached by us to representation in the European countries than in Asia. Except for London

1. JN Collection.

2. Syed Bashir Husain Zaidi was at this time a Congress Member of Parliament.

and Moscow in Europe, all the other countries there are considered by us as of secondary importance from this point of view. We have placed our neighbour countries like Pakistan, Nepal, Burma, Indonesia in the first grade of importance and some of our best men have been sent there. It is true that their staff are weak.

Africa for us is of the first importance and we have paid a great deal of attention to it. Our Commissioner there has done the most excellent work. The staff of course might be increased. But it is not numbers that count there but quality.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. Cable to K.K. Chettur¹

Your telegram 89/G June 28th.²

We realize fully that Japanese policy is weak, vacillating, opportunist, somewhat self-contradictory and influenced very much by American pressure. Our message was sent to you to make it clear to Japanese Government that our foreign policy in these matters is neither weak nor vacillating and is logical and that we do not propose to be influenced by any other country. In other words we shall continue our policy even though that might not fit in with Japanese policy or their desires in this matter.

1. New Delhi, 30 June 1952. JN Collection.
2. On 25 June 1952, Nehru had asked Chettur, the Indian Ambassador in Tokyo, to obtain clarification of a recent statement by a spokesman of the Japanese Foreign Office that Japan recognized the Nationalist Government to be the legitimate Government of the whole of China. The spokesman had also commented that India's policy in East Asia was likely to be different from that of Japan and that India proposed to continue to press for China's recognition by the UN. Chettur replied on 28 June that the Japanese spokesman had appeared confused while making the said statement and Shigeru Yoshida, the Japanese Prime Minister, had subsequently stated that Nationalist China was not representative of the whole of China and Japan still wanted to enter into friendly relations with the whole of China. Chettur added that Katsuo Okazaki, the Japanese Foreign Minister, had told him on 28 June that Japan would be prepared to conclude a peace treaty with China when conditions were more favourable.

8. Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference¹

I am grateful to you for your message which your Acting High Commissioner in Delhi communicated to me on the 27th June 1952. My colleagues and I have given careful consideration to your proposal to have a conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in the second half of November in London. I appreciate fully that the troubles we have to face are not likely to pass soon and that we have to look ahead and fashion our basic economic policies for a considerable time to come. Indeed it is with this object in view that our Planning Commission has been giving the most earnest consideration to our economic problem. I realize also that though we may have independent policies we should always endeavour to cooperate with each other insofar as this is possible. Circumstanced as we are in India, we are faced with the urgent necessity of increasing our production and ensuring fairer distribution and thus raising the standards of the people of our country and relieve unemployment. The immediate problem that we have to tackle is the land problem which is of primary importance in a country which is basically agricultural. We have at the same time to increase our industry and our social services. Though our problems may be somewhat different from the problems of other nations of the Commonwealth we have always endeavoured to profit by the views and experience of other Commonwealth countries and particularly the UK.

I have welcomed the meetings of Commonwealth Prime Ministers because this helped us to understand each other's viewpoint and in promoting cooperation between the different member-nations of the Commonwealth. It is because of this that I gladly welcomed and accepted your invitation to the Prime Ministers' Conference in June 1953.² It is however with regret that I find myself unable to accept the present invitation to a conference in November next. That is just the time when our Parliament will be meeting and considering matters of great importance. My presence then in India will be very necessary. About that time also the General Assembly of the United Nations will be meeting in New York and this Assembly, as you are no doubt aware, will be dealing with matters of vital importance. I should like to be present in my headquarters and in Parliament then to keep in touch with these developments.

In the event of the Prime Ministers' Conference being held in November, as you have suggested, we will be glad to send an observer and my Government and our Parliament will further consider any problem on which we can make useful contribution for mutual good.

1. Message to Winston Churchill, New Delhi, 5 July 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. Nehru conveyed his acceptance to Churchill on 22 June 1952. The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference held from 3 to 9 June 1953 was attended by Nehru.

9. Maintaining India's Dignity Abroad¹

I do not understand this passion for Cadillacs, and this idea that a country's dignity is maintained by having a big car. That is not my idea of dignity. When I see a number of Cadillacs, I have a strong desire to go on a bicycle. In doing so I am more distinctive than a person who goes in a Cadillac with a crowd of others.

2. I have no objection to a Cadillac as such, but I do object to a big difference in price. If there is a considerable difference, then there is no reason why we should sanction the Cadillac. You will remember that we refused our Ambassador in Paris his request to buy a Cadillac.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 5 July 1952. JN Collection.

10. Scholarships to Foreign Scholars¹

I learnt from the attached telegram that certain scholarships have been offered by us to the Thai Government. While I welcome this whole idea of giving scholarships to countries roundabout India, some kind of political considerations might be borne in mind in giving these scholarships. What I mean is that countries which are, politically speaking, more worthwhile to us and cooperating with us, should naturally be given some preference. These would be Burma, Indonesia, Afghanistan, etc. Thailand is in a peculiarly unstable condition and its Government is hardly a free Government. There is no particular reason why we should go out of our way to get Thai scholars.

1. Note to the Union Minister for Education, 10 July 1952. File No. 40(109)/50-PMS.

11. The Future of Austria¹

Mr Clemens Wildner,² the representative of the Austrian Federal Government, saw me two or three days ago. He told me of the sad plight of Austria since

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 14 July 1952. JN Collection.

2. Austrian diplomat; served from 1915 in many places as Counsellor and Ambassador till his retirement in 1957; head of the political section in Foreign Ministry, Austria, at this time.

the war and of the way solemn promises made by the four Powers had not been kept. He pleaded for India's support. In fact, he suggested that India should sponsor some resolution in the United Nations.

2. In my reply I said that we had every sympathy for Austria. Austria, indeed, was something much more than a small country of Europe. It had been for long one of the principal seats of European culture and what happened to it was, therefore, of interest not only to Europeans but to others. A nation was judged not so much by its size, but by its quality. Austria and Vienna had maintained that quality in the past and represented it in the present. Therefore, we are greatly interested in Austria functioning as an independent and sovereign country.

3. The question was what we could do to help Austria. There was no point at all in our making empty gestures which would not help Austria in the least. Normally, we did not interfere in foreign affairs unless our own interests were involved. In particular, we did not interfere in Europe. If, however, any matter came up before the United Nations, we gave our opinion and voted on the merits.

4. It was clear that Austria had unfortunately got entangled in the Great Power conflicts and was suffering because of that. So long as international tension was not relaxed, this major obstruction will continue and I saw no present way out of the difficulty. The question of Austria, like many other questions, was no longer considered by the Great Powers on merit, but as a part of the international tug of war for position. Neither the Eastern Bloc nor the Western wants to give up an advantageous position, whatever the reason or logic may be from other points of view.

5. A solution can only be arrived at, in present circumstances, by consent of the four Great Powers concerned. An attempt made to isolate the Soviet Union and bring pressure to bear upon it to yield to others, will not, at present at least, achieve results so far as Austria is concerned. The Soviet Union will dig in its toes still more and refuse to budge and nothing short of a successful major war can forcibly push the Soviet away.

6. Therefore, the only possible course is to get some kind of an agreement between the four Powers. It is true that attempts to get such an agreement have thus far failed and they are likely to fail unless the international situation improves. Nevertheless, this is the only feasible course. Any approach made through the United Nations should be such as not to offend any one of the four Powers.

7. If the matter comes up before the United Nations, India would certainly express her opinion frankly, but much depends on how it is brought up. If there is condemnation of any country, then this will inevitably put an end to any possibility of a settlement by agreement.

8. I am afraid that in view of the present international situation and the

mounting tension due to various causes, there is no chance of progress being made this year at least. If there is a truce in Korea, this will have some effect in relieving the tension elsewhere also and perhaps the situation may improve. If there is no truce, then the outlook is fairly dark.

9. India has deliberately kept aloof from the Power blocs and sought to follow an independent policy. Any action that she may take which results in involving her in the so-called East-West conflict would be against her policy and would not yield fruitful results either. India's capacity for working for peace will also be affected. Indirectly what she might do for Austrian independence at an opportune moment would also be affected.

10. It would, in any event, be unusual for India to take a leading part in a European question. She could take a part in it if the matter comes up before the United Nations. But if she took the initiative and sponsored resolution in the United Nations on this issue, she would undoubtedly take such leading part and indirectly align herself with a particular group of nations. If, however, the matter came up otherwise before the United Nations, India's attitude then, being an independent one, would have some effect.

11. I feel, therefore, that we cannot take the initiative or sponsor a resolution regarding Austria in the United Nations. We can, however, express our opinion freely if this matter comes up before the UN or elsewhere. I confess, however, that I do not see what the UN can do in the near future without some kind of previous agreement between the four Powers concerned.

12. Please inform Mr Clemens Wildner of the gist of the argument contained in this note. You need not give him a copy of this note. Our reply should be oral. Tell him that, for the reasons stated, we cannot at this stage take the initiative in this matter in the United Nations. But, whenever opportunity offers itself in the United Nations or elsewhere, we shall gladly support the cause of Austria's independence and sovereignty. If any diplomatic activity of ours can help in this, we are prepared to consider it. We have very friendly feelings towards Austria and we would like very much to help, but an attempt to help will serve little purpose if it does not really help and actually perhaps delay a right decision and only lessens our capacity to help in the future. We shall gladly keep in touch with the Austrian Federal Government so that we might explore possibilities of what we can do at any particular moment. It is not for us to advise the Austrian Government about the steps it might take as they are in a much better position to consider and decide this question than we are. But, taking an overall view of the international situation, we feel that during the rest of this year tension in Europe and the world will be great, unless, fortunately, there is truce in Korea. It is this tension which will govern decisions and not any other argument.

13. Mr Clemens Wildner gave me a sheaf of papers. I am sending these papers to you for record in our Ministry.

12. Reorganization of India House, London¹

My dear Kher,

...When you were here I told you that you could take any officer of your choice with you. The whole question of the reorganization of the India House has been before us for some time and we had postponed it till the arrival of the new High Commissioner. You will now look into this matter and send us your recommendations. On our decisions then will depend how many senior officers we have there and what designations should be given to them. At present, I believe that there is no person called Deputy High Commissioner. Probably a Deputy High Commissioner is necessary. But I would suggest that you should look into the whole organization before you come to a final decision about these matters.

There has been some correspondence between P.V.R. Rao² and Pillai³ about salary and status. I confess I do not like these questions to be raised. We thought it best to ask Rao to come here and I saw him this afternoon. Pillai will be having a fuller talk with him and will fix things up. I hope that he will be going to London fairly soon. I have suggested to him that he should go there for the present for some months. It is not necessary during this intervening period for any particular decisions to be taken about permanent salaries and status. It will be for you during this period to decide about these matters.

Khosla⁴ was sent to London temporarily as there was no one who might help you on the diplomatic side. That diplomatic side is after all the most important of the High Commissioner's activities in London. Khosla was sent more as a stop-gap. We have now arranged with P.N. Haksar⁵ to return to London early next month. I think he will prove very useful as he has got a definite political flair and has been dealing with these matters there for some time. Khosla will thereupon be sent probably to Czechoslovakia.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Letter to B.G. Kher, 15 July 1952. B.G. Kher Papers, NMML. Extracts.
2. Rao, who served as Secretary, Education and Finance, Government of Bombay, 1949-52, and was recommended by Kher for appointment as Minister in the High Commission in London, raised objections about the salary offered to him.
3. N.R. Pillai.
4. J.N. Khosla.
5. After meeting Haksar, who earlier served as Secretary in the High Commission in London, Nehru had written to Kher on 3 July 1952, "I have induced him to remain in service and to go back to London at least for some time.... I think that he was very unfairly treated in his grading. We propose to rectify this and to give him the status of a Counsellor."

12

LETTERS TO CHIEF MINISTERS

I¹

New Delhi
April 15, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

I am sorry that I have again missed one of my fortnightly letters. This month of April has brought heavier work than usual and the responsibilities for many decisions. This will continue for another month when we shall start the new Parliament.

2. Since I wrote to you last,² some new Ministries have been formed and for some of you this letter might be the first in this series.³ I welcome you to your high and responsible office and assure you of all the cooperation that I can give you. We have a full and detailed Constitution of India, defining the rights and responsibilities of the Centre and of the States. But, however good the Constitution of a country might be, it depends ultimately on the people of that country, and more especially on those in positions of responsibility, how work is carried on and what results are achieved. Thus, the element of cooperation, of seeking friendly counsel with each other and of ever keeping the larger end in view, are of paramount importance. I trust that, as in the past, so in the future, we shall have that intimate relationship of comrades working together for the achievement of common ends, and having faith in each other.

3. I have pointed out in some letters, written after the general election,⁴ how the scene in India, both political and economic, has gradually changed and has, therefore, to be viewed in the light of new circumstances. The change is really a continuous one all over the world and in Asia especially. In India it was brought out, to some extent, by the elections. We have to understand the significance and reality of these forces that are moving our people and try to utilize them for the largest good. That good can only come if we have the spirit of cooperative effort and understanding of each other and if we avoid narrowness of mind and petty groupings.

4. India continues to attract a great deal of attention from the wider world. Large numbers of Indians are invited to foreign countries and many foreigners

1. The letters in this section have also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol.2, pp. 578-619 and Vol.3, pp. 1-53.
2. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol.17, pp. 617-622.
3. Between 17 March and 10 April 1952, Congress Ministries were formed in Coorg, Delhi, Pepsu, Ajmer, Mysore and Madras and there were new Chief Ministers.
4. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 17, pp. 589-622.

come to India. We have had in recent weeks and months many delegations from the USA,⁵ China⁶ and the USSR.⁷ We have had a Turkish Press delegation⁸ and a visit of groups of Iraqi and Turkish women.⁹ We welcome these contacts. It has been a satisfaction to find that eminent people who come to India from abroad carry back with them marked impressions favourable to India and the work that is being done here. There is much that can be criticized in India and there is no lack of critics both in India and outside. But it is patent to anyone who wishes to see that there are great things also being done in this country of ours—things which are basic to a country's development. The Turkish delegation was powerfully impressed by not only our achievements, but also the spirit that they found prevailing in the country. One of their well-known journalists described India as "a nation in ecstasy", an ecstasy of work and the desire to achieve and go ahead. That may be, perhaps, too enthusiastic a description, but there is something in it. We who live in India are aware of what we have achieved and what we have failed to achieve, more especially the latter. An outsider sees things in better perspective and he compares our country with others. I think that this comparison is much to the advantage of India.

5. It is generally recognized, and certainly the Indian public has shown its appreciation of it in the elections, that the policy pursued by India in regard to foreign affairs has been correct and, though not spectacular, has progressively shown results. In such a matter, even negative results are worthwhile, for it is something not to do wrong in this complicated and tormented world of ours. But we have had more than negative results, and there is definite positive achievement. Gradually, even our hardened critics outside and inside India have come to recognize this. It is partly because of this that many persons who count in the world come to India to see for themselves how this great country is gradually evolving and laying the foundations of progress.

6. In the world outside, the most serious development has been the charge made by the Chinese Government that the American Air Force has been carrying on germ warfare in North Korea and parts of North China.¹⁰ Nothing could be more serious or damaging than such a grave charge. The US

5. Eleanor Roosevelt visited India from 27 February to 24 March 1952.

6. A Chinese cultural delegation led by Ting Si-lin visited India in October-November 1951.

7. Two delegations of Soviet artists and writers visited India in March-April 1952.

8. Between 5 February and 6 April 1952, a press delegation visited the sites of important river valley schemes, industrial enterprises and agricultural projects.

9. An Iraqi women's delegation led by Esmathel Said and a Turkish delegation led by Surriya Agaogu came to India in April 1952 for two weeks.

10. See *ante*, pp. 531-532.

Government had denied it and asked for an investigation through the International Red Cross. The Chinese Government, as well as the Soviet, say that the Red Cross is not an impartial organization and have rejected this proposal.¹¹ Meanwhile, there has been tremendous propaganda in China and in the Soviet, and, to some extent, elsewhere, based on some reports of investigations held in China.¹²

7. In such a matter, the normal course would be for some really impartial body of individuals to investigate and give their opinion. But, unfortunately, as the "cold war" proceeds, the number of people who can be accepted as impartial observers by both parties, appears to grow less and less. The result is that no investigation, which can be termed impartial, is taking place, and, inevitably, we can only say that the charges made have not been proved yet to the satisfaction of neutral people.

8. Yet, the fact remains that these charges have created the greatest excitement in China. That excitement is understandable if the charges are believed in. It is difficult in such matters of delicacy for another Government to intervene. We have tried, however, to suggest some basis for an impartial and neutral investigation, but our efforts have not succeeded. The position is a serious one. If the charges are true, then obviously grave consequences follow. If the charges are not true, even so the consequences are very serious, because then we have to find out the reason for this intensified and passion-raising propaganda. What political motive lies behind it? How far does this increase the pace towards world conflict? Unfortunately, in past years there has been a good deal of talk and discussion in technical and other periodicals in the US about the utilization of various kinds of germs, etc., for this kind of horrible warfare. Probably most great countries have experimented and prepared themselves for such an eventuality. Indeed, there was talk of this even during the closing stages of the last great war. Because of this talk, and because of some foolish speeches made by irresponsible people, some material is provided for the belief that this might be or is being used.

9. In Western Europe, the Atlantic Powers have been meeting and discussing repeatedly the question of German rearmament and a European

11. Jacob Malik, the Soviet representative, informed the UN Disarmament Committee on 26 March that the Red Cross was neither international nor impartial and therefore the Soviet Union would not agree to the US proposal that the Red Cross investigate the charge of germ warfare.

12. On 16 and 17 March 1952, the *People's Daily* (Peking) and the Soviet press published prominently some "photographic evidence" and the results of an investigation conducted by the International Association of Democratic Lawyers comprising British, Australian, Italian, French and Chinese judicial experts. On 18 March, Moscow Radio announced that the reports of germ warfare had been confirmed by the "Western jurists" and named some as eyewitnesses.

Army. Some progress has been made in this respect,¹³ but not much, because of the inherent suspicions and fears of the parties concerned.¹⁴ Also because all this involves a tremendous burden on the people of Western Europe in the shape of rearmament and this is affecting social services and the standard of living.

10. All this tends to continue the tension that exists in the world and, in fact, aggravates it. And yet, the people of the world undoubtedly hunger for peace and quiet. Whenever there is any ray of hope, there is an immediate reaction in favour of some step to ensure peace. Thus, recently, our Ambassador in Moscow, Dr Radhakrishnan, on the eve of his departure, saw Marshal Stalin. This was an unusual event as Stalin hardly ever sees foreign Ambassadors. It was a testimony of the good work done by Dr Radhakrishnan. Very brief reports of the interview were flashed across the world and all kinds of interpretations were made.¹⁵ We have had a longer report of this interview. From this, it would appear that Marshal Stalin desires peace in the world, but is highly suspicious of the Western Powers. It would also appear that he wanted to make a special gesture of friendliness towards India.

11. We have had occasion to take exception to the type of propaganda going on in the Russian Press and sometimes in the Moscow Radio about India. This propaganda was often based on completely false reports about our elections and subsequent events. A correspondent of a Russian newspaper in India was probably largely responsible for this. On our pointing this out to the Russian Foreign Office, and later to Marshal Stalin, Stalin ordered that this particular correspondent should be withdrawn from India.

12. The position in Egypt and Iran continues to be one of stalemate. In Tunisia, however, things are moving in a wrong direction.¹⁶ Not learning from

13. On 24 February 1952, it was officially announced that the NATO nations, during the current year, would provide approximately fifty divisions in combat readiness and four thousand operational aircraft in Western Europe for the collective defence of the North Atlantic community. The next day, West Germany's contribution to the European defence was stated to be at 850 million DM (£72 million) a month.

14. France had expressed doubts about the guarantees regarding West Germany's rearming herself as a Western partner. West Germany, on the other hand, asked for an equal status with the other European members of the NATO and freedom for some war criminals.

15. There was much speculation in the USA on what some described as the "new Soviet peace offensive." They saw special significance in the timing of the interview as it coincided with the American presidential campaign. The *New York Herald Tribune* of 8 April commented that the Indian Ambassador may have been chosen as the new "carrier" to transmit Kremlin's "still vague, but increasingly numerous proposals for attenuating the world crisis." Some also thought that Nehru had begun to be regarded by Stalin as one of the important leaders of the world who could help resolve the East-West conflict.

16. See *ante*, pp. 559-564.

the lesson even of recent history, the French Government is pursuing a policy of repression of national aspirations. This matter has been taken up by a large number of Asian and African countries in the United Nations. India has, of course, joined in this. It is not our desire to go about condemning any country, even the French Government, because we avoid condemnations which only increase tension. We wanted the Tunisian affair to be considered calmly and quietly with a view to solving it to the satisfaction of the parties concerned. What has surprised me is the attitude taken by some Great Powers in the Security Council. They have objected even to a discussion of this matter there on some technical or like plea. This appears to me to be extraordinary. When the whole Asian and African world wants a matter to be discussed, surely that should be enough. To suppress discussion is to raise doubts in the minds of many of us about the utility of the United Nations. We have believed in the United Nations, not because it is anywhere near perfect, but because it embodies an ideal which is essential for the world.

13. In the United Kingdom, the recent municipal elections have a larger significance.¹⁷ They show a marked turnover to Labour. Coming so soon after the general election there, this is important and indicates that the Conservative Government in the United Kingdom is not so solidly based as might be thought.

14. Probably, within the next few days, Dr Graham will present his fresh report on Kashmir to the Security Council.¹⁸ I cannot say now what this report will contain, but it is possible that Dr Graham might suggest a continuation of his efforts to find a solution. So far as we are concerned, we cannot object to any such proposal. Thus far we have discussed with Dr Graham only one subject, that is, the reduction of armed forces in Kashmir. We have agreed to a large scale reduction, provided, of course, all Pakistan armies and auxiliaries are withdrawn from Kashmir State territory. We have given a minimum number of forces which we think have to be kept by us in Kashmir for reasons of security. This number is about 1/5th of the number of forces at the time of the ceasefire in January 1949. We cannot go below this figure. There is, therefore, not much room for argument on this matter. If any fresh approach is made by Dr Graham, we are always prepared to consider it, keeping in view our basic commitments in Kashmir.

15. Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah, the Prime Minister of Kashmir, recently made a speech in some part of Jammu province, which has attracted a good deal of attention and criticism. I confess that I was not happy about this speech.¹⁹ What I did not like about it was more the manner of approach than

17. The elections to the county councils took place between 3 and 9 April.

18. See *ante*, p. 388.

19. See *ante*, pp. 383-390.

the actual statements made. We have to remember, however, that a local speech made to a particular audience, should not be taken out of its context. Shaikh Sahib was dealing with a particular reactionary and communal manifestation in Jammu, and he spoke in relation to that. Unfortunately, this context is not kept in view by most of the readers of the speech. The constitutional position in regard to Kashmir is quite clear. Kashmir has acceded to India in regard to three basic subjects: Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications. That holds. For the rest, it is open to Kashmir to accede to some other subjects or not. That is, subject to this major Central responsibility in regard to the three subjects mentioned above, Kashmir is autonomous. Apart from this, we have made it perfectly clear, that it is for the people of Kashmir to decide about their future.

16. The accession of Kashmir to India on those three subjects involves many other matters, such as some kind of financial integration, etc. These will naturally have to be considered by the Central Government and the State Government.

17. The State of Madras, and more especially the Rayalaseema area of it, is suffering from famine conditions. The nature of this famine is very different from that of Bihar last year. We have plenty of food in the country and we have sent enough of it to Madras. The real difficulty is lack of water and lack of purchasing power. It must be remembered that there has been a successive failure of rains in those areas for five years. I am told that there has been no record of any such continued failure before, and Madras has been peculiarly unfortunate. We are doing our utmost to meet this situation, both by starting public works and by throwing our Army there to help in the transport of water and for other purposes. The Prime Minister's Relief Fund is affording such help as it can. This Fund has proved its utility in the past few years. I hope that contributions to it will continue from all parts of India and even abroad because of the large demands made upon it.

18. Recently I visited the Bhakra-Nangal project in the Punjab and Chandigarh,²⁰ where the new capital of the Punjab is growing up. This visit impressed me greatly. The engineering feats at Bhakra-Nangal are remarkable. The whole of the Punjab and parts of Rajputana and some other places are looking forward to the life-giving water that will come from the Sutlej river through the new canals that are being dug. Also, hydro-electric power will be produced and industries will grow.

19. Chandigarh promises to be a model and attractive city, combining the best features of the East and the West. A very eminent French architect, Monsieur Le Corbusier, is in charge from the architectural point of view.

20. Wherever I go now, I am interested in the housing problem. I feel

20. See *ante*, pp. 3-5.

more and more not only the urgency of this but that we have perhaps not thought of it on the right lines. We considered it always in terms of brick and mortar, cement and solid buildings which are costly. Because of the large finances involved, we cannot undertake it on any big scale. A different approach might well reduce the cost greatly, give more far-reaching results, and perhaps produce houses which are more suited to our climate and customs. We begin by thinking of pucca houses. I think we should think more of sanitation, water supply and lighting, and only then of habitation. That habitation might well be a shed or a thatched hut, which would depend on the climate and rainfall of the area. It would also, perhaps, be better to have industrial housing away from the heart of the city where land is very expensive. It would be easier to provide transport and there will be more space available on the outskirts of the city. Light and air are more important than a brick house. Nothing could be worse than the slums that have grown up in some of our cities, including Delhi, even though those slums consist of solid buildings. Our PWD rules and regulations and methods of approach to these matters have to be revised.

21. When I was in Calcutta recently for a meeting of the All India Congress Committee, the question of detenus was brought up before me.²¹ Fortunately, I had our Home Minister, Dr Katju, with me then, and we discussed this matter with Dr B.C. Roy, the Chief Minister of West Bengal. We were clearly of opinion that the time had come for all the cases of detenus to be reviewed and revised with a view, as far as possible, to release them. I hope that your Government will follow this policy.

22. Yesterday I took part in the inauguration of the three new Railway systems, the Northern, the North-Eastern and the Eastern.²² That was a historic moment in the life of our Railways. I remember the terrible state of our Railways five or six years ago. The war had affected them badly and they were almost in a broken-down condition. Then came partition and an upsetting of everything. This was followed by the enormous migrations. The transport of food became a major problem. In spite of all this, the Indian Railways have not only survived and done fine work, but have increased in efficiency. I think that we have legitimate reason to be proud of this great State enterprise in which all of us are sharers.

23. Unfortunately, there has been some controversy in regard to some matters affecting the new scheme of regrouping.²³ This controversy is probably largely based on sentiment. One can understand that sentiment and yet the question has to be considered objectively and from the point of view of administrative efficiency and the good of the travelling public as a whole.

21. See *ante*, pp. 329-331.

22. See *ante*, pp. 101-106.

23. See *ante*, p. 105.

One or two matters have been left over for decisions later, but the major decisions in regard to this new scheme of reorganization have been given effect to.

24. As I have told you, an Indian cultural mission, headed by Vijayalakshmi Pandit, will be going to China soon. We attach importance to this Mission. It has to be remembered that history and geography have brought India and China near to each other. However much we may agree or differ with each other in regard to our policies, the relationship of India and China is of paramount importance to both our countries and the world. Looked at in long perspective it becomes even more important.

25. Our future work in all the States as well as in the Centre must be largely concerned with development. The development portfolio, therefore, is of high importance in every State and the person appointed to it should be a senior member of the Cabinet with drive and energy. It seems to me desirable that cooperation should be made a part of development. Our whole outlook is to develop cooperation in the State and, indeed, ultimately to have a cooperative commonwealth. I have found that cooperation is generally considered as of minor importance and no great attention is paid to it. All kinds of rules and regulations come in the way of its development. Rules are not meant to impede but to help, and where rules come in the way they should be changed. Cooperation should be thought of very largely in terms of our rural areas and it should be something much more than the formation of credit societies. Our land problem ultimately will only be solved on the cooperative basis and we should gradually go in that direction. We have long discussed and have taken action in regard to the abolition of zamindaris, jagirdaris and the like. This must be put through, but this is only the first step and other steps in land reform have to follow.

26. Ministers in charge of development and cooperation should keep in close touch with the agricultural population. I think there should be active young men as Deputy Ministers also in charge of these subjects and their business should be specially to keep in touch with the people and make themselves a living link between officials on one side and villagers on the other. Some system should be devised for orders in regard to small matters to be given on the spot and not to await long secretarial procedure. The whole point of all this is to make the Government function more in a personal way, so far as the people are concerned, and to give them a sense of partnership in the work done.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

II

New Delhi

4 May 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

This letter of mine is going to be the last before other changes take place in Delhi. During the next fortnight the newly elected President will be installed,¹ the old Government will resign and a new Government will be formed.² The new Parliament will meet and a new phase in India's history will begin. In the States also new Governments have either been formed or will be formed in the course of the next few days.

2. All these changes are not merely mechanical. They have a significance and a deeper meaning and they put greater responsibilities on all of us who are in charge as Ministers either at the Centre or in the States. It is a vast responsibility for all of us and I am continually thinking of how we can make ourselves capable of discharging it. Governments have to face fairly strong opposition in the legislatures. That is not an unwelcome development in our political life. What works in my mind is not the opposition but the faith of the people who have sent us here and charged us with this great and responsible work. How can we fulfil that charge and be true to the faith that has been reposed in us?

3. We must of course function with integrity and efficiency, thinking always of the masses of our people. There is always the danger of our falling back into the dead routine of office and functioning at best as competent civil servants. A competent civil servant is very useful and indeed essential in the working of any Government. But he is apt to function rather mechanically, however competently, and to proceed along old grooves of thought and activity. Something more is needed for those who have to lay down policies and to deal with the fortunes of this mighty country and her hundreds of millions of people. We have to be cautious certainly, but we have to be adventurous also all the time and exhibit qualities of leadership. To be just correct and static in a changing and dynamic world is to be left behind in spite of all correctness. To ignore correctness and rush headlong without adequate thought and preparation is folly. We have to steer a middle course, but that course must be vital and infused with that invisible and unsubstantial spirit which gives life to a great movement. We are not, I hope, just politicians, playing a game of political chess. There have been some instances of this latter in recent weeks and they have not advanced our public morals or the tone of our political life. I have noticed them with deep regret.

1. Rajendra Prasad was declared elected on 6 May 1952 and was sworn in on 13 May.

2. On 13 May 1952.

4. Those of us, who were fortunate enough to take an active part in the struggle for India's freedom, had this spirit within us and so, in spite of difficulty and occasional misfortune, we marched ahead with light feet and raised heads. Our great leader, Gandhiji, with the magic that was in him, filled the whole country with something of his own spirit. Our movement developed an ethos in which all of us shared to some degree. We did not scramble for office or profit or think of our bank accounts; we thought of other things and as we think, so ultimately we act.

5. These thoughts come to me at this changing stage of India's story and I wonder if we can develop some measure of that ethos again. If we can do so, then all is well with us and with our people. If not, then we are mere pedestrians labouring along slowly, when others, more swift of foot, pass us by. It is not much good our criticizing others even though those others may pursue wrong paths. Their wrongness does not hurt us much if we function rightly. But if we fail to do so, then we have ceased to function and deserve the fate of those whom the world ignores and passes by. You will forgive me for these musings but I want to share my thoughts with you and at this moment it is right that we think a little quietly not only of the present but of the past and more so of the future.

6. A few days ago a man passed away who was remarkable for his uprightness and his integrity of purpose.³ Sir Stafford Cripps was not only a friend of India but a friend of humanity and throughout his varied career he was a symbol of those rare men who work with singleness of purpose for great causes. It is a misfortune to us as to others that he is dead.

7. I have recently paid a brief visit to Darjeeling, Sikkim, and Kalimpong.⁴ As I stood on these north-eastern mountains of ours, with a background of snowy peaks and with the whole land of India stretched out before me, I felt strangely moved. I was on the very edge of India and nearby were other great countries who were playing an important part in present-day events. Some people are worried about dangers to us from across our various frontiers. We have to take precautions of course, but the possibility of this danger does not trouble me. If we have strength, strength of spirit and unity of effort, then all dangers fade away. I saw in those mountain regions many kinds and many types of people, speaking different languages, each with its own distinctive type of face and figure. Yet all of them were citizens of India and I wondered afresh at the great variety of our country as well as of the unity that holds it together. I wish that many of my countrymen could travel to the far-ends of India in all directions and thus gain some realization of this richness and

3. Cripps died at Zurich on 21 April 1952.

4. Nehru visited Darjeeling on 26 April, Gangtok from 27 to 29 April, and Kalimpong on 29 April.

variety. Many of us, I fear, think narrowly of their own little corner and their own ways and customs and imagine that that alone is India. But India is far greater, far richer and more varied than any part of it. We have to develop an outlook which embraces all this variety and considers it our very own. None of us is an alien in any part of India, and yet some of us speak and think in a manner which considers others who are not exactly like us as something almost like aliens. A great country and narrowness of mind and outlook go ill together.

8. I am glad that Dr Radhakrishnan has been elected unopposed as our Vice-President. He will be, I am sure, a tower of strength to us in Delhi in these difficult days to come. With his deep knowledge of India's culture and his wide experience of the West and of modern trends in international affairs, he is peculiarly fitted to advise us. The President's election has, I regret, been contested though result of it is certain.⁵

9. Our Army has joined in the relief work in Rayalaseema in Madras. I am always happy to see our Army functioning in a civil capacity. It is not meant for warfare only but should always be ready to help our people whenever necessary.

10. In regard to food, there is at present no lack of it in the country and we have an adequate quantity in reserve. Indeed our calculations have been somewhat upset. At the beginning of this year, the demands from various States amounted to about seven million tons. It was physically impossible for us to import this quantity and financially it would have been too heavy a burden for us to carry. After some debate and argument this figure was reduced to about 4 ½ millions. Now we find that even that is probably in excess of our requirements. Why is this so? It would appear that there was little reality in the demands made by many of the States on the Centre. Feeling that the Centre will subsidize these foodgrains the States pitched their demands at the highest. It became quite impossible for the Centre to subsidize all this and thereupon it was announced that the subsidy would be withdrawn, except in special cases. As a result, suddenly the demands from States were considerably reduced. This itself showed how far from reality their previous demands were. The stoppage of the subsidy suddenly brought reality into the picture.

11. It is true that the rise in food prices, though balanced in some ways by a fall in prices of other commodities, must necessarily cause not only inconvenience but hardship. Protest meetings have been held and this has

5. Rajendra Prasad was opposed by K.T. Shah, supported by the Communists and other left-wing groups, L.G. Thatte, a Hindu Mahasabha candidate and Hari Ram and Krishna Kumar Chatterjee, both Independent candidates.

become a weapon in the hands of the critics of Government.⁶ It is manifest that a widespread subsidy, as of old, would have very serious consequences and we cannot revert to it. But Governments must examine where there is real hardship and try to remove it to the best of their ability. We intend to do so.

12. As I have said above, the stoppage of the subsidy brought reality into the picture and we know now much better than we did before what our exact food position is. Our large imports of foodgrains this year, which have already been contracted for, will not all be consumed this year. A considerable quantity will be carried over to the next year. Thus we will at last succeed in creating a large reserve for India, an objective we have been aiming at ever since the war years. This will prevent in future speculation in food and the danger of a short supply will be over.

13. Some two weeks ago Pakistan informed us that they proposed to introduce a passport system between India and Pakistan.⁷ So far as Western Pakistan and India were concerned, this made no great difference as there is already a permit system. But this would make a considerable difference to the traffic between East Bengal and West Bengal, Assam and Tripura, where there has been no permit system and traffic has been free. Indeed this free traffic was assured and encouraged by the Indo-Pakistan Agreement of the 8th April 1950. It seems to us unfair for that Agreement to be by-passed unilaterally and we pointed this out to the Pakistan Government. But they have been insistent and if they have decided to introduce this system of passports we cannot prevent them from doing so. We shall have to take necessary measures on our side. We hope that the measures taken in East and West Bengal will still enable a certain freedom of movement.

14. Dr Graham's third report on Kashmir has recently been issued.⁸ This does not carry things very far and we are more or less where we were. We are agreeable, now as previously, to every attempt being made to find a way out and reach a peaceful solution. Therefore we are agreeable to Dr Graham continuing his efforts. But we have already made our position perfectly clear in regard to the minimum number of forces that we think must remain in Kashmir so long as there is any danger of aggression. That number cannot be reduced.

15. Recently Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan underwent a serious operation in

6. On 27 April, the United People's Food Committee held a mass rally in New Delhi to protest against an increase in the prices of rationed cereals. Earlier, a protest week beginning from 13 April 1952 was observed under the joint auspices of left-wing organizations to demand immediate restoration to the "pre-rise level" of food prices.

7. See *ante*, pp. 463-467.

8. See *ante*, p. 388.

Lahore.⁹ The news of this was received with great anxiety all over India and there was spontaneous evidence in many places of this anxiety and of the affection that the people of India have for Badshah Khan. For over four years this great patriot and soldier of freedom has lain in Pakistan prisons. Perhaps there is no greater individual or national tragedy than this continuation in prison of a person beloved by millions, who did so much to bring about that freedom which he himself has been unable to share.

16. In Ceylon, a very large number of persons of Indian origin have been disfranchised and are unable to vote in the general elections that are going to take place soon. There has been a great deal of feeling in India at this manifest unfairness and in Ceylon itself, the Indians have organized peaceful satyagraha. There can be no doubt that the sympathy of India is with these people whose claim is considered just.¹⁰

17. A few days ago, the state of war with Japan ended and Japan again became an independent country.¹¹ It is true that this independence is somewhat hedged in by certain commitments. Nevertheless, the reemergence of Japan is of great significance and it will, no doubt, play an ever-increasing role in the Far East. What that role will ultimately be cannot be predicted at present. There are many complicating factors. Normally, it would appear inevitable that Japan and the Chinese mainland have close trade and other relations, supplying each other's wants. But Japan has no relations with the People's Government in China and has, in fact, come to some understanding with the Formosa regime.¹² How far this policy is popular in Japan, it is difficult to say. It is quite possible that on this issue, as well as some connected issues, there might be a deep cleavage in Japan.¹³ The large-scale May Day riots in Japan were evidence of strong under-currents opposed to the present policy of the Japanese Government.¹⁴

18. The Tunisian affair, important as it is from the point of view of

9. He was operated upon for urinary trouble on 13 April 1952.

10. See *ante*, pp. 505-515.

11. The Japanese peace treaty signed by the US, Japan and thirteen other countries, excluding India, came into effect on 28 April 1952.

12. By a peace treaty signed on 28 April 1952 at Taipeh between Japan and Nationalist China, Japan renounced all special interests and rights in "China".

13. There was widespread criticism in Japan over the retention of American troops in the main islands with extra-territorial rights; Japan's dependence on the US for raw materials and markets; the restriction imposed on Japan's trade with China; and the semi-independent status accorded to Japan by the San Francisco settlement. When the peace treaty and the security pact came before the Diet on 17 and 18 October 1951 for ratification, the Liberal Democratic Front and the Socialist members expressed great dissatisfaction and described them as "one-sided, unequal and slavish".

14. The demonstrations were marked by serious rioting and violent anti-American demonstrations.

freedom from colonial domination, has assumed a larger significance, chiefly at our instance.¹⁵ It seemed to us very extraordinary that the request by a very large number of Asian and African countries, supported by some Latin American countries, for a discussion of the issue in the Security Council was turned down by that Council. Quite apart from the merits of the case, this is a serious matter because it affects the whole future of the United Nations. This question shows, more than ever, that the United Nations Organization is gradually undergoing a vital change from what it used to be. It was started as an organization in which all the nations of the world would have some measure of free play. It was to be a universal forum. It was true that existing facts were recognized by laying down that Great Powers would have a veto in certain matters. This might appear illogical, but it was a recognition of factual situation, as it was not possible to have sanctions against a Great Power without provoking world war. The United Nations, as an organ of peace, avoided this danger by the provision of the veto and in the hope that discussions round the Council table would themselves be a powerful factor in preventing war.

19. The attempt, successful thus far, to keep the new China out of the United Nations was the first major step in lessening the universality of the United Nations. In doing so facts were also ignored, because essentially the new China was not only a stable and well-established fact, but was also rapidly becoming a Great Power. Because of this the UN became something less than it was, and this great organization, meant for peace, was itself dragged into war. It is true that aggression had to be resisted. But the drift continued and the division of the world into power blocs, one of which was connected with the United Nations, developed. The Atlantic Pact was meant for the defence of the Atlantic community. This now includes countries like Turkey and Greece which are very far from the Atlantic. Also the Atlantic Pact gradually becomes not only one to ensure the defence of certain countries bordering on the Atlantic, but also appears to become a guarantor of their colonial possessions. Thus, the United Nations becomes indirectly a protector of existing forms of colonialism. In theory, this may not be so, and indeed the Charter lays down completely different principles, but in practice there is this gradual change and reorientation.

20. The Tunisian issue illustrates, rather vividly, this latest development. There can be no doubt that Tunisia is a clear example of a national movement opposed to a colonial power. But this simple issue becomes entangled with the rivalries of great nations and, as a consequence, some of these great nations line up with the colonial power against the national movement. But quite apart from the merits of this question, it does appear extraordinary that even a discussion in the Security Council should be prevented. Thus, the desires of

15. See *ante*, pp. 559-564.

practically every country in Asia and Africa and some in South America are ignored and bypassed. The position of these countries, representing more than half the population of the world, becomes embarrassing in the United Nations, and the United Nations appears to become more and more a vehicle for the decisions of one or two or three Great Powers. Whatever reasons of expediency might be advanced to justify this development, it cannot possibly be good in the long run. The best of reasons do not justify a wrong course. The future of the United Nations is affected by this.

21. Our draft Five Year Plan is now being revised and it is hoped that this revision might be completed by the end of June. Ever since its first publication,¹⁶ it has attracted a great deal of attention and much criticism, friendly as well as unfriendly, has been advanced. The Planning Commission have given every consideration to this criticism and have also conferred with many representative people again. As soon as this plan is finalized it will be considered by Government and Parliament. There can of course be no finality in any plan and it has to be adapted to varying circumstances from time to time. But some definite objectives have to be laid down, some present finality reached about our targets and how we are to attain them. This Plan is very much a joint effort not only of various governments in India but of numerous organizations and people. I earnestly trust that the implementation of the Plan will also be a joint effort.

22. The community centre scheme,¹⁷ which has been drawn up with the assistance of US Technical Aid, is both a part of this Plan and some addition to it as it was originally conceived. It is thus now an integral part of the Plan but it will function, to some extent, as a separate whole. Much is expected of it in food production and even more so in building up of the community and cooperative spirit. In particular, it should attract many of our bright young men and women who have something of the crusading spirit in them. For the moment we are having about fifty-five centres all over India, but the Plan envisages the growth of these centres every year till we have more than five hundred of them. If we can do this, as we have every intention of doing, this will undoubtedly change the face of India, more especially of rural India, which requires more help from us than urban centres. It is important in this community centre programme, as well as in the rest of our Plan, that definite target with definite dates should be aimed at. We must fix these dates for completing some task or other. This will enable us to judge of the progress made in each centre and will bring in a much-required element of speed in our work.

16. On 9 July 1951.

17. This programme was inaugurated on 2 October 1952 in fifty-five centres in various parts of the country.

23. When our original Plan was drawn up, there was a gap between our estimated resources and the financial requirements of the Plan. This gap might have been filled partly by special efforts to raise our internal resources and by external help. External help, of course, would be welcome as we have welcomed the help that has come or may come in the future, from the United States. All this help goes towards the fulfilment of the Plan in some of its aspects. But we have always to remember that no plan can be or should be entirely dependent upon external help. If, by some mischance that external help is lacking, then the Plan should not suffer irretrievably. Naturally, in such a case, the progress of some parts of our Plan might be slowed down and we might have to tighten our belts still further. But we shall go on nevertheless to the best of our ability.

24. In estimating our national resources, we have naturally to think largely in terms of things that we can weigh and measure and calculate. But a nation's resources consist of many other things, which are highly important, but which cannot be considered in the form of statistics. There is the energy of the nation, the spirit of the people and the crusading ardour which might be put into any task. If these are present then resources grow tremendously. Even in regard to money, there is a great deal in the country which is not easily accessible to Government but which might be made available, given the right appeal. I think that there is plenty of available money in the country. An appeal for a Government loan or the like usually reaches a fairly limited number of people. The object aimed at is vague and distant and does not strike the imagination. If, however, the objective was connected with local needs and conditions, which could be easily understood by the people concerned, then the appeal would immediately have a good response. We have planned from the top, though we have taken counsel from all kinds of people. That was inevitable. But this procedure leaves out to a large extent the innumerable petty needs of the people which count for so much in their lives and in their activities. In each district people need roads, wells, tanks, small bridges, schools, dispensaries and the like. Any improvement in this direction is immediately seen and felt and appreciated. Each single item does not cost much but in the aggregate, taking the whole of India, it costs a great deal. State Governments have no doubt considered these matters and included them in their plans. Nevertheless, even so the planning has been from the top and the people have not been directly connected with it.

25. It is for us to consider how we can bring in this direct and intimate connection of the people not only with the execution of the Plan but also in the earlier stages, insofar as their immediate needs are concerned. This might be done in a district with the help of village panchayats and the like. They would probably put up schemes for roads, wells, etc. We might tell that we would gladly help if they helped themselves both financially and by voluntary

labour. This appeal for their help would then be directly connected with something that they wanted and valued, something they understood, something therefore that would rouse their enthusiasm. I have no doubt that this would bring out many otherwise untapped resources. Government could help in many ways including by undertaking, let us say, fifty per cent of the cost. If this was done all over the country, in each district, we would add to our financial resources as well as bring in something of great value, that is, the intimate association of the people with the planning as well as the implementation. Some such scheme could be added on to our general Plan without any very great burden upon it. I should like you to consider this idea and to develop it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

III

New Delhi
May 18, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

Since I wrote to you last, the new Government has come into existence and new appointments of a number of Governors have been made.¹ The newly elected Parliament has also begun its sessions. The President, newly elected, has taken his oath of office and has delivered his Address to Parliament.

2. Thus we begin a new chapter in our history and face anew great responsibilities. The governance of any country in the world today is no easy matter; the governance of a great and varied country like India is perhaps as hard a task as any in the world today. Any person who is associated with this governance must approach this great task with humility as well as with a measure of faith. Whether we are small men or big, we are engaged in great undertakings affecting the life and future of vast numbers of human beings. No man can say with certainty that success will come to him, but every man can determine to do his utmost to achieve success. We can measure success or failure by certain physical standards and statistical methods. But these standards and methods ignore certain immaterial and immeasurable things, which ultimately count far more than anything else. Success means raising the material, the cultural, the moral and the spiritual level of the people. A feeling

1. K.M. Munshi, G.S. Bajpai, R.R. Diwakar and Fazl Ali were on 14 May 1952 appointed as Governors of Uttar Pradesh, Bombay, Bihar and Orissa respectively.

of success ultimately is itself a test of achievement. The governance of a country does not merely consist in issuing orders from some high office, but rather in reaching the minds and hearts of masses of people, of bringing about satisfactory human relations. Ultimately almost every problem can be resolved into one of human relations—the relationship of one individual with another, of an individual with a group and of one group with another group. The group may become a national group and then we have international relations. We have to deal with human beings and humanity and we can only deal with them if we always keep in view the human aspect of every problem. We are apt to forget this, living in our ivory tower of Government offices and dealing impersonally with files and papers, but behind those files and papers and the problems discussed in them, lie human beings.

3. With all the manifest disadvantages of personal and autocratic rule, there was some advantage in it as there was a certain human touch about it, at any rate when it was on a small scale. The growth of modern governments and the intricacies of modern societies, puts an end to this personal touch and with it often goes the human approach. I have noticed this change even in our small Indian States which were governed, and usually very badly governed, by local Rulers and which have now become merged into the larger scheme of things. I have no doubt that the changes that have been brought about are good and lay the foundation of future progress. Nevertheless the immediate result has not been so good, insofar as the individual there is concerned. He has lost the personal touch and now has to contend against an invisible and unapproachable system of government, and his plaintive cry seldom reaches it. In terms of human happiness, it is a little doubtful if he has gained in the present or not, however much his future might be bettered. We have received some money which was taken by the previous ruler for personal use. We have, however, put up a more expensive set of officers who function much more efficiently than those whom they have succeeded but function also more distantly from the people. Efficiency is good but it may also be hard if it is without that human touch.

4. The new Government has been formed and there is now the normal complement of Ministers in charge of portfolios. Thus far I have not added to the Ministers of State or Deputy Ministers. But it is my intention to do so because I think the enormous quantity of work requires it, and also because I think it is an essential part of the democratic system of government to have these stages of training in the practice of government. A republic, or any democratic government, does not depend upon an individual or a few individuals. If it is to succeed it must have a large number of trained people, so that if any go out or fade away, as they must from time to time, others can take their place with credit.

5. This applies to State Governments as much as to the Centre. I have

noticed however with regret that appointments of Deputy Ministers and the like are often governed by extraneous factors, of satisfying this group or that individual, and not on merit. Such factors have to be taken into consideration and cannot be ignored in democracy but they should only be secondary considerations. If merit suffers and the people having that merit are not given the opportunity to utilize it, then standards go down and the country goes down with them.

6. Another rather odd point of view has been brought before me repeatedly during these last few months. If a person is not chosen as a candidate for election he feels that it is something to his discredit, almost, as it were, as if it was an insult to him. If a person is not chosen as a minister or, even more so, if a person who has been a minister is not reappointed as such, it is interpreted as in some way a condemnation of that person. That is a very wrong approach. Selections and appointments are made on a balance of many considerations and one good man may be selected and another good man might not be. There is no discredit involved, no condemnation. An important fact to be borne in mind is the necessity of fresh blood, new faces, new outlooks. It is a bad thing for the same persons, however good, to perpetuate themselves in office. This is bad for them and bad for the public. Inevitably there is staleness and we function in set grooves of thought. Also opportunity is denied to newcomers who may be good, and no provision is made for a proper succession.

7. In our Army, and in most other senior appointments, the rule appears to be that a person should be appointed if he is senior and fit. Fitness is a somewhat negative quality, that is, it means that there is nothing to show unfitness. It may be that some one slightly junior is far better on the ground of merit. But seniority prevails as a rule. I have pointed out repeatedly to our Army people and to others that while we should honour seniority, merit must be the most important criterion in every high appointment. It is a curious fact that in recent major wars nearly all the senior Generals had to be discarded and new and much younger ones took their place in the early stages of the war. Peace-time promotions did not justify themselves in the crisis of war.

8. In the appointment of Governors, there are two general rules which we have observed, apart from merit of course. One is that the appointment of a person from the same province should be avoided; the other is that a Governor should not have more than one full term of office as such. I think both these rules are salutary and should be made into firm conventions. There might be rare exceptions for a while. Indeed even in the present case some exceptions have been made but these are for a limited period.²

2. On 14 May 1952, Jairamdas Doulatram, C.M. Trivedi and H.C. Mookerjee were reappointed as Governors of Assam, Punjab and West Bengal respectively.

9. We have now had experience of our Governors functioning for a number of years. Some people think that a Governor is just a formal and rather decorative Head of the State without any important functions, except perhaps social ones. This is not correct either from the constitutional or other points of view. The Governor is, of course, the constitutional head and he should not and cannot override or interfere with the decisions of his Cabinet who are responsible to the State Legislature. But, even without interference, he has a good many functions to perform. He should be kept in full touch with the administration and should see all the important papers which ministers consider. He should give his advice in regard to any matter whenever he considers this necessary. It is open to his ministers to accept or not to accept that advice. But it is his bounden duty to give advice, formally or informally, and for his ministers to consider it. A Governor also must keep in touch with the people. He should be not only a social head of the State but also a person who comes into intimate touch with all classes. He should tour about, more specially in the rural areas and in places which are likely to be neglected. He should exercise his influence in removing friction between groups or individuals in Government or Assembly. He should, in particular, pay attention to the backward classes, tribal people, etc. Any governmental action in regard to these people must necessarily be taken by the government, but a Governor can bring a personal and human touch into this business and thus make these unfortunate and somewhat disinherited people feel that they also have an honoured place in our India of today. I have appreciated greatly the tours of some of our Governors among the tribal people, who normally live an isolated and neglected life and who deserve so much help and sympathy from us.

10. I have noticed with some distress the recent procedure adopted by some members of Assemblies in walking out when the Governor or the Rajpramukh came to deliver his address to the Assembly.³ The worst instance of this kind occurred in Madras where a leading member of the Opposition actually interrupted the Governor, stood up and made a statement and then walked out with his colleagues.⁴ This was not merely a personal affront to the Governor as an individual but I think that it was an affront to our Constitution. The Governor goes to the Assembly and functions otherwise as Head of the State. He is a symbol of the State and it is not a question of a person liking him or disliking him. To honour him is to honour the State, to dishonour him

3. For example, on 17 April, 32 Opposition members in the Pepsu Legislative Assembly walked out when the Rajpramukh, the Maharaja of Patiala, began his address.

4. As Sri Prakasa rose to address the joint session of the State Legislature on 6 May 1952, about 100 members of the United Democratic Front led by T. Prakasam walked out of the Assembly to protest against C. Rajagopalachari, a nominated member of the Upper House, being called upon by the Governor to form the Ministry.

is to dishonour oneself as part of the State. We have to rise above personal considerations in such matters. There are certain symbols and emblems of the State or country which have to be honoured unless we are untrue to our country. There is the National Flag, the National Anthem, the President and the Governor. We have to learn some discipline in our national life and not bring in our personal prejudices and animosities in the consideration of matters which are above individual or party conflict. Let us have as much argument and even political conflict as we like, provided of course that it is carried on with decency. But to challenge the basis of the State and the Constitution is another matter. In this connection, I should like to say also that it is a matter of regret that some Indians go to foreign countries and decry their own country or their Government there. This is not usually done by the nationals of other countries who do not take their quarrels to foreign lands. We should learn from them.

11. You will have noticed that we have decided to give up honorific appellations like "Honourable", "His Excellency", etc. Our President, the highest in the State, had no such title or prefix attached to him and there was no particular reason why others should, except the vanity of human beings. It is a good thing therefore that we have given this up.

12. I have been meeting our new Members of Parliament. There are over 700 of them as between the two Houses. I have noticed with great regret how few women have been elected.⁵ I suppose this is so in the State Assemblies and Councils also.⁶ I think we are very much to be blamed. It is not a matter of showing favour to any one or even of injustice, but rather of doing something which is not conducive to the future growth of our country. I am quite sure that our real and basic growth will only come when women have a full chance to play their part in public life. Wherever they have had this chance, they have, as a whole, done well, better, if I may say so, than the average man. Our laws are man-made, our society dominated by man, and so most of us naturally take a very lopsided view of this matter. We cannot be objective, because we have grown up in certain grooves of thought and action. But the future of India will probably depend ultimately more upon the women than the men.

13. You will have noticed that the President, in his address to Parliament, has mentioned the Hindu Code Bill. We have every intention of proceeding with this much needed reform which concerns our womenfolk so much. But it is patent that the old method of approach, that is, proceeding with an enormous consolidated Bill which was as big as a book, was not successful, however logically right it might appear to be. Any such big Bill will take months to

5. Out of sixty-six women who contested elections to Parliament, nineteen were elected to the House of the People and fourteen to the Council of States.

6. Eighty-two out of 216 women contesting elections to State Assemblies were elected.

pass and any opposition to it could delay it almost indefinitely, as indeed has been the case in this particular instance. Therefore we have decided to split up this measure into some parts, each to be taken up separately. It is also, I think, necessary to revise many of the provisions of this Bill and to make them simpler. It is our intention to introduce a new measure dealing with one part of the old Hindu Code Bill in this session of Parliament.⁷ I fear however that it is not possible to deal with this or other legislative work at any length during this session, which will be occupied chiefly by budgets.

14. The President's address to Parliament deals with our foreign policy and draws particular attention to what has happened and is happening in Korea and to the way the United Nations Organization has gradually drifted away from its original purposes and methods. I have written to you about this previously and I would invite your special attention to what the President has said about this.⁸ It is of vital importance to world peace. There can be little doubt that if, to our infinite discredit, the truce negotiations in Korea fail and war breaks out, this will be on a bigger scale than ever before. There is no doubt that during this period of truce negotiations, armies and air forces have been built up and, if unleashed, they will play havoc. Perhaps there is not much left in Korea to destroy because that unhappy country is the picture of utter ruin and desolation today. But if the spark of war is lighted again, no man knows what the consequences might be. Passions and fears continue to govern the activities of great countries and logic and reason have little place. We have continued, in our own little way, to urge for peaceful solutions. Perhaps we have made a little difference, but whether that difference is enough or not, I do not know.

15. As I write this a conference is going on in Karachi discussing the proposal of the Pakistan Government to introduce a passport system between India and Pakistan. As I have told you, we did not like this proposal because we thought it would interfere with the free traffic between Eastern Pakistan and West Bengal, Assam and Tripura and thus cause distress to many. As, however, Pakistan has insisted on introducing passports, we have agreed to discuss this matter with them. I cannot say now what the result of this conference will be but it seems highly likely that some kind of a passport system will be introduced.

16. Our cultural delegation to China, headed by Shrimati Vijayalakshmi

7. The Special Marriage Bill, 1951, sought to remove defects noticed in the working of the Special Marriage Act of 1872; the Hindu Marriage and Divorce Bill, 1952, aimed at laying down a uniform law relating to marriage and divorce.

8. The President, addressing the joint session of Parliament on 16 May 1952, regretted that the UN was moving away from its primary aim of the preservation of peace and "the conception of universality changes into something far narrower and the urge to peace weakens."

Pandit, has had a very cordial reception in Peking. The People's Government of China showed them every honour and treated them with all friendship. The delegation is now going to tour other parts of that great country.

17. There has been a good deal of agitation because of the withdrawal of food subsidies from the rationed areas. As a matter of fact some subsidies are still given, more especially in regard to milo, so as to keep down the price of this foodgrains for the poorer people. The issue before us has been a straight one. We cannot, of course, permit real distress to continue anywhere and have to take steps to put an end to it. We have done this, with the help of our army, in Rayalaseema, and the army has done excellent work. We are doing this in other parts of the country also. This distress in these parts of the country has very little to do with the subsidy. It is distress caused by repeated droughts, bad harvests, lack of water even to drink, and lack of purchasing power.

18. So far as the question of subsidy is concerned, we have to remember that every sum given for additional subsidy is that much less for development. We cannot have it both ways. It is a painful choice. We have considered this matter carefully and we shall continue to give the fullest thought to it, not just because there is some agitation but because we want to give as much relief as possible to those who stand in need of it.

19. The second question, that is, the lack of purchasing power, is a deeper and more vital one. On the one hand, we demand and work for greater production. That indeed is essential if we are to progress in any direction. But greater production must necessarily mean greater consumption, or else the production stops or lessens. Thus production has to be thought of in terms of consumption also and consumption requires the power to purchase and consume. If that purchasing power goes down, then the whole machinery of industry suffers and production also must go down. Thus we got entangled in a vicious circle. Our capacity for production is limited by our resources. To go far beyond them is to invite trouble. Those resources themselves are likely to diminish if production goes down because of lack of purchasing power.

20. It is true, as stated in the President's address, that we have made definite progress in production. Prices have also gone down somewhat. We have a large and growing stock of foodgrains. All this is to the good. But the basic question remains of increasing the purchasing power of the people so as not only to benefit them immediately but more so to break out of the vicious circle and give a push to growth and development. To this vital question we must now address ourselves.

21. It is well known and is often stated that our educational standards are going down. We produce vast numbers of graduates annually and most of them remain unemployed or badly employed. This may be due to many causes but it is undoubtedly true that educational standards have gone down. This is

bad for our future. Apart from educational standards deteriorating, physical and, if I may say so, cultural and moral standards go down. We become sloppy and lack all discipline in life. This is not a matter of difference of political or other opinion. It is something more basic than that. We must deal with this and create conditions for raising our standards. One particular method, which does not directly deal with intellectual training but no doubt helps it, is some kind of physical training and manual work. I have long been convinced that our educational curriculum should lay stress on this aspect. The National Planning Committee, of which I was Chairman thirteen years ago, recommended that some kind of military training (without arms) or manual work should form part of our educational curriculum.⁹ So far as I remember, they said that no person should have a degree or a diploma unless he had put in a year of such training or work. I am convinced that this should be done, though I cannot exactly say how it should be done. The training we give to our young men in the army is in many ways far superior to our normal university training although it might not produce intellectual giants. It does at least produce disciplined men who can look after themselves and who are physically and mentally fit.

22. I think that a year's manual work with drill should be made compulsory. At any rate we could say that no person will be employed in government service unless he has done so. Unfortunately our Public Service Commissions attach no value to this kind of training. Indeed in one major State this training was organized and a fine body of men came out of it. But they were uniformly rejected by the Public Service Commission concerned, because their standards of judgment were different and did not take this into consideration.

23. Another distressing feature is the reluctance of our young medical graduates to work in rural areas or in mountain districts. They all want to go to big cities. And so large tracts of country are neglected. An attempt was made recently to get some young men to volunteer as doctors for some of our border mountain tracts. The attempt failed as no volunteers were forthcoming. Ultimately, foreign missionaries agreed to go there. This is not very complimentary to our young men and women of the new generation. It means that they have no spirit of adventure, no grit, no capacity for hard work. If this is so, how then are we to progress? Here again I would strongly recommend that no medical graduate should be taken into government service unless he has spent a year or two in rural areas whether in the plains or the mountains.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. The national planning sub-committee on education published its report on 31 January 1938.

IV

New Delhi
June 5, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

Since I wrote to you last, we have had prolonged discussions in Parliament on the President's address. We are now having discussions on the Budget. As the strength of the Opposition in Parliament has increased and there are representatives there of different schools of thought, the debates are a little more lively than they used to be. I think we should welcome this. Indeed an effective Opposition is desirable from many points of view. It may and it does delay the disposal of matters. It may occasionally prove somewhat irritating. But, nevertheless, it tends to keep Government and the majority party wide awake. Also it brings a certain reality in our debates and thus helps in the political education of the country.

2. It is true that these debates sometimes tend to become mere exhibitions of forensic skill or just a bundle of accusations and counter-accusations, which is not very helpful. But behind it all, there is a certain clash of ideas and, out of this clash, new aspects of the problems that confront us are sometimes brought to light. We face difficult problems—indeed the whole world faces them—and we are often criticized for our lack of competence in dealing with them. We cannot naturally be our own judges and opposition, even unjustified opposition, proves a useful purpose in making all of us think. We are growing politically with some rapidity under the stress of circumstances. The change-over from the days of struggle against British rule to a new and constructive phase of carrying on the Government of the country required a capacity for adaptation. I believe that on the whole we showed a considerable capacity to do this. But it takes time for the people as a whole to get out of the old grooves of thought and action. There is a certain time lag about this when politics become rather vague and fluid. It is this fluid nature of our politics that led to the growth, during the years following independence, of communal organizations. They represent reactionary and rather primitive urges and thinking. They are neither politics nor economics. The last election indicated, more especially in the defeat of the communal parties, that we were maturing. That did not mean that the primitive urges, exploiting the name of religion, had ceased to function. We see them still suddenly raising themselves and trying to dominate the normal thinking on political and economic problems. Thus in Delhi recently there was a sudden and rather significant flare-up about a proposed marriage between a young Hindu girl and a Muslim youth.¹ This entirely personal affair was exploited by communal elements and for a short

1. See *ante*, p. 211.

while there was some petty rioting in Delhi. By itself, this was not very important, but it showed how these primitive ideas still influence some people and can be used to excite the passions of others.

3. We have to come to grips with our problems and we can only really do so if we shed these relics of the past. The problems are national and international, political and economic. In all these spheres of activity, we have pursued an independent line of our own, which has been often cautious but nevertheless firm. We have avoided dramatic poses or flamboyant utterances which might, for the moment, appeal to some sections of the public, but which inevitably produce unfavourable reactions in the end. Slowly and gradually our policy has, I think, borne fruit and the position of India internationally is definitely good and commands a large measure of respect. Even the continuous propaganda against us by Pakistan in Western Asia or other Muslim countries has exhausted itself, because it had no real basis, and these countries look much more towards us than they used to do. In the grave crises which afflict the Far East of Asia, India continues to play a silent and unobtrusive part in favour of peace. It may be that what we do might make a difference. If that happens, then India would indeed have served the cause of peace and humanity.

4. Some people blame us because we do not shout from the house-tops about our foreign policy and do not condemn this country or that. There is far too much of condemnation of one country by another and it would serve little purpose for us to join in that chorus. When national passions are roused it does not help merely to condemn, even though there might be some justification for doing so. Some kind of a healing process is necessary. Whether we are capable of applying this touch of healing to a tortured world, I do not know. But that has been our earnest wish and we have, in our own imperfect way, tried to do so.

5. Foreign policy depends to a large extent on domestic policy. Both of them are governed more and more by economic factors. The first thing for us to consider is whether our domestic or international policies are being controlled or influenced in any way by other countries. In the world today, there are very few countries which are in a position to maintain independent policies of their own choice. Small countries, and even big ones, tend to depend upon others, and have even to conform to the dictates of others. We are naturally influenced by what is happening in the world, but I think it is completely true to say that we do not allow our policy, domestic or foreign, to be dictated by any other country. If we make mistakes, they are our own. During the last two or three years, some attempts were made to induce us to follow some policies which were not to our liking. We refused to submit to such dictation and made it clear that, whatever the consequences, we proposed to follow our own methods. Gradually other countries realized that there was some conviction and strength behind our written and spoken word and that we were earnest

when we said we would not align ourselves with a particular group of nations. Sometimes it happens that a particular action of ours is interpreted as being more favourable to a particular country or group. In the circumstances, we take it on the merits. But it means not the slightest change in our basic outlook or policy.

6. Recently we have received considerable aid from the United States of America. We have welcomed this because it has helped us to do many things which we otherwise might not have done. We accepted that aid on the clear condition that there were no strings to it and that it would not come in the way of our policy. It is true, however, that whenever a country depends upon another for aid, a certain obligation comes in and a certain involuntary dependence. There is that risk. If we are wide awake, however, we can avoid that risk.

7. As a result of past history and present circumstances, most of our contacts have been with the Western world, chiefly with the United Kingdom and America and some countries of Europe. That was inevitable. Even our cultural contacts, through the medium of the English language, have been with the West. There is no reason, however, why we should not gradually develop these contacts with great nations like China and the USSR. Both these countries are our neighbours and, in the long run, we are bound to have greater dealings with them. Indeed, so far as India and China are concerned it becomes increasingly clear to me that the future of Asia depends very largely on our contacts and association. That does not mean that we should copy each other or interfere with each other. It does mean a basic understanding that our association is essential for the peace of Asia and advantageous to both countries. We are apt to lose sight of the more distant future in our preoccupation with the present. If, however, we look at the long perspective of history and try to peep into the future, ignoring for the moment our present discontents, then the importance of India and China functioning with a measure of cooperation becomes obvious.

8. Tomorrow the cultural mission that we sent to China is returning to Delhi. This mission has had a very cordial welcome wherever it went all over that great country and the reports we have had from them thus far indicate how greatly they were impressed by various developments in China. We shall have fuller reports from them after their arrival. One thing that has been repeatedly brought to our notice is the feeling of Asian solidarity that the leaders of China possess and their desire for friendly relations with India. Much has happened in China which we do not approve. But the basic fact, and it is of historic significance, is the emergence of a mighty nation, united, disciplined and with an enormous capacity to work for common ends. Everybody who visits China is impressed by this enthusiasm and drive of the people there. A people who have this dynamic capacity must go far.

9. You may have seen in the newspapers that China has sold us 100,000 tons of rice. It was not particularly easy for China to send us this rice because their food situation has been a somewhat difficult one this year. Nevertheless, they sent it as a gesture of friendship.

10. The situation in the Far East has shown no improvement. Perhaps it is something that it has not grown worse and that the truce negotiations are still continuing. One has a feeling that neither party is prepared to break them because they wish to avoid the consequences of such a break, those consequences being war on a tremendous scale. At the same time, agreement eludes them and the problem of the return of prisoners has proved insurmountable thus far. There are one or two gleams of hope sometimes, but it is not possible to say what they will lead to. Meanwhile, certain incidents in the prisoners of war's camps of the UN have created much stir. It is difficult to find out exactly what happened but something appears to have been very wrong.

11. I have told you previously about Pakistan's proposal to have a passport system between India and Pakistan. The conference to consider this has been going on in Karachi. Agreement has been arrived at about many matters but some still remain.

12. Among other important happenings have been the elections in Ceylon and the satyagraha there of the Indians. The elections are over but the problem of the Indians there demanding citizenship rights still remains and satyagraha is continuing. It is not for us to encourage or discourage any peaceful agitation which the Indians in Ceylon might take up. That is their responsibility. But our sympathies are entirely with their demand for voting rights.

13. In South Africa something on a much bigger scale is happening. The question of Indians in South Africa has now become a small part of a much larger issue in which Africans are involved. The South African Union Parliament has just passed a law to circumvent the decision of their Supreme Court.² This law is going to be challenged in the Supreme Court.³ If the Supreme Court declares this law also as ultra vires and invalid, then a very difficult constitutional conflict will arise. But far graver than any constitutional conflict is the simmering discontent of vast numbers of Africans.

2. The High Court of Parliament Act promulgated on 4 June empowered Parliament to set aside any judgment of the Supreme Court on any Act of Parliament. On 20 March 1952, the Supreme Court had declared invalid the Separate Representation of Voters Act, 1951.

3. Four coloured voters challenged in the Supreme Court on 11 June 1952 the application of the High Court of Parliament Act on the plea that it constituted a violation of their voting rights guaranteed to them under Section 152 of the South African Act.

14. During the past fortnight we had a distinguished visitor in Delhi, Dr Natsir, ex-Prime Minister of Indonesia. I had long talks with him and I was happy to find how much in common our two countries had. The friendship of India and Indonesia is an important factor in South-East Asia. Dr Natsir addressed our Members of Parliament⁴ and also paid a brief visit to Kashmir.

15. Discussions on the budget bring up not only a multitude of relatively minor complaints but also the basic issues governing our economic policy. They brought up also the food position in the country and the withdrawal of the food subsidy. The Finance Minister explained fully the reasons for this withdrawal of the subsidy⁵ and I hope you will agree with me that his argument was sound and any continuation of the food subsidy in a large way might well be disastrous for us, though it might give some temporary relief. It will mean our giving up some of our major plans for development and also many of the hopes we have nourished for the future. The pressure on the Finance Minister has been great and it is true that some States have to face a difficult situation. But we cannot sacrifice what we consider the good of the country in the present and in the future by adopting a dangerous policy under pressure. Imperial Rome carried on for some time with "bread and circuses" but it decayed and weakened. Therefore the firm line adopted by our Finance Minister must be appreciated.

16. Having said so, I should like to make it perfectly clear that all of us, including the Finance Minister, are keenly alive to the present food situation in the country and, even as I write this letter, we are giving our urgent and earnest consideration to it. We shall do our utmost to help and even to vary our policy somewhat to meet special circumstances, provided always that that basic policy remains and no risks are taken for the future.

17. In spite of our present difficulties, I do not think that our economic position is bad. If we can get over these difficulties now in the course of the next few months and do not take a step which might add to them later, I feel that we shall make progress. I think that in this matter we can compare favourably with many countries. Pakistan has been specially hard hit by the

4. Addressing the Members of Parliament on 28 May, Mohammad Natsir spoke of the new awakening among the people of Asia and Africa and their desire "to cooperate and work together for their own emancipation" and "to shape the destiny of Asia."

5. C.D. Deshmukh stated in The House of the People on 20 May 1952 that the Government could not subsidize consumption without doubling the deficit financing and thought it better to expend the additional money on the productive effort rather than on consumption. He added that the only commitment of the Government was to relieve distress wherever it occurred. He admitted some hardship having been caused by the withdrawal of subsidies, but did not think that consumers were hit badly.

economic depression. There was even some talk of Pakistan taking some wheat from us, but, for political reasons, they decided not to do so.⁶

18. I referred in my last letter to you about the lack of purchasing power in certain parts of the country and the possible consequences of production going down because consumption is reduced. It is a little difficult to judge of the entire country from the partial data that we have. During the last week we had a meeting of the Congress Working Committee in Delhi⁷ and these basic problems were discussed at length. The Planning Commission is naturally deeply concerned with them and will have to give a lead. Their report is likely to come out in another six weeks' time.⁸ We have to find a middle way between too much caution and too much risk. Both are dangerous. There has been much talk of deficit financing. To say that deficit financing is good or is bad has no particular meaning. It may be good in a certain set of circumstances and it may be bad in a different context. One thing is clear, that is, we have to be brave in our outlook and we have to take some risk because our fear of taking a risk might itself involve us in greater risk. At the same time, it is perfectly clear that one cannot play about with a nation's finances and the future of millions of people.

19. It seems to me that there is considerable scope in India for us to raise money by loan. We have thus far followed old and orthodox methods of appealing to the public for Government loans. These methods do not inspire. But if we changed our methods of appeal to the public for developmental purposes and, more especially, for local development, I am sure that the response would be good, provided we proceed in the right way and put some drive and energy into this business. This is where publicmen come in; normally Government officials do not know the public approach or how to conduct such a drive.

20. I dislike the idea of our depending more and more on foreign help. This makes us less self-reliant and we begin to feel a little helpless. I cannot believe that in a great country like India we are unable to raise far more resources than we at present imagine. Those resources can be in money or in labour. We attach perhaps too much importance to money and too little to the labour of men which ultimately produces wealth. We have developed a mentality of looking to others for help. The municipality or the district board looks to the State Government, the State Government looks to the Central

6. The supply of rice to India under the trade agreement of February 1951 was suspended by Pakistan for sometime due to shortages of foodgrains at home. To resume the supply, the Pakistan Government wished to get Indian wheat in exchange. As announced by them on 28 May 1952, the deal with India was found "not workable."

7. From 31 May to 2 June 1952.

8. It was released on 8 December 1952.

Government. If the Central Government looks too much to countries abroad, then the circle of dependence is complete. There is absolutely no reason why we should not get help from abroad if the terms are right. Our need is great and we should gladly welcome such help. But the fact remains that ultimately a nation progresses not by money but by the quality of men and women in it and any step taken that might lessen that quality is ultimately bad.

21. Our Food Ministry is at present faced with the serious problem of storage. Unless we have proper accommodation to store the foodgrains that are coming in we shall waste them. I would therefore ask you to get your Government to examine urgently the storage accommodation at your disposal and to increase it. You will have to keep large stocks of foodgrains during the coming months and you must prepare for that from now onwards.

22. In order to increase production of foodgrains we are having crop competitions. These have been successful in the past. We are having another such competition now in the first fortnight of June. These competitions are meant to arouse enthusiasm among the farmers and increase food production. Substantial awards are given to the farmers and for each specified crop the prize is Rs 5,000/-. In addition there are numerous other prizes. It is desirable that as large a number of farmers as possible take part in these competitions. I hope that your ministers and senior officials will take active interest in these competitions.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

V

New Delhi
June 16, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

I sent you my last letter eleven days ago. These days have been full of rather heavy parliamentary work, apart from other work. Parliament, or rather the House of the People, is now much more lively than it used to be previously and requires more attention. We have had discussions on the Railways and the General Budget. In this connection, when the grants for External Affairs came up, I spoke at some length.¹ I should like to draw your attention to what

1. See *ante*, pp. 442-456.

I said then, as I referred to many important matters of policy. My speech was fairly well reported in the press.

2. It is important that we should be clear about our foreign policy. Some people imagined that there was some shift of it or some variation. As a matter of fact, we have adhered to our policy and we intend to continue to do so. People, judging from some odd incident, come to wrong conclusions. If we take aid from the United States of America or are otherwise friendly to them, we are said to incline towards that particular group of nations in the cold war that is going on. If we send a cultural mission to China and express our appreciation of some of the activities of the new regime in China, we are said to have inclined towards the other group of nations. As a matter of fact, we try our best, within the limits of our policy, to be friendly and cooperative with the countries of both these groups. We have intimate relations—political, cultural and economic—with the United Kingdom. This is not only a legacy from the past but is to our interest today. Our whole political structure is largely fashioned after that of the United Kingdom. We use their language extensively. It is natural, therefore, that those connections should continue. That does not mean in the slightest that we subordinate ourselves to the UK in any way. Even the Commonwealth relationship does not lessen in the slightest our complete independence of policy or action, as can be seen by anybody who is acquainted with current affairs.

3. It surprises me that some people imagine that we have gone back on our past professions by being associated with the Commonwealth. Long ago we determined to become not only independent, but a Republic. We have fulfilled our pledge. For the Republic of India to associate itself with any country or group of countries by a formal alliance, even though this involved certain commitments, would not be considered as something coming in the way of our independence. Our association with the Commonwealth is far less than such an alliance might have been. It is completely informal and there are no commitments. It brings us certain advantages and there is no reason whatever, so far as I can see, why we should give it up. Where our policy differs from that of the UK or any other Member of the Commonwealth, we pursue our policy. In regard to one Member of the Commonwealth, South Africa, we have not even got diplomatic relations and there has been some kind of a conflict. In international affairs our association with the UK and the Commonwealth has led far more to our influencing them in a particular direction than their influencing us.

4. With the United States of America, our associations are also fairly close, though not as close as those with the UK. We trade with them. We have received help from them and we have many students there. As I have pointed out previously, there is always a certain risk involved in receiving substantial help from any one country. Therefore we have to be careful. It

would be folly not to receive the help we so badly need, because we cannot rely upon ourselves.

5. With the USSR, our contacts are friendly but not close, that is, we have not got much business or other dealings. That is not because we avoid such dealings, but because, in the nature of things, it is more difficult for us to deal with them. Where an opportunity offers, we take it. With China, partly the same considerations apply. But I think it is true that a variety of circumstances pull India and China towards each other, in spite of differences of forms of Government. This is the long pull of geography and history and, if I may add, of the future. I do not see why we should be alarmed at this. Here also we should be careful. All this means that we should look at current history in some perspective of both the past and the future. There is far too much entanglement with the present with all its passions and conflicts for most countries to develop this perspective. We claim no special virtue for ourselves. But, situated as we are, we are perhaps in a better position to look at things at long range and fashion our policy accordingly.

6. Some people in the Opposition here and in the country are constantly demanding that we should take what they call strong action. It is either alignment with this group of nations or the other, or condemning some nation or taking forcible possession of Goa or Pondicherry. This aggressive and warlike attitude may sound well at public meetings and the like. But when examined closely, it has little meaning.

7. On the return of our cultural mission to China, Delhi heard a great deal about the new China from the members of this mission. On the whole, what we heard was highly appreciative of China, though there were criticism also. In regard to one matter there was complete agreement and that was the new spirit and enthusiasm of the Chinese people. For any people that is a great asset. For the Chinese with their amazing capacity for hard work and cooperative endeavour, that means something even more. Although we have heard a great deal about recent developments in China, our knowledge still remains vague and the picture is not clear. It would be helpful if we knew more about the background of events there, of their economy, their engineering success, their education, etc., because we might be able to learn something from all this. China started with a period of civil wars and internal conflicts forty years ago. During these years, she had no real peace and she had major wars. Because of this obviously no development could take place and large parts of the country were devastated. When the new Government came into power, they had to deal with this accumulated ruin of forty years of conflict and had to start almost from scratch. Only in Manchuria there was a highly industrialized area, built up by the Japanese. But even there part of the equipment had been removed after the last war, mostly by the Russians. Thus the new regime in China started with every disadvantage except that of faith

and enthusiasm. Immediately after there was friction with other countries and they were unable to get any kind of help from any outside country excepting the USSR. What they have done in these difficult conditions is, therefore, of great interest to us. It is true that authoritarian methods yield results rather quickly, whatever their immediate or long-distance disadvantages might be. Nevertheless, it is a feat to face these manifold difficulties and overcome them, chiefly with their own efforts.

8. We cannot compare India to the European countries or the American. These latter countries have had a long period of growth and industrialization and they have much smaller populations. Even a comparison with the Soviet Union is not fair because the Soviet Union has had over thirty years of building up. Also the Soviet Union has vast areas and, compared to India, a smaller population. But there are far more points of similarity between India and China, among them being enormous populations and economic backwardness. How the Chinese overcome these economic conditions, industrialize their country and produce more wealth and distribute it more evenly, is therefore of great interest to us. We are committed, and I think rightly so, to democratic methods and parliamentary institutions. That does not necessarily mean that democracy must be rigid and unable to adapt itself to changing conditions. Democracy, apart from its institutions, is a way of Government and life itself. I firmly believe that it is a better way than a dictatorship or authoritarianism. In the long run dictatorships must, I think, rather stunt the growth of the country. There are initial advantages which are obvious and the outward speed of progress appears to be fast. But it is very doubtful if the essential quality which underlies human progress, that is, the creative spirit of man, can develop adequately under an authoritarian system. To some extent of course such authoritarian systems as have economic equality as their goal, are initially liberating forces and release tremendous popular energy. That is a great advantage. But if dictatorship continues, the creative spirit may gradually fade away.

9. Democracy is supposed to nurture this creative spirit but if it cannot bring about a release from poverty of large masses of human beings, then that creative spirit can only function in a few. Poverty is after all more restrictive and limiting than anything else. If poverty and low standards continue then democracy, for all its fine institutions and ideals, ceases to be a liberating force. It must therefore aim continuously at the eradication of poverty and its companion unemployment. In other words, political democracy is not enough. It must develop into economic democracy also. The problem before India is to bring this development as rapidly as possible. In the ultimate analysis, the world will not be governed by theories but by actual results achieved. If India succeeds in achieving these results under a system of political democracy, that indeed would be a great victory not only for India but for democracy. If

China succeeds by her own methods, undoubtedly those methods will then attract large numbers of people.

10. Some countries of the West, notably the United Kingdom, tried their utmost since the war to develop this economic democracy under the parliamentary system. They tried to find a middle path between unrestrained private enterprise and the old capitalism and the socialistic order. I think that the progress made by England, in spite of enormous difficulties, was remarkable and does every credit to her Government and people. It is said that in developing her social schemes, she lived beyond her means and is now suffering because of this. This may partly be true but I am sure that if she had not done so, her fate would have been worse. She had to bring about a tremendous transformation from the days of the old empire, when tribute in various forms flowed to her from all over the world, to her new condition, which was very different in spite of some relics of the empire still continuing. Her Government decided to spend their money and energy on improving the lot of the people generally, and putting an end to unemployment, in greater production, etc. They succeeded in a large measure. Perhaps the effort was a bit too great, but it must be remembered that, in addition to all this, England had to spend large sums of money on armaments. Whether this was justified or not, it is not for me to say. It is this additional burden of armaments that hastened the grave crisis that she has to face today. Even so, England is today a far more stable and disciplined and, in a way, contented country than almost any in Europe. Parliamentary democracy has justified itself there more than elsewhere. It may be that the burden is too great for her to bear. But I feel that she has still great resources of strength in her and a great capacity to adapt herself.

11. When we consider the problems of India, we have to keep these changing, dynamic, fascinating and sometimes rather terrifying aspects of the modern world before us and try to learn from them and avoid the pitfalls. We may discuss various policies but whatever policy we may adopt, our choice is ultimately limited by our capacity in the present. That capacity will no doubt grow. That takes time and there can be no magic solution of our problems. The main thing is that we have the right objective, that we go in that direction, and that we go as fast as circumstances permit us. We can, to some extent, measure and weigh these circumstances but there are ever so many uncertain factors in them, both national and international. The biggest uncertain factor is the response of our own people to any particular policy. It is not ultimately money that counts but the labour, enthusiasm and will of the people.

12. As you know our Planning Commission has been giving a great deal of thought to all these problems. It is revising its draft Five Year Plan and I expect that many changes will be made before it is finalized. Even a final plan has to be reviewed from time to time in view of the changing circumstances. We have to balance reality with idealism, what we can do

with what we would like to do. A narrow realistic approach trying to avoid all possible risks is probably, in the final analysis, the least realistic of all, because it ignores those uncertain factors which count for so much. The idealistic approach by itself leads nowhere or rather to frustration in the end. Risks have to be taken, but they have to be measured risks. Great things can never be achieved by the methods of the counting house and the cautious approach of men who lack daring. Nevertheless the counting house is rather important and cannot be ignored, and daring alone may be inspiring for a while but may become just foolhardiness.

13. In China recently there was a great campaign against corruption, nepotism and bureaucratism.² From all accounts this campaign was rather a terrible and ruthless affair. But I confess that I feel rather attracted to any drive against corruption and bureaucratism. Corruption is bad of course. But bureaucratism is perhaps even more insidious as it comes in the way all the time and kills ardour and initiative. In our own way we shall have to fight against these tendencies.

14. Among the major problems that we have to face is the land problem. It is not only our problem but the problem of large parts of Asia. For many years past we have stood for the abolition of the zamindari system. We were held up by the law courts but at last the way is more or less clear. Many of our provinces have already gone far in this direction. I should like to impress on those States, which have not thus far taken any steps towards the abolition of the zamindari system, to do so with great speed. This is an essential preliminary to all progress. This is so both practically and psychologically. It has become a symbol of essential change and we cannot afford to delay in this any longer.

15. The abolition of the zamindari system is therefore most important. But it must always be remembered that that by itself does not solve the land problem. It is only a necessary preliminary step, a removal of a barrier to reform and the introduction of a just land system. We must therefore give careful thought to the next step which has to come almost immediately after. I shall address you about this separately in my capacity as Chairman of the Planning Commission and I shall ask you to let me have your views about these next steps.³ Our objective in this as in other matters is social justice and at the same time greater production. If in trying to bring about social justice we reduce production, then that social justice itself becomes unstable and

2. The Three-Anti Movement (San Fan campaign) was launched in August 1951, its first targets being cadres who had defrauded State or other enterprises, and then intellectuals who had not changed their style of work. The movement was later widened to include the nexus between the State and the corporate sector of the economy.
3. See *ante*, pp. 89-90.

without adequate foundation. Mere greater production without social justice is not only wrong in itself but also is unstable and without a strong foundation. How then are we to do this? That is a question which you have to consider. Even after the liquidation of the zamindari system, there will continue a large disparity of holdings of land. Should we try to equalize this progressively and if so how, without doing injury to our production apparatus? Should we aim at cooperative village movement, or large-scale cooperative farms or individual ownership? These and like questions have to be solved. Conditions differ greatly in India and perhaps a single and general answer will not suit all the States, even though our ultimate objective everywhere might be the same. I should like you to give thought to these matters immediately and to let me have your views.

16. Two days ago I spoke on the radio about the food situation in India. I shall refer you to my broadcast.⁴ I want to make it perfectly clear that we have not basically given up our policy of controls. We do not propose to take any undue risks in this matter. We have removed controls in Madras because conditions were very favourable there and we felt that we could take that risk. In Madras and indeed all over India we have large stocks of foodgrains and prices even in the free market are low. This is the time for us to profit by this situation and go some way in solving this food problem. We can build up a large stock and see to it that prices remain low. But we have to be very careful and vigilant all the time. If prices rise appreciably, that will have evil results and we cannot permit it.

17. The recent decisions of the Constituent Assembly in Kashmir have excited a great deal of interest all over India. During the last four and a half years and more, the war and other developments in Kashmir have made people all over India vividly conscious of that beautiful valley. We are not merely interested in it as a part of India but our emotions have been roused, and anything that happens there therefore affects us much more in some ways than developments elsewhere might do. It is easy to understand, therefore, that recent happenings there have created a great deal of interest all over the country. There were some misunderstandings and once misunderstandings come in they are not easy to remove. Some people thought that the leaders of Kashmir were not playing quite fair with India and might even think of a breakaway from India. Naturally this thought was rather painful. As a matter of fact, if one thing is certain it is this that not only the leaders but the great mass of the people in Kashmir want to be associated with India and want the accession of Kashmir to India to continue. So far as we are concerned, whatever our feelings might be, we have made it repeatedly clear that it is for the

4. See *ante*, pp. 70-74.

people of Jammu and Kashmir State to decide about their future. We are not there on sufferance or as an imposition on others. We are there because we were invited to go there to save Kashmir from a brutal invasion and rack and ruin. We have continued to be there because the people of Kashmir wanted us and because of the responsibility for defence that we undertook by virtue of the accession. I have no doubt in my mind that the leaders and the people of Kashmir are anxious to continue this accession to India and if there is a plebiscite on this point it will be in India's favour.

18. This important fact must therefore be kept in mind when we consider other problems. It should also be remembered that Kashmir's accession to India was, like that of all other states at the beginning, on three subjects only, namely, Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications. Much later the other states acceded in regard to many other subjects also. Kashmir remained where it was for a variety of reasons, among them being the fact that the United Nations were seized of this problem and we did not wish to appear to bypass them in this matter. Indeed, in the Constitution of India, we made special provision for the Jammu and Kashmir State in the transitional provisions. Recently the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir has laid down a directive principle about the Head of the State being elective. This, by itself, is not new to those who have been associated with the Kashmir problem. When the Constituent Assembly was inaugurated last year, Shaikh Abdullah, the Prime Minister, stated as much in his inaugural address. The question for us now to consider is how to deal with this matter, keeping in view always the close and firm association of Kashmir with India. Some Kashmir Ministers are now in Delhi for a consultation on these matters.

19. Meanwhile Dr Graham is continuing his talks in New York with our representative and the representative of Pakistan.⁵ These have not led to any results thus far and all that has happened is a restatement of our respective positions.⁶

20. I have written to you about the discussions in Karachi on the proposal of Pakistan to have a passport system between the two countries. These discussions have led to a large measure of agreement, but some points still remain to be discussed. It has been our desire to facilitate travel between the two countries. Undoubtedly the passport system will bring some difficulties in the way of intending travellers, more especially as between Eastern Pakistan and West Bengal, Assam and Tripura. We are trying to have some special provisions for this Eastern zone.

5. The talks in New York from 29 May to 16 July 1952 on Graham's demilitarization plan ended inconclusively with both India and Pakistan not agreeing on the quantum of troops to be retained by them on either side of the ceasefire line.

6. See *ante*, p. 393.

21. Ever since this proposal to have passports was made, there has naturally been some consternation among the minorities in Eastern Pakistan as well as West Bengal and many people have migrated. It has often been stated in public that some kind of mass migrations are taking place ever since this proposal was made. As a matter of fact, the statistics of movements that we have belie this assertion. The latest figures of daily figures of movement between East Bengal and West Bengal are as follows:

	Hindus	Muslims
From East to West Bengal	5,691	2,474
From West to East Bengal	7,573	2,967

22. On the 7th June there was held in Delhi a conference of tribal representatives.⁷ I attach importance to this conference, because this was, so far as I know, the first attempt to consider these major problems affecting the tribal folk in a large way. There has been so much vague talk about the tribal people that some clarification was necessary. We must remember that they form a large part of India's population, that they vary greatly amongst themselves, that their way of life is often very different from that of others. We have to help them in every way. But we have to take special care not to impose ourselves or our ways upon them. In particular, we must not allow them to be exploited by others. In other words, we require a clear-cut tribal policy. The talk of integrating them into other areas has some justification, and yet it has to be guarded against for it might lead us in the wrong direction. The talk of isolating the tribes and treating them as museum specimens is even worse. We have to strike a middle path and we have to develop those areas as fast as we can.

23. The question of linguistic provinces has again been raised.⁸ Swami Sitaram of Andhra undertook a three weeks' fast, which is, I believe, just over. I confess I do not at all understand or appreciate this method of dealing with a complicated administrative problem. So far as we are concerned, we have made it perfectly clear that we are prepared to help in the formation of the Andhra province, as of any other, provided there is general agreement among the parties concerned. It seems to me obvious that we cannot create linguistic provinces at the point of the bayonet, if I may say so, or by compulsion of large numbers of unwilling people. While Swami Sitaram fasts for an Andhra province, I get agitated telegrams from people in Rayalaseema protesting against this fast and saying that, if necessary, they will fast against

7. For Nehru's speech at the conference, see *ante*, pp. 370-377.

8. See *ante*, pp. 253-272.

the creation of an Andhra province. The real difficulty, however, concerns the city of Madras. Some of the Andhra leaders insist on having it; the Tamil leaders, on the other hand, say that they will never lose it, whatever happens. What then are we to do about it? Compel the Andhras or compel or coerce the Tamils? A proposal has sometimes been made that Madras might be separated from both and made into a small separate State. This proposal was considered by the Dhar Committee⁹ some years ago. They said that while it was conceivable that an international centre like Bombay might be separated, they did not think that Madras should be considered in that way. It was too intimately connected with provincial life to be isolated from it.

24. You may have noticed that in February last I inaugurated what is called the National Art Treasures Fund,¹⁰ with the object of acquiring and perserving for the nation art objects of national importance which are in danger of neglect, deterioration or total loss. This is important. It is a duty that we owe not only to ourselves but to future generations. I am afraid that most of us, immersed as we are in our political problems, forget the basic importance of culture and art. We have not even got a proper National Museum in Delhi, although we have got a fine collection in Rashtrapati Bhavan. If this National Art Treasures Fund is to succeed, we must have popular interest and support and money for it. The money can come from the Central Government, from the State Governments and from the people. Thus far, the State Governments have not contributed much. Some States, I was sorry to notice, had even refused to contribute to the Fund. I would urge you to appreciate the importance of this and to extend your generous cooperation to the Fund.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. A Linguistic Provinces Commission was appointed on 17 June 1948 with S.K. Dhar as chairman and Pannalal and Jagat Narayan Lal as members. While the Commission was against the formation of linguistic provinces, it recognized that there existed a real and a great demand for the formation of Andhra province which if not granted would lead to much disappointment.

10. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 17, pp. 312-315.

VI

New Delhi
July 5, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

In the domestic sphere, probably the most important developments have related to food controls. Gradually many of the restrictions imposed in various States have been relaxed. Madras State was the first to go in this direction. Others have followed—Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Saurashtra. In some other States also there has been some kind of relaxation. Generally speaking, this relaxation has consisted in removal of inter-district barriers. In some industrial towns, the rationing system has been either suspended or varied greatly and fair price shops have been started.

2. All this has created a widespread impression that we are giving up controls and going back to a policy of de-control. There has been considerable appreciation of this change. And yet, I should like to make it clear, as the Food Minister emphasized in Parliament, that we are definitely committed to a policy of control.¹ Indeed there can be no effective planning without a measure of control. It is not, therefore, controls that we are giving up, but in some cases the method of control that we have followed thus far. It is true also that there has been a relaxation of controls in some respects, because the situation demanded this and permitted it. The two dominant features of the situation are: (1) large stocks of foodgrains with us, both home grown and imported, and (2) a tendency for prices to go down even in the open market. This has enabled us to take a step without any real risk and we have, as far as we can, protected ourselves against an untoward movement of prices by opening fair price shops wherever necessary. Our machinery of controls will be kept intact, though it may be reduced in numbers. The effective procurement season is over now and the next one will start many months later. We have thus this interval to watch developments and to prepare ourselves for them. It is clear that procurement, in some form or other, will be necessary in future, because we have to supply foodgrains to deficit areas.

3. The system of controls that we have been following in some States has not only been troublesome and sometimes somewhat oppressive but has been expensive. The expenditure incurred on this system, as was pointed out by the Food Minister, raised prices of foodgrains considerably. A reduction of this

1. On 1 July 1952, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai said that although he favoured a controlled economy, controls had hardly served during the last ten years the interests of the common consumers. The higher prices in ration shops compared with those in the open market had made decontrolling necessary and proper checks could offset any dangers arising out of decontrol.

expenditure itself will lead somewhat to the lowering of prices. But we have to proceed warily.

4. We contracted to import about four million tons of foodgrains from abroad this year. This itself was a much smaller figure than originally asked for by the various States. We now find that even this figure was considerably more than was necessary. Partly this is due to the fact that the removal of subsidies on food brought out much hidden grain; partly because we had a fairly good harvest in some parts of India. In any event, it showed that our estimates of deficits of foodstuffs were exaggerated and with proper organization we ought to be in a position to lessen the quantity of our imports in future. It is probable that by the end of this year, we shall have over two million tons of foodgrains to carry over. This raises the question of stocking it and we have been hard put to it to make adequate arrangements for this. We have had large godowns built at extra speed near Bombay.

5. The position, therefore, in regard to food stocks in India might be considered to be a fairly safe one and the future outlook is more hopeful than we have had for some time past. Much always depends upon the rains and the harvest. Thus far, the monsoon has been fairly good and widespread and we expect a good harvest. But we dare not calculate always on a good harvest; the most we can expect is an average one. In a large country like India, there is likely to be drought or some natural disaster in some part or other. We must be prepared for this.

6. The Central Government has gone, as far as it can possibly go, in the direction of reducing prices of foodgrains. This reduction will be for the whole country and not merely for particular areas where scarcity prevails. State Governments will be helped considerably by this reduction to meet the difficult situations that they have had to face. The difficulty really comes from a lack of purchasing power among some sections of the community. We can only get over this by providing productive work. That productive work itself is expensive and we cannot do all that we want to do. Yet it may be possible to combine Government effort with voluntary or semi-voluntary labour.

7. The major problem before us, now as ever, is how to coordinate our aspirations and urgent wishes with our resources. It is here that planning comes in and we continue to give a great deal of thought to the question of raising additional resources so as to add to work, employment and production, without casting too great a burden on our finances and without leading to inflation. We have had long discussions with the Planning Commission on this subject and the Commission expressed its willingness and indeed its eagerness to go far. But however much it might want to go ahead, there are some inherent limitations which it cannot forget and there are some serious risks which it must avoid taking.

8. We have also been conferring with the Planning Commission a great

deal about the land problem. A few days ago, on July 1st, Uttar Pradesh celebrated the final end of the zamindari and taluqdari system.² That was a great date for Uttar Pradesh and for India and it was suitably celebrated all over that largest of our provinces which is one-fifth of India just as India is one-fifth of the world. Even as we put an end to the zamindari system in Uttar Pradesh or Bihar or elsewhere, we realize that other steps have to follow. What are these other steps going to be? I have written to you separately about them and asked you a multitude of questions.³

9. The next step appears to be some kind of redistribution of land so as to put an end to large holdings. Much is being said about this and Acharya Vinoba Bhave's tremendous pilgrimage from village to village in India has given a great impetus to this demand of redistribution of land. It is a legitimate demand and appears reasonable. But, when examined in detail, the problem is not quite so simple. As a matter of fact, with the abolition of the zamindari system, the large estates end in India. It may be said that there is now a fairly widespread and relatively even distribution of land, except for a very small percentage. Examining the figures for Uttar Pradesh, we found that about 86 per cent of the land consisted of holdings of under 25 acres. The remaining 14 per cent or so was divided up in about 150,000 holdings. If we fixed a ceiling of 25 acres and gave that much land out of the surplus of the bigger holdings (above 25 acres) to those who hold it now or their family members who share it, practically nothing is left over for distribution to those who have no land. Thus, by any such system of distribution, we do not really help the landless much, though, to a slight extent, we might do so. We could help the landless more by developing uncultivated land.

10. Conditions differ greatly in different States and it is a little difficult to generalize. It is for this reason that I have asked you to supply us full particulars as you can about your State. It is clear that we have to go towards a more even distribution of land. It is also clear that we cannot possibly absorb the landless in land and we have to provide other occupations for them. Any step that we might take should not reduce production because that ultimately will lead to unemployment and other difficulties. We have to encourage modern and up-to-date methods of cultivation. Splitting up farms which are using these modern methods and producing results, will thus be harmful from the point of view of production. While all this is important, it remains true, nevertheless, that any large holding is an irritation to the landless and is psychologically wrong. How then are we to proceed about it? For one thing we can limit future holdings. We might in that connection limit even

2. For Nehru's speech at Modi Nagar on 1 July 1952 on the ending of the zamindari system, see *ante*, pp. 9-15.

3. See *ante*, pp. 89-90.

inheritance which leads to larger holdings than the ceiling we might fix. We may also, where possible, divide up certain holdings. Ultimately, however, there is no way out in India with its huge population, than to have cooperation in land. These cooperatives may be of many kinds. We may have the village as a cooperative unit or we may have smaller units. In the UP, they have, in addition, formed what they call Gaon Samaj, a village organization consisting of all the residents including artisans and the landless. These people will inherit, generally speaking, the rights of the zamindars. If these Gaon Samajs develop, as we hope they will, they become a new organ of power so far as land is concerned and any policy affecting land could be put through by them. Indeed the initiative should come from them and we should encourage this exercise of initiative. Even for purposes other than those connected with land, these Gaon Samajs can become important elements in our public life.

11. I feel more and more that we must function more from below than from the top. The top is important of course and in the modern world a large measure of centralization is inevitable. Yet too much centralization means decay at the roots and ultimately a withering of the branches and leaves and flowers. Therefore, we have to encourage these basic organs in the village.

12. You will have heard of the Bharat Sewak Samaj, an organization which is meant to be non-political and which is fathered by the Planning Commission. Its aim is to encourage voluntary service of the community. I should like you to draw the attention of your colleagues to this organization which, if successful, can make a great difference to our country. There was a debate in Parliament yesterday in the course of which the Bharat Sewak Samaj was mentioned. It was criticized as some kind of party organization bolstered up by the Congress with Government money. I made it clear in my reply that the charges were completely baseless.⁴ First of all, it is not meant to be a party organization and we welcome every individual who wants to do active constructive work of a non-political kind. Secondly, it is not going to be financed by Government at all. What might happen is that if some work, like the building up of a road, is taken up by local volunteers, the State Government might provide some facilities for that work being done. This applies not to the Bharat Sewak Samaj only, but to any group of volunteers that are prepared to do that kind of work.

13. The point is to encourage voluntary service for the community. I have received a report from an economist member⁵ of our goodwill mission to China. This report is factual and valuable and I hope to send a copy of it to you later. The importance of this report lies in its pointing out how manpower has been used in China in recent years for great productive schemes. China

4. See *ante*, pp. 288-290.

5. V.K.R.V. Rao.

has much less of machinery and big industry than India has, except for parts of Manchuria which are highly developed industrially. Their problems are somewhat similar to ours and their resources are not greater and, in many ways, are less. Therefore, the way they have tackled their problems is of importance to us and we might be able to learn something from them, as they might learn something from us.

14. The situation in Korea has deteriorated greatly because of the bombing of the power plants on the Yalu river. As you know, the whole question of a ceasefire and truce there had got stuck up over the exchange of prisoners of war. In this matter we have tried to help without appearing to interfere.⁶ We were placed in a favourable position to do so, because our contacts with the powers concerned, namely, China on the one hand and the UK and the USA on the other, are friendly. No other country is in exactly that position. I cannot tell you in this letter what steps we have been taking, but we have been in constant touch with the countries concerned over this matter and it seemed to us that success was at last not too far off. Just at that moment these bombings took place and the situation has now changed. I cannot say that all hope of truce is over, but undoubtedly the difficulties are greater. The latest news has been that the Chinese and the North Koreans have made some proposals in a secret session at Panmunjom. Probably in the course of the next few days we might know the result of this new approach. These truce talks at Panmunjom have gone on now for over a year. I rather doubt if this stalemate can continue for very long. Decisions have to be taken this way or that.

15. It is true that the successful conclusion of a truce in Korea will have a powerful result and will relieve tension all over the world. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that that is only an initial step and exceedingly difficult problems will still remain to be solved. The very first problem to be faced then will be that of the withdrawal of foreign armies from Korea. This will not be an easy matter. Then will come the political question—the future of Korea, Formosa, the place of the People's Government of China in the United Nations. Each one of these bristles with difficulties.

16. On the other side of the world lies the problem of Germany which also appears at present to be almost insoluble. Each of the contending parties pull their own way and hope to get Germany to their side. Meanwhile, the Germans undoubtedly want a united Germany and want to develop enough strength to be able to play their own game. In the after-war years, they were naturally in a very bad state and more or less accepted facts as they were. Gradually, they have built themselves up and their industry is flourishing now. They preferred to build up their industries even to building houses for the houseless. It must be remembered that the problem of housing in post-war

6. See *ante*, pp. 533-556.

Germany was terrific, because a large part of the country had been laid waste by incessant bombing. Now that Germany has built up her economy to some extent, she is becoming politically more assertive. This process of assertion will, no doubt, grow in Germany, as also in Japan. A time may well come when the rival contestants for the body and soul of Germany might be increasingly ignored by the Germans themselves, who may incline this way or that way to some extent, but are in the final analysis Germans, caring for their own country and not for any other. In any event, the situation in Germany continues to be a dangerous one and the recent moves of the Western Powers have not eased that situation at all.⁷

17. The bombing of the power plants on the Yalu river, distressing as it is from the human point of view, has a larger significance. When news of this appeared, there was a loud outcry in England about the UK Government not being consulted.⁸ Lord Alexander, the UK Defence Minister, was actually in Tokyo at the time and he did not know. Subsequently, the amazing statement was made by General Mark Clark, the American and UN Commander of the UN forces in Korea, that he did not know about this bombing or else he would have told Lord Alexander. This means that local commanders can take a serious step without reference even to their Commander-in-Chief and much less to their Government or the UN. That would be a serious enough matter if only one country was involved. When a number of countries are involved, it means that some local commander might take a step which might plunge the world into war, without the other countries being consulted or knowing anything about it. It means possibly dragging the United Nations as a whole into world war. This is a very serious thought. India is not involved in any way in the Korean war. We have no troops there. We sent an ambulance unit, which, incidentally, has won high praise for its humane work. But we have made it clear that we are not parties to this war in Korea. Therefore, we have no right to complain that we have not been consulted about any military step. But we are members of the United Nations and anything that affects the United Nations therefore affects us.

18. All this indicates the progressive change in the structure and manner of working of the United Nations. From being a more or less universal organization, it has become a more limited one, keeping out some important

7. Restoration of sovereign status to West Germany and her joining the European defence system following an agreement with the Allied Powers on 26 May 1952 provoked East Germany to "seal off" the Soviet zone on the West German side. Otto Grotewohl, the East German Premier, said on 8 May 1952 that the signing of the contractual agreements would "produce in Germany the same conditions as exist in Korea and might result in a fratricidal war among the Germans."
8. The Labour Party protested in the House of Commons on 24 June 1952 against Britain not having been consulted before the bombings.

countries. That was not the original idea at all when President Roosevelt and others started it. Secondly, it is becoming increasingly an organization in some ways connected with war and therefore less and less an organ of peace, which it was meant to be. As a great organization devoted to peace, it was given by its Charter some sanctions to control trouble-makers.⁹ But, essentially, its work lay in pursuing methods of conciliation and mediation. Having refused to admit a great power like China, it was subsequently driven into military action against that country. And now a position has been created which at the best is a complete deadlock and, at the worst, may lead to widespread war, and war on behalf of the United Nations.

19. I pointed out this progressive change in the UN when the Tunisian dispute was refused a hearing in the Security Council.¹⁰ At that time I said that it seemed highly improper that two or three countries could hold up the United Nations and prevent it even discussing something. Now it appears that some enterprising and aggressive general can hurl the United Nations into war and the peoples of the world might be driven like dumb cattle towards disaster. That is a thought which is highly disturbing. One might almost think that the world is in the grip of some great and malignant force which is inevitably driving it, as in a Greek tragedy, towards this disaster. I have been reading some books about Korea by well-known newspaper correspondents there. These correspondents were not sensation-mongers and they have given the evidence of their own eyes. The picture they give is full of horror. After reading that I could not conceive how anyone could think in terms of war.

20. The tragedy of it is that all this happens when the world is making enormous progress in technology. Indeed, it is something more than technological and it is invading all kinds of human activities, including those of the mind. The machine grows bigger and bigger and becomes more human, while the human being becomes more and more like a machine and less and less human.

21. In South Africa, the movement originally started by people of Indian descent against their segregation has gradually become absorbed in a much wider movement including Africans. This development is of great significance. Indeed, as I have often pointed out to you, the continent of Africa is likely to play an important part in the coming years. There is a growth of mass political consciousness and a resentment at racial laws and practice. It is clear that the millions of Africans cannot be forcibly suppressed for long. The big question for the future is whether these problems of Africa will be solved peacefully

9. The Charter stipulated that to maintain international peace and security the United Nations could take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and to bring about by peaceful means adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations.

10. See *ante*, pp. 559-564.

and cooperatively or will result in terrible racial wars and blood-baths. If the Malan¹¹ policy is pursued, then the second alternative appears inevitable. In some parts of Africa, notably those governed by the UK, there has been some realization of the changes coming over the continent and some progress has been made. This has been notably so in British West Africa.¹² In British East Africa there are some hopeful signs and at the same time there are other signs which are not hopeful. Among the latter is the recent decision to bring about communal electorates.¹³ Most Indians in British East Africa fought against the introduction of these communal electorates there, but in spite of their protesting this was introduced. There is a movement, chiefly in East Africa, for what is called the development of a multi-racial society, that is, where Africans, Indians and Europeans function cooperatively. How far this will succeed I do not know.

22. The entire hope for the future of Africa lies in some such objective being aimed at and attained. Indians occupy a peculiar place in Africa by themselves. Of course, they can make little difference and they can be squeezed out, if the others so wish. They can only really remain there with the goodwill of the Africans. Our policy for many years past in Africa has been to encourage cooperation between Indians and Africans. Indeed, we have gone so far as to emphasize that we do not propose to ask for any special privileges for Indians in Africa, that we are not going to protect any Indian vested interests there which does harm to the Africans. This is not only a wise policy from the point of view of our ideals, but is strictly practical even from the point of view of intelligent self-interest. Because we have taken up this attitude, Africans have looked more and more towards India. They are afraid of Europeans and Americans and others because they fear that they might exploit them. They think that Indians will not do so and so they look to us and expect us to help them. They require a great deal of help from outside because they are backward in many ways. A small gesture that we made some years ago of giving scholarships in India to African students was greatly appreciated. We intend increasing the number of scholarships. It is of the highest importance for the future that there should be cooperation between Indians and Africans in Africa and that Indians there help the Africans in every way to develop themselves. In doing so they will help themselves, but they must place the interests of the Africans first. For business people this outlook is not normally easy. Nevertheless, they have to develop it, realizing that it is in their interest also in the end.

11. D.F. Malan, Prime Minister of South Africa, 1948-54.

12. On 10 March 1952, Kwame Nkrumah was designated as Prime Minister of the Gold Coast (Ghana) under the new Constitution approved by Britain.

13. The bill on separate electorates was passed by the Kenyan Legislative Council on 20 December 1951.

23. When I say that Indians and Africans should cooperate, I do not mean that we should set up a joint front against the Europeans and others. Our ideal should be as stated above—cooperation between all the three in order to build up what has been called a multi-racial society. Even if that ideal is difficult to attain and others do not fall in line, nevertheless we should pursue it. Joint fronts may be in self-defence as in South Africa. Even then the ideal should not be forgotten. We must remember that there are many people among the Europeans who sympathize with that ideal. In South Africa today there are a large number of Europeans who are against Dr Malan's policy. They should be befriended. Perhaps the greatest and bravest of the champions of the Africans today is the Reverend Michael Scott. Such individuals are the salt of the earth, but in order to have their support we must aim rightly and with vision and not be diverted into wrong action by the passion of the moment.

24. In Ceylon, after the elections there appears to be a certain lowering of tension. The problem of Indians there is still unsolved. But there are certain indications that the present Government of Ceylon wants to do something towards a solution. It is natural that people in India should be greatly exercised when they hear about the treatment of Indians in Ceylon. Some of our politicians have delivered rather fiery speeches and some of our newspapers have written articles commending all kinds of stern action. This seems to me a wrong approach. We must not lose perspective. Ceylon is a little island at the tip of India. Culturally and historically it is almost a part of India. The Sinhalese look up to India as their holy land because of the Buddha. But they are a little afraid of this great big giant of a country overlooking them and fear always leads to wrong action. If we threaten them, we only increase their fear. Therefore, I have avoided speaking the language of threats and have tried to be friendly to them even when they have acted in an improper way. We have to be firm of course and not give up any of the basic rights that we claim. It must be remembered, however, that when we claim citizenship for people of Indian descent there, we naturally conclude that they are not Indian nationals. We have every right to speak for Indian nationals abroad, but we have no such clear right to speak for those whom we ourselves do not consider our nationals. In the old days when all of us were British subjects, the position was different and we claimed equality of treatment whether in Ceylon or Malaya or in other parts of the old British territories. We deal with independent nations which have their own citizenships and nationality laws. For us to claim that somebody must be made a national of another country is rather anomalous. But, of course, this is only part of the picture. In Ceylon the question of people of Indian descent has a long story behind it and there have been many agreements between Governments and assurances given. We have every right, therefore, to look at this problem in

the light of this past history and to claim that Indians in Ceylon should be given full citizenship rights.

25. In Nepal I regret to say that conditions have deteriorated and the present position is not at all satisfactory. A year and half ago, a hundred-year old autocracy was suddenly ended.¹⁴ It is easier to end something than to build something new. The history of the autocratic rule of the Ranas in Nepal is full of intrigue, rivalry, murder and assassination. The Ranas have gone, so far as political power is concerned, but out of this background it has not been easy to build up a democratic set-up. Rivalries and intrigue continue and small groups fight for power. India occupies a very special position in regard to Nepal. We acknowledge of course the full independence of Nepal. But we have made it perfectly clear to all concerned that we have this special position and we do not approve of other foreign powers interfering in Nepal. I have also stated in Parliament that from the point of view of the defence of India, the Himalayas are our frontier in the North and North-East.¹⁵ We have had no desire to interfere internally in Nepal. But because Nepal lacks trained personnel for any kind of work, we have been asked for help and we have given it. Even now there is a demand for a large group of civil officers to go there to help them. We have hesitated to send them because of our desire not to get entangled in their internal troubles. At Nepal's request we have sent some military officers and men to train their Army. We are building their airfield in Kathmandu and we have undertaken to build the road from India to Nepal.

26. It is curious and rather disconcerting that in spite of the help that we have given and our desire not to interfere, these groups and people in Nepal carry on an agitation against India and create anti-Indian feeling. This is depressing. As a matter of fact, almost everybody in Nepal realizes that Indian help is necessary. But India becomes a pretext and excuse for some of the opposition groups to run down their own present Government. The Nepali Congress, which is the popular body behind the Government there, has itself shown certain disruptive tendencies recently. Some areas of Nepal are hardly under the control of the Government and we have had some trouble, in the shape of widespread dacoities and the like, across our borders in the Tarai.

27. I wrote to you last month about Kashmir. So far as Dr Graham is concerned, no fresh development has taken place. But there has been much talk in India about internal happenings in Kashmir, and more especially as to what the Constituent Assembly there is going to do. While undoubtedly Kashmir became an integral part and a constituent unit of the Republic of India after her accession, the position in regard to certain matters remained fluid. We could not finalize it because of the reference to the United Nations.

14. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 15, Part II, p. 400.

15. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 15, Part II, p. 433.

Because of this, when we were giving the final touches to our Constitution in November 1949, we dealt with Kashmir in some transitory provisions which were added on to the Constitution at the end. In effect, these transitory provisions kept Kashmir out of the purview of a great part of our Constitution for the time being and the President was authorized to make the necessary changes when it was opportune to do so. Matters remained in this somewhat uncertain and fluid condition. The functioning of the Constituent Assembly in Kashmir naturally brought about a situation when some of these matters, if not all, have to be finalized. This is the real issue before us today which we are discussing with the leaders of Kashmir. It is not a question so much of the subjects of accession. At present they are three, which is the absolute minimum. They may later be extended. We need not go into that at this stage. The other question about the headship of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, though important, is also not a vital one. What is really important now is to define a little more clearly the basic relation of Kashmir to India. There are certain consequences that follow inevitably from partnership in the Indian Union such as common citizenship, etc. All this has to be cleared up. We hope to have talks about this in the course of the next few days.

28. Meanwhile, we have had some rather disconcerting reports about movements of Pakistan troops towards our borders. It is possible that these movements are not abnormal. Nevertheless, the near presence of those troops has to be watched by us and provided for.

29. As you know, the leader of the Socialist Party of India, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, has undertaken a three-week fast.¹⁶ That is a personal matter about which I have nothing to say except that I regret it. But this has somehow been connected with a six-year old dispute which is now being made a reason for a possible strike by the Posts and Telegraph workers. Greatly as I regret Shri Jayaprakash Narayan's fast, I must say that I fail to understand how political questions can be solved by this method. Sometime ago there was a fast by Swami Sitaram about the formation of an Andhra province. The Andhras may have every right to have a province and for my part I am wholly agreeable. But how are we to make progress if this method of fasting is introduced in order to bring pressure on Government to decide some major administrative and complicated change?

30. There has been some argument about Government breaking their word given to the Posts and Telegraph workers. The Food Minister, who was then the Communications Minister, and I have made it perfectly clear that no such assurance was given as is claimed. It may be of course that there was some misunderstanding. Our word should be accepted. I do not say that other people are deliberately distorting something that we said. They should at least give

16. See *ante*, pp. 231-235.

us credit also for bonafides in this matter. We are perfectly prepared to consider any questions on their merits and to go as far as we can safely go. But we seem to be governed, as of old, by some kind of a theological and metaphysical mentality. Instead of dealing with the problem as it arises, we begin discussing something that happened long ago from an ethical point of view. I do not wish in the slightest to decry ethics or the ethical point of view. But an argument of this kind leads nowhere. It means ultimately believing or not believing someone's word. I hope that the Posts and Telegraph workers will consider this matter calmly and not indulge in threats of strikes. If they want to discuss it with us, we are perfectly prepared to do so.

31. We have not come to a final decision with Pakistan about the passport system although an agreement has been reached over most matters. Probably this will come into effect sometime in September, either at the beginning or the middle of the month. We have to make preparations for it from now on, and have a large number of passports printed. These passports will be simpler and cheaper than the normal international passports. We hope that travel between Eastern Pakistan and West Bengal will be easy. It has been said that since this passport system has been talked about, there has been an influx of people from East Bengal to West Bengal. This is not completely true. Indeed, the average daily figures of movement for the first fortnight of June are as follows:

	Hindus	Muslims
From East to West Bengal	5,954	2,108
From West to East Bengal	6,717	2,494

These figures show that a larger movement from West Bengal to East Bengal still continues. It is true, however, that there has been an influx into Calcutta and the Sealdah Station has been full of these newcomers recently. The type of people who are coming is somewhat different from the old migrants. They are people in great distress. Many of them are beggars—often professional beggars. On the Assam side also a number of people in distress and professional beggars, both Hindus and Muslims, have entered Assam from East Bengal. It is obvious that this movement is due to the deteriorating economic conditions in East Bengal. It is creating a new problem for us.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

13

MISCELLANEOUS

I. Children

1. To Amrit Kaur¹

New Delhi
June 22, 1952

My dear Amrit,

Last year the Modys² in Lucknow observed my birthday, November 14th, as Children's Day. I rather liked the idea. We should have a Children's Day which would help us not only in getting some money but also in attracting people's attention to the children's cause. There is some advantage perhaps in fixing my birthday for this as then you can divert some more attention to it and the affection that many people feel for me could be utilized to better purpose. Of course my name should not be mentioned in this connection. Many people send me presents. I could very well say that all presents intended for me should be sent to the children.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.

2. Homi Mody was the Governor of UP from May 1949 to June 1952.

2. To Amrit Kaur¹

New Delhi
June 22, 1952

My dear Amrit,

Thank you for your letter of the 22nd June.

I entirely agree with you that we should make a special effort for the children. I think that far too little attention is paid to them and even the Planning Commission has rather ignored them. I shall be happy indeed if you can give a push to this. In China, we are told that in spite of their difficulties they have put up a number of child clinics. We hardly think on those lines.

1. JN Collection.

For my part I think we should give greater priority to children than to grown-ups.

Probably a principal child welfare centre should be situated in Delhi, though I dislike intensely putting up new organizations in Delhi. But there are some advantages here. Other centres may be on a more modest scale. It would be better to start one centre and make it good and not to spread yourself out too much to begin with.

I cannot say much about the plan you have sent me. It is rather ambitious and I am a little afraid of ambitious programmes. We say too much and do too little. I would prefer to have a more moderate programme.

You know Asoka Vihar in Madras. I liked that institution very much although it was naturally limited in scope. But the way it was built up appealed to me. Something of that type could be extended.

As for libraries, people seem to think that any collection of books is a library. It is not. A library is a properly organized educational centre under very expert and trained guidance. The new Delhi Public Library² partly started by the Unesco is something really good, more specially from the children's point of view. I think any library started in Delhi should be associated with it and indeed put under its guidance.

Everybody knows that destitutes, orphans, delinquents and illegitimate children exist. But I am quite convinced that the use of these words is bad for the children. They live under a stigma. They must be made to forget this fact and these words should not be mentioned in any children's home.

Perhaps you are right that it will be worthwhile using the money you have got from the Chinese Government towards building up a children's welfare centre in some place. Or you could have more than one centre and add some money of ours to it. I do not quite like the idea of any centre being purely run from Chinese money.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

2. The Delhi Public Library, started in 1950 initially as a pilot project sponsored by Unesco in collaboration with the Union Ministry of Education, was developed under the Five Year Plan programme as one of the public libraries with several branches in Delhi.

13

MISCELLANEOUS

II. Physical Fitness

1. To Amrit Kaur¹

New Delhi
June 22, 1952

My dear Amrit,

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13

MISCELLANEOUS

II. Physical Fitness

1. Compulsory Physical Training for Students¹

You are no doubt aware of the continuous deterioration in our educational standards in the universities and even physically in the students who come out of them. They are intellectually rather backward and physically sloppy and lacking the normal habits and discipline which education should provide for them.

2. This is a large problem which must be your concern. I am for the present addressing you about a more limited aspect of it, the physical one, which of course includes partly the mental also. I have long been convinced that some kind of open air training in drill and manual work is quite essential for every student of ours. I suggested this to your Ministry sometime ago but I was told that it was not feasible. This was indeed recommended by us in the National Planning Committee twelve years ago.² I do not myself see why it should not be feasible.

3. Those of our young men who have some military training improve greatly by it. It is not necessary for all our young men or women to have military training but some training in disciplined work with drill, etc., would improve them greatly for any civil occupation or indeed for life itself. I think that we should make a definite rule making this training a part of our curriculum in schools, colleges and universities. No degree should be given unless there has been some such training. If we could enforce this all over India, we would immediately improve the younger generation both physically and intellectually.

4. This may take time, but a beginning surely should be made and once we make it clear that we give preference to a person who has had this training, progress would be fast. We could, for instance, say that only persons who have had this training would be taken into Government service. As it is, the reverse is the case. The UP Government some two years ago started such training. The Public Services Commission of the UP consistently rejected the people who have been so trained, with the result that nobody wanted that training afterwards.

5. I think that this matter should be investigated and a beginning made. It

1. Note to the Union Minister for Education, 16 May 1952. File No. 40(81)/49-PMS. A copy of this note was sent to the Planning Commission.

2. The National Planning Committee at its fourth session held in June 1940 passed a resolution stressing the need for laying down definite norms of physical fitness for students.

is not necessary to enquire and get the views of all the universities in India. They move in ruts and cannot think of anything new.

6. The first thing to decide in this is that in Government service, preference should be given to persons who have been so trained and all Public Service Commissions should be informed of this. The next thing is to organize this training in different centres and universities. I shall be grateful if you will give thought to this matter.

13

MISCELLANEOUS

III. Other Matters

1. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan¹

This meeting of the citizens of Delhi has learnt with anxious concern of the deterioration in the health of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and of the recent operation performed upon him. The people of India will ever remember with affection and reverence the noble part played by Badshah Khan, known affectionately as Fakhre Afghan, in the struggle for India's freedom, and his adherence at all costs and in every circumstance to non-violence in this struggle. To India he has been and will ever remain as an exemplar of peace and unity and of high principles and nobility in action.

This meeting prays for his recovery from illness so that he may be spared for long to serve his people and teach them the path of right action. The meeting earnestly hopes that the Government of Pakistan will release him from detention and prison.

1. Resolution drafted on 15 April 1952 and passed at a public meeting on 20 April 1952 with a request to the Government to secure the release of Badshah Khan by using ways and means compatible with international laws. File No. G-41/1952, AICC Papers, NMML.

2. Stafford Cripps¹

This country has received the news of your beloved husband's death with deep sorrow and sense of loss. We all shared your hope that he would recover, as we now share your grief.

India held him in great regard and affection. His intimate concern and steadfast devotion to our cause over twenty years endeared him to our people and his name has an honoured place in our history.

On behalf of the Government and people of this country, I convey to you their heart-felt sympathy in your bereavement.

1. Message sent on 22 April 1952 to Isobel Cripps, widow of Stafford Cripps who died on 21 April 1952. From the *National Herald*, 23 April 1952.

3. To Yehudi Menuhin¹

Camp: Darjeeling

April 26, 1952

My dear Menuhin,

I left Delhi early this morning at 6 a.m. for a short visit to the north-eastern Himalayas. About the same time my sister, Vijayalakshmi, left Palam with her goodwill mission to China. She and her party must be in Bangkok today and I am in Darjeeling. Tomorrow they will be in Canton in China and I shall be in Gangtok in Sikkim, quite near to the Tibetan border. So, having parted company at Delhi this morning, we shall be at two far ends of the great Chinese State by tomorrow evening, separated by many thousands of miles.

I have travelled a great deal in India, but this particular corner of our country has not been included in my various journeys. I have come to Darjeeling almost exactly fifty years after my first visit when I came here as a boy of 12. Till recently it was a quiet and out-of-the-way corner of India, but now this whole area has assumed a new importance because of developments in Asia. It has become one of our important frontiers and various races mix here. But the chief attraction of Darjeeling to me is the magnificent sight of Kanchenjunga and the snow-range. This is overwhelming in its majesty and appears quite near, although it is about forty miles away, as the crow flies. Darjeeling and Sikkim are somewhat different from the Northern Himalayas, as it rains much more here. The vegetation becomes a curious mixture of the temperate with the sub-tropical and there is an amazing abundance of beautiful flowers.

On my return to Delhi from Simla, I received a copy of the long note you had given to Chester Bowles. Thank you for it. I think it was a very good note, sensitive and full of understanding. I do not know how Chester Bowles reacted to it. If he sent it on to the State Department, I imagine that the reaction was not too good, because it must have come into conflict with their preconceived theories and opinions. It seems to me very extraordinary how people, who are able and intelligent, can be so utterly lacking in understanding.

Shaikh Abdullah sent me a copy of the little note you had given him about your impressions of Kashmir. This also was very good.

Your note on Western music in India² has been appreciated by many friends who have seen it. There is a fairly widespread desire to do something, but I do not know when it will take shape. We are so overwhelmed with a variety of problems that it is a little difficult to start a new line which has no obvious popular appeal. I think, however, that something is likely to be done,

1. JN Collection.

2. See *ante*, p. 141.

though not soon. I imagine that the initiative should come non-officially and then Government could help. I have written to P.A. Narielwala³ and Homi Bhabha⁴ and suggested that some Bombay people might take this initiative.

Your visit to India was an event which none who saw or heard you is likely to forget. But, apart from other aspects, it was a delight to meet you and Diana⁵ and to find so much kinship of mind and spirit. Such a discovery lightens the gloom and makes one think a little more hopefully and generously of this world of ours. We think of you often and hope that we might see you again before long.

You must be finishing your tour of the Continent and reaching London soon. I am, therefore, sending this letter to London.

Indira is with me here. I am glad she came. I feel happy to have her near me wherever I might be.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. A close associate of the Tatas and a family friend of Nehrus.
4. Eminent scientist, Director and Professor of Theoretical Physics, Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay, and Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission, at this time.
5. Wife of Yehudi Menuhin.

4. To K.N. Katju¹

New Delhi
May 3, 1952

My dear Kailas Nath,

Long ago, I gave an assurance in Parliament² that we would appoint a press commission. Nothing has been done since then. The assurance was repeated later. I think that we should move in this matter. The commission will, no doubt, take some time to inquire and report. For the present, we shall, therefore, have to select suitable persons for the commission and lay down broad terms of inquiry.

The terms would, of course, include press laws and the regulation of the press, but much more so is it necessary to enquire into the control, management and ownership of the newspaper and periodical press and the news agencies.

1. JN Collection.
2. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol.16 Part I, pp. 220 and 223.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

In fact, we might well learn from the Press Commission appointed in England.³ I suppose you have a copy of their report in the Home Ministry. If not, probably I shall be able to find one and send it to you.

I enclose a letter⁴ sent to me by Chalapathi Rau as President of the Indian Federation of Working Journalists' Organizations.⁵ In any commission that we might make, this organization should be represented. We have been paying far too much attention to a few newspaper proprietors in the past.⁶

Please see pages 5, 6 and 7 of Chalapathi Rau's presidential address.⁷ Also the resolution.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

3. The Royal Commission on the Press appointed in April 1947 under the chairmanship of David Ross, Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, enquired into the finance, control, management and ownership of the press in Britain with the object of ensuring free expression of opinion and accuracy in the presentation of news. In its report published on 29 June 1949, the Commission suggested measures for prevention of the abuse of chain ownership, elimination of unfair methods of competition and maintenance of high standards of journalism. To achieve these objects, the Commission recommended the establishment of a General Council of the Press.
4. Not printed.
5. In October 1950, the regional and language-based organizations of journalists joined to form an All-India Organization of Working Journalists, later called the Indian Federation of Working Journalists. Its main aim was to unite the working journalists on trade union lines and work for the betterment of their conditions.
6. The Press Commission was eventually constituted on 23 September 1952 under the chairmanship of G.S. Rajadhyaksha to examine the working of the press in India in relation to the freedom, control and management of the press, including monopolies and advertisements, and the working conditions of its personnel. Among its members were: C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Narendra Deva, Zakir Hussain, V.K.R.V. Rao, P.H. Patwardhan, T.N. Singh, Jaipal Singh, J. Natarajan, A.R. Bhatt and M. Chalapathi Rau.
7. Chalapathi Rau, in his presidential address before the annual session of the All-India Organization of Journalists at Calcutta in 1952, laid emphasis on the appointment of a press commission and called for a comprehensive inquiry for this purpose on behalf of the society in general. A resolution to this effect was also passed at the session.

5. To Lord Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
May 4, 1952

My dear Dickie,

Thank you for your letter of April 22nd. I have recently been to Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Sikkim. I enjoyed my visit thoroughly although we might have had better weather. Having had a taste of this frontier of ours, I want to go there again and, if possible, for a somewhat longer period.

I spoke to Edwina myself about the two portraits and told her that the Government of India must pay for them.² Edwina insisted even then that she had decided to pay. As you must know, it is difficult to argue with her when she has made up her mind! It is very good of her to do this and we are of course very thankful. When the portraits are ready, if you will kindly hand them over to India House, they will arrange for their transport.

I am supposed to be busy now with the formation of a new Government. The business consists in a confusing medley of thoughts. It is not a pleasant job at all. A very large number of new-comers have come into Parliament and I hardly know eighty per cent of them. We are going to have heavy weather because the Opposition is pretty strong and has every intention to oppose almost everything.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.
2. Mountbatten wrote on 22 April that he had persuaded Halliday, the artist, to paint the State portraits of Edwina and himself for 500 pounds a piece, which was half the current price for a picture five feet by eight feet by a reputed artist. He added that the earlier official portraits, done by Da Cruz, were paid for by them and Edwina insisted that they should pay for the new portraits as well.

6. To Stanislas Ostrorog¹

New Delhi
May 15, 1952

Dear Mr Ambassador,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 15th May and hasten to acknowledge it with cordial appreciation of your good wishes.

1. JN Collection.

Yes, when one considers the size of the electorate—170 million voters, an unequalled figure—and the fact that elections on such a scale were being held for the first time, it is a tribute to all concerned, and more particularly, to our people that they should have passed off in exemplary order and good temper. If I may say so, this is a good augury not only for the future of democracy in India but for its future throughout the world. I am particularly happy that a distinguished citizen of France should be so deeply sensible of the measure and quality of our achievement.

As you say, there are certain outstanding problems between our two countries. But this is not abnormal in international relations and I share your hope that these questions will be resolved in a spirit of friendship and mutual understanding.

With renewed thanks and with assurance of my highest consideration,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
May 16/17, 1952

My dear Krishna,

We sat, last night, tongue-tied for some time before you left. I am sorry it was so because there is always so much I want to talk to you about and it may be long before I meet you again. But somehow I was not sure what the effect of any conversation at that hour might be. Would it develop into an argument? I wanted to avoid this as I have tried to avoid it all along, though not always successfully. When two persons know each other, there should be little room for long argument. A hint is enough. They may agree or not or agree to disagree about a particular matter.

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.

Anyway I wanted to write to you that you have my affection and confidence as you have had for these many years.²

Love.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

2. In his reply from London on 24 May, Krishna Menon wrote he was "very affected by the fact that you kindly thought of writing it. An acknowledgement of it with gratitude is not adequate as a reply, which letter, I am aware, you would desire to be brief and free from 'argument'. I will do this in a few days." In another letter, he wrote the same day, "I have your several messages about...my leaving without delay.... Even your last telegram, abrupt to a degree, contains not a word of kindness.... It is all very sad.... I do not adopt subterfuges, and do not seek to stay on, or any 'advantages'.... I do not understand how the same person could write the letter of the 16/17th May and do all these things to me."

8. To Radha Kumud Mookerji¹

New Delhi
June 2, 1952

My dear Dr Mookerji,²

I am very glad to learn from you that you propose to bring out, on behalf of the Badrinath Temple Committee, a quarterly journal named "Himalaya". Such a journal, if properly conducted, can be very fascinating indeed. It could contain a wealth of information which would help us in many ways in our schemes of development and in the growth of scientific research in India.

But there is something more about Himalayas than all this. They have exercised a peculiar fascination for me for many long years and always the call of the Himalayas is strong within me. It is not merely their magnificent scenery from Kashmir to Sikkim and beyond, but something else which draws me to them. Perhaps it is that peculiar mixture of beauty, history, tradition and so much else that becomes a part of most of the racial consciousness of a people.

I wish more of our people living in the plains below would visit the Himalayas, not just to go to some so-called hill station, but to wander about

1. JN Collection.
2. (1884-1963); historian; member, Bengal Legislative Council, 1937-43; nominated member, Council of States, 1952-58; wrote several books on Indian history and culture.

their innumerable valleys and mountain tops and sometimes reaching their magnificent glaciers and snow-fields. They can have their fill of flowers there and noble trees and primeval forests. They can breathe the free untainted air which invigorates and they can return strengthened in body and mind and spirit.

I wish you all success in this venture.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. To C.D. Deshmukh¹

New Delhi
June 22, 1952

My dear Deshmukh,

Your letter of the 22nd with the pamphlet.² As a matter of fact, Dr Rice wrote to me also and sent me a copy of his address. After reading it, I forwarded it to Mahalanobis.³

A year or two ago I was interested in the controversy on the approach to biological questions which was started in the USSR.⁴ So far I am concerned, I cannot understand or appreciate this introduction of Marx's dogma in science. I wonder how far this comes in the way of practice. It is a fact that Russian biologists have done very fine work in recent years and some of this is considered to be outstanding.

Ultimately, I suppose, a wrong scientific approach must come in the way of growth. Science is supposed to be an objective search for truth. But scientists

1. JN Collection.
2. Stuart A. Rice in a paper read at the 27th Session of the International Statistical Institute had called as harmful the Soviet interpretation of the statistical science and practice as revealed by the discussions at the conference on methodology at the Central Statistical Administration of the USSR in Moscow in February 1950. According to Rice, this was nothing but an old conflict between dogma and science.
3. P.C. Mahalanobis, Statistical Adviser to the Government of India at this time.
4. Differences between two schools of thought in the biology section of the Soviet Academy of Sciences—one holding that the characteristics of plants and animals were changeable by experimentation and hybridization and the other maintaining that the evolution of plant and animal life was governed by the principles of genetics and heredity—led to the removal of M.L. Orbeli from the post of secretary of the section on 27 August 1948 due to his adhering to the latter view and for his refusal to accept the communist interpretation of the principle of change in a purely scientific field.

themselves get so tied up with a particular dogma that it becomes difficult to see the light until this is forced upon them. If this is so in the physical sciences, much more is it so in the social sciences. The Soviet scientists start with certain premises based on Marxism or Stalinism. To some extent, I suppose, the American scientist starts with the assumption that the capitalist order or "the American way of life" must be accepted as a basis. He may talk of objective science, but in effect he is equally governed by certain pre-conceptions which are almost in the nature of dogmas. For those who are not scientists, this dogmatic basis is stronger still.

Nothing amazes me so much as the perversion of well-known words and phrases in political and other controversies today. I suppose every demagogue does it (and every politician has at least a trace of a demagogue in him). But this is becoming something more than individual perversion. It is on a national scale. I have been looking through two terrible and nerve-shaking books about Korea. One is by an American journalist and the other by an English journalist. Somewhere in them I found that the phrases which created a sense of nausea in me were "peace-loving democracies" (used by the Communists so often) and "the American way of life" used, of course, by the Americans.

Is it possible for any individual to be really objective and to possess intellectual integrity when he is surrounded by all this mass of propaganda and catchphrases and slogans. What upsets me most in the communist approach is the suppression of free thought—thought control as it is called. And yet in America, where the official policy is not supposed to encourage this, in actual practice there is a great deal of regimentation, though not so much of course.

I am returning the pamphlet.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. To Ella Maillart¹

New Delhi
June 28, 1952

My dear Ella Maillart,²

You know the feeling of receiving a letter and not answering it for a considerable time. As the days pass, it becomes more and more difficult to

1. JN Collection.

2. Swiss traveller and writer.

send an answer. A slight feeling of guilt pursues one. When your first letter came, I waited for your book.³ When the book came, I decided to read it before answering you. Having little time to spare, I read it rather slowly at odd moments, usually when I was travelling by air. Some little time ago I finished it.

Then came your second letter⁴ and I enquired about Madame Lobsiger. She was still in Kathmandu. I have just learnt that she is in Delhi and I am likely to see her day after tomorrow. She has come at a time when I am more than usually busy. I wish I had more time to talk to her about her various experiences.

Your book is rather odd. Because of that, I liked it. It is a curious mixture of your affection for the cat and your search for all manner of things which are difficult to reach. And so, as I read your book, *Ti-Puss* rather faded away and your personality was more in evidence. I confess I found that more interesting.

Thank you for the book and your letters.

I paid a visit, for the first time in my life, to Kalimpong and Gangtok about two and a half months ago. From Gangtok I went towards the Tibetan border, though I did not reach it for lack of time. I enjoyed my brief visit and, as I read the last chapters of your book, those places came up before me again.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. *Ti-Puss*.

4. In her second letter she requested Nehru to enable Madame Lobsiger, an ethnologist and head of the Geneva Museum, to visit some typical Indian village near Delhi when she halted there after her study-cum-observation tour of Nepal's villages.

11. To Helen Boyden Lamb¹

New Delhi
8 July 1952

Dear Helen,²

Your letter of May 28th has just reached me. It was an unexpected letter. I

1. JN Collection.

2. She was from the Department of Economics and Social Sciences, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

looked at your name and suddenly remembered you, rather vividly, as I saw you in Geneva more than a quarter of a century ago when, as you say, you were "a young thing."

I was happy to hear from you, though you say very little about yourself. I did not know that you had met Krishna³ during her visit to the States.

I might inform you that I managed to finish reading Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Indeed I had plenty of opportunity to read other, and sometimes equally voluminous, books during my later visits to prison in India. I often feel a little envious of that period of reading and writing. I can do neither with any satisfaction now.

I have received your paper on "The 'State' and Economic Development in India." I fear I shall not have much time to look through it, but I shall certainly try to do so.

All good wishes to you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Krishna Hutheesing, sister of Nehru.

12. To Syama Prasad Mookerjee¹

New Delhi
July 10, 1952

My dear Syama Prasad,

Your letter of July 9th about the Sanchi Vihara.² I should very much like to be present on this occasion. Indeed, I would like to go to Sanchi anyhow, as I have never gone there. It is difficult for me to fix any date so far ahead and I do not know what might happen at the time which might prevent my attendance. But, subject to this, I should gladly agree to the date you have suggested, that is, 30th November.

About foreign visitors, I think that they should be limited to what might

1. File No. 2(645)/52-PMS.

2. Nehru was invited to perform on 30 November the opening ceremony of Sanchi Vihara, a Buddhist monastery being built adjacent to the Sanchi *stupa* near Bhopal. Some relics of two of the chief disciples of Lord Buddha, discovered about a hundred years earlier in Sanchi, an important Buddhist centre dating back to the third century BC, and later taken to the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, were brought back to Sanchi and deposited in Sanchi Vihara on 30 November 1952.

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be called Buddhist countries.³ I do not think that others should be invited. The heads of Missions of Buddhist countries in Delhi should, of course, be invited.

A difficulty might arise about Tibet. Any invitation sent will necessarily have to be through the Chinese Government. In that event it might be desirable to invite Chinese representatives also, leaving it to them whether they care to come or not.

As regards other details, perhaps we could discuss them when you have drawn up some tentative programme.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Mookerjee wrote that he was receiving enquiries from Burma, Sri Lanka, Cambodia and other countries about the ceremony and a number of foreign visitors were expected to attend it.

GLOSSARY

charkha	spinning wheel
Fakhre Afghan	pride of the Afghans
gram panchayat	village council
jagirdari	an estate formerly given by government in return for services
Jai Hind	Victory to India
kapas	cotton
khula	divorce sought by wife in a Muslim marriage
Krishi Pandit	agricultural expert
kutchra	temporary
mandal	bloc
patwari	registrar of land accounts in a village
poorva/poorvi	east/eastern
poorvottar/poorvottari	north-east/north-eastern
Ramzan	Ninth month of the Hijri calendar during which the Muslims fast
samyukt	joined, united
shastrarth	an argument, a debate, a discussion
talaq	divorce sought by husband in a Muslim marriage
taluqdari	landed estate
uttar/uttari	north/northern
uttar-poorva	north-east
vanaspati	vegetable oil, hydrogenated edible oil
vishal	vast, huge
zamindari	landed estate

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This volume covering the period from 1 April to 15 July 1952 saw the formation of new Congress governments at the Centre and in the States after the first general elections....(Nehru) wanted that the new Government should immediately address itself to the task of nation-building.... In all his public exhortations, Nehru's stress was to remind his audiences that "ours is an ancient country but we have to clothe it in a new spirit."

The other matters to engage Nehru's attention at home were the question of the release of Communist detenus... (and) the growing factional spirit among Congressmen.... He also expressed concern over the falling moral and educational standards...(and) wondered why could not some field work be made compulsory for the students....

The major development in regard to Indo-Kashmir relations was the new constituent assembly in the State taking up...the question of doing away with the hereditary or dynastic succession and replacing it with a Head of the State elected for five years. Nehru, feeling uneasy about this "new proposal in its present form", needed it "to be considered carefully, from the legal, constitutional and other points of views...."

Nehru noted that the policy of friendly relations with all countries had begun to be appreciated by all the Great Powers. This became evident when India's help was sought to settle the problem of the exchange of prisoners of war in Korea.... India.... showed unhappiness at the Great Powers' objection to the placing of the Tunisian dispute on the agenda of the Security Council for discussion....

The Chinese Premier's "apparent reluctance to discuss general problem of our interests in Tibet" caused surprise.... Nehru stated that from the point of view of defence, India's frontiers extended to the Himalayan frontiers in Nepal....

The Pakistan Government's insistence on introducing a system of passports...and the Sri Lankan Government's depriving a large number of Indians...of the right of franchise were two other developments nearer home to cause worry at this time....

